















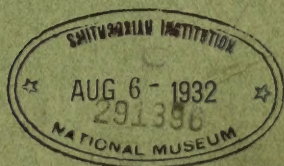






*Forty-seventh Annual Report*  
*of the*  
**BUREAU OF AMERICAN  
ETHNOLOGY**

1929-1930



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
WASHINGTON  
D. C.





FORTY-SEVENTH  
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE  
BUREAU OF  
AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE  
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1929-1930



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1932





## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,  
*Washington, D. C., July 15, 1930.*

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith the Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1930.

With appreciation of your aid in the work under my charge, I am

Very respectfully yours,

M. W. STIRLING,  
*Chief.*

Dr. C. G. ABBOT,  
*Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.*



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## REPORT OF THE CHIEF

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FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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M. W. STIRLING, Chief

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The operations of the Bureau of American Ethnology during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1930, were conducted in accordance with the act of Congress approved February 20, 1929, making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government, which act contains the following item:

American ethnology: For continuing ethnological researches among the American Indians and the natives of Hawaii, the excavation and preservation of archeologic remains under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, including necessary employees, the preparation of manuscripts, drawings, and illustrations, the purchase of books and periodicals, and traveling expenses, \$68,800.

SYSTEMATIC RESEARCHES

Mr. M. W. Stirling, chief, in the month of August, 1929, visited Gallup, N. Mex., whence he went to the Long H Ranch, Arizona, in order to view the archeological excavations being conducted there by Dr. F. H. H. Roberts, jr., of the bureau staff. From the Long H Ranch he proceeded to Pecos, N. Mex., for the purpose of attending the Conference of Southwest Archeologists, which was held at the site of the excavations being conducted by Dr. A. V. Kidder.

From Pecos Mr. Stirling went to Hanover, N. H., to deliver an address before the annual meeting of the Social Science Research Council.

On February 1 Mr. Stirling went to Key West, Fla., where, through the courtesy of Mr. Lee Parish, he was enabled to conduct an archeological reconnaissance of the Ten Thousand

Islands in Mr. Parish's yacht, the *Esperanza*. Upon the completion of this reconnaissance a visit was made to Lacooche, Fla., where a small mound was excavated. Mr. Stirling next proceeded to Tampa Bay, where a large sand mound near Safety Harbor was excavated.

Work was continued on the preparation of manuscript descriptive of the field work, and a number of short articles were prepared and published in various periodicals. Frequent lectures on anthropological topics were given during the year before various scientific and educational bodies.

Dr. John R. Swanton, ethnologist, conducted field work during July and August, 1929, in Mississippi and Oklahoma. He collected further ethnological material from the Mississippi Choctaw, and corrected notes that were obtained the year before. In Oklahoma Doctor Swanton visited most of the existing Square Grounds of the Creeks, witnessed parts of several ceremonies, and obtained descriptions of their ceremonial arrangement. The Choctaw material has been incorporated in his manuscript, Source Book for the Social and Ceremonial Customs of the Choctaw, which is ready for publication. The data Doctor Swanton collected on Creek Square Grounds will form a short paper and is ready for publication.

Doctor Swanton corrected throughout the words of his Timucua dictionary, completing work begun last year; and in addition he began the work of translating them, with the help of the original Timucua-Spanish religious works in which the material is preserved. Further work was done on the map of Indian tribes, the scope of which has been extended so as to cover Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies; the accompanying text has also been amplified. On June 20 Doctor Swanton left Washington to resume field work in the State of Louisiana.

On July 1, 1929, Dr. Truman Michelson, ethnologist, went to Shawnee, Okla., to continue his study of the Algonquian Tribes of that State, where he obtained a fairly representative collection of Kickapoo mythology. From these studies Doctor Michelson found that his statement made 14 years ago that Kickapoo mythology, on the whole, is closest to

Fox mythology, still holds valid. It should be mentioned that Kickapoo shares with certain northern Indian tribes a number of tales which are either absent from the Fox or their knowledge is confined to but few of them. Despite some secondary changes, Kickapoo is an archaic Algonquian language. It may be added that their religious ideas and practices hold their own with great vigor. Obviously, the type of social organization is quite similar to those of the Sauk and Fox. Work among the Sauk and Shawnee was chiefly linguistic. The new data clearly show that Shawnee is further removed from Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo than supposed; yet it is abundantly clear that it is closer to them than to any other Algonquian languages. Only a short time was given to Cheyenne, practically nothing but linguistics being considered. The opinion given by Doctor Michelson in the Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau that Cheyenne must be considered aberrant Algonquian is fully sustained. Some social customs were noted, among them male descent. Work among the Arapaho was mainly linguistic.

A large part of the time in the office was spent in preparing for publication a large memoir on the Fox Wápanōwiweni. This is now in an advanced stage of preparation. He also corrected the proofs of Bulletin 95 of the bureau, which was issued during the year.

On June 3, 1930, Doctor Michelson left Washington to renew his work among the Algonquian Tribes of Oklahoma. He spent at first a short time on the Cheyenne. It is now possible to formulate some of the phonetic shifts that have transformed Cheyenne from normal Algonquian. It is also clear that some of the commonest words in normal Algonquian are lacking. He then took up work again among the Kickapoo and obtained an even larger body of myths and tales. Some new facts on their social organization were likewise obtained.

Mr. John P. Harrington, ethnologist, worked during the year securing the language and much of the ethnology of the San Juan tribe of California through an aged and ill informant, Mrs. Ascensión Solórsano, at Monterey, Calif.

Having learned the language, which has scarcely been spoken since 1850, through the circumstance that both her mother and father, who were full-blood Indians, talked it together all their lives, the mother dying at 84 years of age and the father at 82, she retained a knowledge of an extinct language and a dead culture, and lived long enough to enable Mr. Harrington to record practically all that she knew, thus filling in a great blank in California ethnology. So sick that she was scarcely able to sit up even at the beginning of the work, Mr. Harrington continued this work at her bedside until well into January, 1930, and no Indian ever showed greater fortitude than this poor soul who served the bureau up to almost her last day. The material recorded consisted of every branch of linguistic and ethnological information and contains many new and important features.

Mrs. Solórsano during all the latter part of her life was recognized as a *doctora*. Her little home at Gilroy, Calif., was a free hospital for down-and-outs of every nationality and creed, and here the sick and ailing were treated with Indian and Spanish herb medicines and were seen through to the last with motherly care and no thought of recompense. Mr. Harrington obtained full accounts of how she treated all the various diseases, and of the herbs and other methods employed. Specimens of the herbs were obtained and identified by the division of plants of the National Museum.

Songs were recorded on the phonograph; and accounts of ceremonies and description of all the foods of the Indians and how they were cooked were obtained. Accounts of the witcheries of the medicine men take us back to earliest times, and are mingled with the early history of the tribe at the San Juan Mission. Many stories and anecdotes about early Indians were recorded and throw much light on the thought and the language of the times. Names of plants and animals and places were studied and identified, Dr. C. Hart Merriam generously helping in this and other sections of the work. In spite of her age and infirmities, Doña Ascensión's mind remained remarkably clear and her memory was exceptional. No greater piece of good fortune has ever attended ethnological research of a tribe that was culturally

of the greatest importance, forming an all but lost link between the cultures of northern and southern California.

After the death of Doña Ascensión at the end of January, 1930, Mr. Harrington spent some weeks in checking up on the information in every way possible, copying from the archives at San Juan Mission, working at the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, Calif., and interviewing many individuals, and returned to Washington in April, since which time he has been engaged in preparing a report on the work for publication.

Dr. F. H. H. Roberts, jr., archeologist, devoted the fiscal year to a number of activities. July, August, and the first part of September, 1929, were spent conducting excavations at the Long H Ranch, between St. Johns and Houck, in eastern Arizona. The work was begun in May and continued through June of the preceding fiscal year, so that the investigations extending from July to the middle of September were a continuation of work already under way. At the completion of the summer's work the remains of three different types of houses had been uncovered. These included 18 pit houses, the vestiges of three jacal (pole and mud) structures, and a pueblo ruin with 49 rooms, and 4 kivas or circular ceremonial rooms.

The pit houses were found to correspond in many respects with those dug up by Doctor Roberts in the Chaco Canyon, in northwestern New Mexico, during the summer of 1927 and described in Bulletin 92 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The jacal houses were found to have been quite comparable to a similar type found in southern Colorado during the field season of 1928. The latter were extensively described in Bulletin 96 of the bureau. The pueblo revealed an unusually clear-cut story of the growth and changes in a communal dwelling. The building had not been erected according to a preconceived plan but had grown by degrees through the addition of new units. It was quite evident that such additions had taken place at four different periods in the occupation of the building.

Doctor Roberts returned to Washington in October. The autumn months were devoted to reading and correcting



galley and page proofs for the report on the investigations of the 1928 field season. This paper is called Early Pueblo Ruins in the Piedra District, Southwestern Colorado, and is Bulletin 96 of the bureau.

The winter months were devoted to working over the specimens obtained from the summer's excavations and preparing a report on the investigations. This included the drawing of 31 text figures, consisting of 70 drawings, 1 map showing the region in general and the location of the sites, and the writing of a 600-page manuscript. The latter is entitled "The Ruins at Kiatuthlanna, Eastern Arizona," the Zuñi Indian name for the locality.

Doctor Roberts assisted Mr. Neil M. Judd, of the United States National Museum, in cataloguing the collections made along the Piedra River in southwestern Colorado in the summer of 1928. Illustrated lectures on the archeology of the Southwest were delivered before a number of Washington organizations, and information on the archeology of the New World was supplied in response to many letters of inquiry.

On May 12, 1930, Doctor Roberts left Washington for Denver, Colo., where one week was spent in studying new accessions in the Colorado State Museum and the City Museum of Denver.

Leaving Denver, Doctor Roberts proceeded to Gallup, N. Mex., and from there to the Zuñi Indian Reservation. One week was devoted to an archeological reconnaissance of the Zuñi area. As a result of this a small pueblo ruin was chosen as the scene for intensive investigations, and under a permit from the Department of the Interior excavations were started. By July 1 a burial mound containing 40 interments had been investigated and 16 rooms and 2 kivas or ceremonial chambers in the pueblo had been cleared of their accumulated débris. In addition to much valuable information, 150 specimens, including pottery and other artifacts, had been secured.

Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt, ethnologist, was engaged in routine office work from July 1, 1929, to May 7, 1930, and from the latter date until the close of the fiscal year he was engaged

in field service in Canada and very briefly in New York State.

Mr. Hewitt devoted much careful research among various documents to ascertain, if possible, the symbolic significance of white and purple wampum beads, respectively, and also when these are mixed in definite proportions and arrangement on strings or belts; but much reading of documents which might bear on the question was comparatively barren of any satisfactory results. He was led to this study because, in modern time at least, strings of wampum function and have functioned quite prominently in the public transactions of the Council of the League of the Iroquois. Wampum strings are an essential accompaniment in the use of the ritual of the Requickenings Address of the Council of Condolence and Installation of the League.

Mr. Hewitt also transliterated an Ottawa mythic text from the common missionary alphabet into that of the Powell phonetic system designed for the use of collaborators of the bureau.

He also typed in native Mohawk text the chanted ritual, the Eulogy of the Founders of the League, as intoned by the Father Tribal Sisterhood, incorporating therein such revisional additions, textual and grammatic, as had been found necessary by extensive field studies. Mr. Hewitt also typed in native Onondaga text this ritual in the form in which it is intoned by the Mother Tribal Sisterhood. These two versions of the eulogy differ chiefly in the introductory paragraphs and also in the terms or forms of address. Mr. Hewitt continued to represent the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, on the United States Geographic Board, and as a member also of its executive committee.

On the afternoon of May 7, 1930, Mr. Hewitt left Washington on field duty, returning to the bureau July 1. During this trip he visited the Grand River Reservation of the Six Nations of Indians near Brantford, Canada, the Tuscarora Reservation near Niagara Falls, N. Y., and the Onondaga Reservation near Syracuse, N. Y. Largely through his own knowledge of the several Iroquois languages, he was able to

recover the hitherto lost meanings of several passages in the texts relating to the league. These recoveries now make the entire structure of the League of the Iroquois clear and consistent.

During the fiscal year Dr. Francis LaFlesche, ethnologist, read the proof of his paper, *The Osage Tribe: Rite of the Wa-xo-be*, which will be published in the Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau. At the time of Doctor LaFlesche's retirement, December 26, 1929, he had nearly completed an Osage dictionary upon which he had been working for several years.

#### SPECIAL RESEARCHES

The music of 10 tribes of Indians has been studied during the past year by Miss Frances Densmore, a collaborator of the bureau, in continuance of her research on this subject. These tribes are the Acoma, Menominee, Winnebago, Yuma, Cocopa, Mohave, Yaqui, Makah, Clayoquot, and Quileute. The first tribe given consideration was the Acoma, the work consisting in a completion of the study of records made in Washington by Philip Sanche. These records were made for the Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Thirteen were transcribed as representative of the series. An outstanding peculiarity of these songs is a gradual raising or lowering of the pitch during a performance. In some instances the pitch was changed a semitone, in others a tone and a half, and one example contained a rise of a whole tone during one minute of singing. This was regarded as a mannerism and the song was transcribed on the pitch maintained for the longest time.

The work on Yuman and Yaqui music consisted in the retyping of almost all the text on these tribes, made necessary by the combining of individual manuscripts into a book. The analysis of each song was scrutinized and several songs previously classed as "irregular in tonality" were otherwise classified. The preparation for publication of a book on Menominee music has been practically completed. The manuscript contains 460 pages, with transcriptions of 140 songs, and a large number of illustrations. The material collected at Neah Bay, Wash., and submitted in the form of

13 manuscripts during previous years, has been unified under chapter headings and retyped for publication. Interesting features of these songs are the prominence of the tetrachord and the large number of songs with a compass of three or four tones.

In July and August, 1929, a field trip was made to the Menominee and Winnebago in Wisconsin, the former tribe receiving the more consideration. This was the third visit to the Menominee and work was done at Keshena, Neopit, and Zoar. In June, 1930, another trip was made to the Winnebago in Wisconsin, this being the fourth visit to that tribe. Songs were recorded in the vicinity of Tomah and also near Wisconsin Rapids. One of the singers at the former locality was Paul Decora, whose home is in Nebraska. Fourteen songs were recorded by this singer and found to contain the same changes of pitch which marked the performance of the Acoma singer. In some songs the pitch was steadily maintained, while in others it was gradually raised or lowered a semitone during the first rendition, the remainder of the performance being on the new pitch.

John Smoke is an industrious Winnebago farmer, who retains a "water-spirit bundle" inherited from his ancestors and uses it in a ceremonial manner. He allowed Miss Densmore to see this bundle, explained its use and benefits, and recorded two of its songs which are sung when its contents are exposed to view. A Winnebago flute player known as Frisk Cloud recorded three melodies on a flute made of metal pipe, and said "the love songs are words put to flutemelodies." He is also a maker of flutes and described the measurements of an instrument in terms of hand and finger widths and hand spreads. Miss Densmore purchased the instrument on which the melodies had been played.

Winnebago songs and another flute performance were recorded by George Monegar, a blind man living near Wisconsin Rapids, who is considered one of the best authorities on old customs. He also related the legend of the origin of the flute.

Songs of 10 classes were recorded on this trip, with old and modern examples of one class. The recorded songs comprise those of the water-spirit bundle, hand game, and moccasin game, love songs, war songs, and a lullaby, and songs of the Green Corn, Friendship, Fortynine, and Squaw dances.

At the suggestion of Senator Carl Hayden, Mr. Neil M. Judd, curator of archeology in the United States National Museum, made a brief reconnaissance in September, 1929, for the purpose of ascertaining the most practicable method of surveying, at this late date, the prehistoric canal systems of the Gila and Salt River Valleys, Ariz. Most of the ancient canals had been obliterated through agricultural practices; others were threatened with early destruction under the program of the Coolidge Dam project. Following his preliminary investigation, he recommended an aerial survey as the only feasible means whereby the former aboriginal canal systems could be located and mapped for permanent record.

Since haste was a prime factor, in view of the extensive grading operations within the Pima Indian Reservation, the War Department generously came to the aid of the Smithsonian Institution by providing an observation plane and personnel. Mr. Judd left Washington January 12, 1930, and proceeded to Phoenix, Ariz., by way of Tucson and Sacaton. Unfavorable flying conditions served to delay inauguration of the survey. Ground haze in the early morning and smoke in the afternoon obscured the ground except for a 2-hour period at midday. Lieut. Edwin Bobzien, pilot, and Sergt. R. A. Stockwell, photographer, both from Crissy Field, the Presidio, San Francisco, pursued their assigned tasks as rapidly as possible. They made approximately 700 exposures, of which half were vertical photographs taken from an altitude of 10,000 feet. These have since been assembled into mosaic maps. As was anticipated, the aerial survey disclosed numerous prehistoric canals not visible from the ground. With the mosaic maps in hand these ancient canals must now be examined individually and their locations identified with reference to near-by section lines. This task properly should be done during the late autumn or winter months and within the next few years.

Without the personal interest of Senator Hayden and the cooperation of the War Department, the Smithsonian Institution would have found it impossible to undertake the aerial survey above mentioned.

In late November, 1929, and again in early May, 1930, Mr. Judd made brief visits to Charlottesville, Va., there to advise with Mr. D. I. Bushnell, jr., in those investigations of near-by Indian village sites which he is pursuing in behalf of the bureau.

#### EDITORIAL WORK AND PUBLICATIONS

The editing of the publications of the bureau was continued through the year by Mr. Stanley Searles, editor, assisted by Mrs. Frances S. Nichols, editorial assistant. The status of the publications is presented in the following summary:

##### PUBLICATIONS ISSUED

- Bulletin 88. Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians (Swanton). x+275 pp.  
Bulletin 90. Papago Music (Densmore). xx+229 pp. 19 pls. 4 figs.  
Bulletin 91. Additional Studies of the Arts, Crafts, and Customs of the Guiana Indians (Roth). xvii+110 pp. 34 pls. 90 figs.  
Bulletin 93. Pawnee Music (Densmore). xviii+129 pp. 8 pls.  
Bulletin 95. Contributions to Fox Ethnology—II (Michelson). vii+183 pp. 1 fig.  
List of Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 50 pp.

##### PUBLICATIONS IN PRESS

- Forty-fifth Annual Report. Accompanying papers: The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (Teit, edited by Boas); Tattooing and Face and Body Painting of the Thompson Indians, British Columbia (Teit, edited by Boas); The Ethnobotany of the Thompson Indians of British Columbia (Steedman); The Osage Tribe: Rite of the Wa-xo-be (La Flesche).  
Forty-sixth Annual Report. Accompanying papers: Anthropological Survey in Alaska (Hrdlicka); Report to the Hon. Isaac S. Stevens, Governor of Washington Territory, on the Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri (Denig, edited by Hewitt).  
Bulletin 94. Tobacco among the Karuk Indians of California (Harrington).  
Bulletin 96. Early Pueblo Ruins in the Piedra District, Southwestern Colorado (Roberts).



## DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS

The distribution of the publications of the bureau has been continued under the charge of Miss Helen Munroe, assisted by Miss Emma B. Powers. Publications distributed were as follows:

|                                                |         |
|------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Report volumes and separates.....              | 3, 938  |
| Bulletins and separates.....                   | 20, 242 |
| Contributions to North American Ethnology..... | 40      |
| Miscellaneous publications.....                | 648     |
| Total.....                                     | 24, 868 |

As compared with the fiscal year ended June 30, 1929, there was an increase of 4,756 publications distributed, due in part to the large number of separates from the Handbook of American Indians sent to Camp Fire Girls. After revision, the mailing list now stands at 1,627.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Following is a summary of work accomplished in the illustration branch of the bureau under the supervision of Mr. DeLancey Gill, illustrator:

|                                                                                                                    |         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Photographs retouched, lettered, and otherwise made ready for engraving.....                                       | 1, 638  |
| Drawings prepared, including maps, charts, etc.....                                                                | 32      |
| Engravers' proofs criticized.....                                                                                  | 742     |
| Printed editions of colored plates examined at Government Printing Office.....                                     | 31, 500 |
| Correspondence attended to (letters).....                                                                          | 210     |
| Photographs selected and catalogued for private publishers..                                                       | 314     |
| Photo-laboratory work by Dr. A. J. Olmsted, National Museum, in cooperation with the Bureau of American Ethnology: |         |
| Negatives.....                                                                                                     | 84      |
| Prints.....                                                                                                        | 253     |
| Lantern slides.....                                                                                                | 23      |

## LIBRARY

The reference library has continued under the care of Miss Ella Leary, librarian, assisted by Mr. Thomas Blackwell.

The library consists of 29,071 volumes, about 16,527 pamphlets, and several thousand unbound periodicals. During



the year 559 books were accessioned, of which 109 were acquired by purchase and 450 by gift and exchange; also 150 pamphlets and 4,106 serials, chiefly the publications of learned societies, were received and recorded, of which 110 were obtained by purchase, the remainder being received through exchange. The catalogue was increased by the addition of 3,420 cards. Volumes to the the number of 210 were collated and prepared for binding. Numerous loans were made to libraries in Washington, and a considerable amount of reference work was done in the usual course of the library's service to investigators and students, both those in the Smithsonian Institution and others. The purchase of books and periodicals for the library has been restricted to such as relate to the bureau's researches.

Many volumes received by the library not pertaining to anthropology were transferred to the library of the Smithsonian Institution. During the year the cataloguing has been carried on as new accessions were acquired and good progress was made in cataloguing ethnologic and related articles in the earlier serials. The number of books borrowed from the Library of Congress for the use of the staff of the bureau in prosecuting their researches was about 150.

### COLLECTIONS

Accession No.

107862. Archaic black and white bowl collected by Doctor Fewkes from Far View House, Mesa Verde, in 1921, and fragment of ancient Zuñi pottery from Canyon del Muerto, Ariz., collected by Dr. W. H. Spinks. (2 specimens.)
107866. Blackberrying basket made by Mrs. Ascensión Solórsano, a San Juan Indian, and collected by J. P. Harrington in 1929. (1 specimen.)
109074. Flint hammerstone presented to the bureau by J. D. Howard; cast of an engraved bone gorget sent by E. M. Graves; and a Chinese basket. (3 specimens.)
109788. Smoking pipe or cigarette made of anis by the San Juan Indians, San Benito County, Calif., and collected by J. P. Harrington. (1 specimen.)
110111. Cast of a "cogged" stone from the ranch of Mrs. Newland of Huntington Beach, Los Angeles, Calif., and presented to the bureau by S. C. Evans. (1 specimen.)

## Accession No.

110113. Decorated elk-skin pouch made by Fritz Hanson, a Karuk Indian of Somesbar, Siskiyou County, Calif., and purchased from him by the bureau. (1 specimen.)
110319. Archeological material collected in 1928 by Dr. F. H. H. Roberts, jr., from early Pueblo ruins in the Piedra District, Archuleta County, southwestern Colorado. (477 specimens.)

## PROPERTY

Office equipment was purchased to the amount of \$64.78.

## MISCELLANEOUS

The correspondence and other clerical work of the office has been conducted by Miss May S. Clark, clerk to the chief, assisted by Mr. Anthony W. Wilding, clerk. Miss Mae W. Tucker, stenographer, was engaged in completing the catalogue of phonograph records of Indian music, copying manuscripts for Doctor Swanton, and in assisting Mr. Hewitt in his work as custodian of manuscripts and phonograph records. Mrs. Frances S. Nichols assisted the editor.

During the course of the year information was furnished by members of the staff in reply to numerous inquiries concerning the North American Indian peoples, both past and present, and the Mexican peoples of the prehistoric and early historic periods to the south. Various specimens sent to the bureau were identified and data on them furnished for their owners.

*Personnel*—Dr. Francis LaFlesche retired as ethnologist of the bureau December 26, 1929.

Respectfully submitted.

M. W. STIRLING, *Chief*.

Dr. C. G. ABBOT,

*Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.*

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## ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

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## THE ACOMA INDIANS

By LESLIE A. WHITE

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## THE ACOMA INDIANS

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By LESLIE A. WHITE

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### HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ACOMA

When Fray Marcos de Niza returned to Mexico from Zuñi in 1539 he told, among many other things, of having heard of a "Kingdom of Hacus" which lay to the east of Zivola (Cibola). This is the first reference to Acoma.

Coronado found himself at Zuñi (Cibola) the following year (1540). He dispatched Captain Alvarado eastward on a journey of exploration.

"Captain Alvarado started on this journey, and in five days reached a village which was on a rock called Acuco, having a population of about 200 men. These people were robbers, feared by the whole country round about. The village was very strong, because it was upon a rock out of reach, having steep sides in every direction, and so high that it was a very good musket that could throw a ball as high. There was only one entrance by a stairway built by hand, which began at the top of a slope which is around the foot of the rock. There was a broad stairway for about 200 steps, then a stretch of about 100 narrower steps, and at the top they had to go up about three times as high as a man by means of holes in the rock, in which they put the points of their feet, holding on at the same time by their hands. There was a wall of large and small stones at the top, which they could roll down without showing themselves, so that no army could possibly be strong enough to capture the village. On the top they had room to sow and store a large amount of corn and cisterns to collect snow and water.

"These people came down to the plain to fight and would not listen to any arguments. They drew lines on the ground and determined to prevent our men from crossing these, but when they saw that they would have to fight they offered to make peace before any harm had been done. They went through their forms of making peace, which is to touch the horses and take their sweat and rub themselves with it, and to make crosses with the fingers of the hands. But to make the most secure peace they put their hands across each other, and they keep this peace inviolably. They made a present of a large number of (turkey) cocks with very big wattles, much bread, tanned deerskins, pine (piñon) nuts, flour (corn meal), and corn." (From Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, pp. 490-491, *Relación of Castañeda*.)

There is another account of Alvarado's visit to Acoma by an anonymous chronicler, who states that Alvarado "started off, and 30 leagues from Cibola found a rock with a village on top, the strongest position that ever was seen in the world, which was called Acuco in their language, and Father Friar Marcos called it the 'kingdom of Hacus.' They came out to meet us peacefully, although it would have been easy to decline to do this and to have stayed on their rock, where we would not have been able to trouble them. They gave us cloaks of cotton, skins of deer and cows (buffalo), and turquoises, and fowls and other food which they had, which is the same as in Cibola." (Winship, Coronado Expedition, p. 575.)

This gives us a picture of Acoma in 1540: A village of about 200 houses, from two to four stories high, situated on an almost inaccessible mesa almost 400 feet high; with cornfields and cisterns on the summit; with cotton, deerskin, and buffalo-hide garments; with domesticated turkeys, quantities of turquoise, etc.<sup>1</sup> Castañeda tells us that "they venerate the sign of the cross in the region where the settlements have high houses. For at a spring which was in the plain near Acuco they had a cross two palms high and as thick as a finger, made of wood with a square twig for its crosspiece, and many little sticks decorated with feathers around it, and numerous withered flowers, which were the offerings." This is a very interesting report; it describes, without doubt, prayer-stick ritual or usage at Acoma in 1540.<sup>2</sup>

Where the Acoma people lived before they established themselves so securely on the rock where Alvarado found them is a question concerning which there are some clues but few established facts. Their origin-migration myth says that they came from the north. Bandelier states: ". . . so far as I am able to judge, the gist of Acoma folklore assigns the origin of the tribe to a separation for some cause or other from the tribe of Cia. Thence they drifted to the southwest, across the bleak and unprepossessing valley of the Rio Puerco, and, dividing into two bands, established themselves in pueblos of small size to the right and left of the Cañada de la Cruz, and on the mesa

<sup>1</sup> Benavides, in his Memorial, published in 1630, states that corn was planted on the summit of the Acoma mesa. The Acoma mesa is divided into two roughly equal parts, the village being on the north mesa; the south portion is unoccupied (the largest water reservoir, however, is on the south mesa). At the present time there is neither room nor soil on the north mesa to grow enough corn for half a dozen families. There is considerable room on the south mesa, but it is so rough and barren and rocky that only a small amount could be utilized for crops. I doubt very much if corn in quantities sufficient to feed the pueblo was ever grown on the summit. There are other statistics given by Benavides which are of interest here. He says that the mesa is 1,000 estados (an estado is 1,864 yards) high. He says there were 2,000 houses and 7,000 people. These, of course, are gross exaggerations, as is his estimate of the length of the mesa being 1 league. (See translation of this memorial in *Land of Sunshine*, vol. xiv, translated by Mrs. E. E. Ayer, edited and annotated by F. W. Hodge.)

<sup>2</sup> Winship, Coronado Expedition, p. 544.

above Acomita, 12 miles north of their present village."<sup>3</sup> He also mentions a number of small pueblo ruins near Acoma.<sup>4</sup>

Northeast of Acoma about 3 miles is the Enchanted Mesa (Mesa Encantada), or K'atzim°. It is a large mesa with sheer perpendicular walls rising almost 400 feet from the flats below. Lumnis, in his Land of Poco Tiempo, recounts the Acoma tale that their people once lived on the summit of this rock. A great storm, so the story goes, broke away the rock trail which led to the top. Most of the Acoma people were in their fields at this time, but those remaining in the pueblo perished of hunger; they could not come down. In 1895, F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, climbed to within 60 feet of the summit and examined the talus heaped along the side. He reported finding some potsherds. Two years later Prof. William Libbey, of Princeton University, reached the summit. He reported that diligent search did not produce any trace of a former occupation. So the Bureau of Ethnology directed Hodge to make another ascent. This he did in September, 1897. This time he found more pottery, fragments of a shell bracelet, and a broken stone implement on the summit. He also reported a small stone structure which he was certain was not a natural formation.<sup>5</sup>

Granting that a few potsherds were found on the summit of K'atzim° does not prove that the Acoma people lived there; a few potsherds do not make a pueblo. Those sherds may have been left there by people who ascended for ceremonial purposes. Hodge found a prayer stick or two in a cleft not far from the summit. Ceremonial visits are made to this mesa even yet. It would seem that traces of rock walls would remain had there ever been houses on the top of this great rock.

The interval between the visits of Alvarado and Espejo was uneventful. In 1581 Fray Augustin Rodríguez and Sánchez Chamuscado visited Acoma with a small party.<sup>6</sup> In the year following, Espejo arrived at Acoma, where he spent three days. He describes the village much as Castañeda did, mentioning the cisterns, foods, wearing apparel, etc. Two items of considerable significance he mentions: "These people have their fields 2 leagues from the pueblo on a river of medium size whose waters they intercept for irrigating

<sup>3</sup> Old Keresan pottery which I have seen in museums shows far greater resemblances between Acoma and Zia than between Acoma and either Santo Domingo or Cochiti.

<sup>4</sup> Bandelier, Final Report, Pt. II, pp. 312-320.

<sup>5</sup> See Hodge, F. W., in Land of Sunshine, November, 1897; also in Century Magazine, May, 1898; also in National Geographic Magazine, vol. VIII, 1897. Also see Libbey, William, in Harper's Weekly, Aug. 28, 1897, and notes by Lumnis and Hodge in Land of Sunshine, October and November, 1897.

<sup>6</sup> Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, collected by Bandelier and edited by C. W. Hackett, vol. I, p. 193.

purposes . . .” And “In our honor they performed a very ceremonious mitote and dance, the people coming out in fine array. They performed many juggling feats, some of them very clever, with live snakes.”<sup>8</sup>

On the 27th of October, 1598, Don Juan de Oñate visited Acoma and received the obediencia of the pueblo. It is said that some of the Acoma chiefs tried to lure Oñate into an estufa to see something “very curious”; once inside, they planned to kill him. But Oñate declined to enter. He left the pueblo in safety and continued his journey westward.<sup>9</sup>

Capt. Gaspar de Villagr , the poet warrior to whom we are indebted for many graphic accounts of these days, reached Acoma shortly after Oñate’s departure. He was alone, having only his horse and his dog for companions. He was received by Zutucapan, an Acoma chief, who tried to resist Oñate. So unfriendly did this chief seem, Villagr  refused to dismount. Instead, he hurried on to join Oñate. His account of his escape is dramatic and at points ludicrous. He states that his horse fell into a pit which the Indians had dug for this purpose and had covered over with brush. Leaving his horse dead in the pit (in another connection he mentions still having his noble charger some time after this adventure), he went on afoot. There was snow on the ground, so he reversed his boots to deceive his pursuers (!). He suffered greatly from hunger and finally decided to eat his dog. But “as the faithful animal with the life torrent pouring from his side turned to lick the hand of his slayer, Villagr  had no heart to eat the food obtained at such a cost.”<sup>10</sup>

Late in September (1598) Don Juan Zald var, the maestro de campo of Oñate, arrived at Acoma with 20 or 30 men. Leaving a few men at the foot of the mesa to guard the horses, Zald var and his men went up to the village. Here they were received in friendly fashion by the natives. But while the Spaniards were wandering about the pueblo, scattered here and there, the Acomas suddenly fell upon them with furious yells and war clubs. Zald var himself was struck down by Zutucapan, the wily chief. Five soldiers ran to the edge of the mesa and jumped over the cliff; one man was killed in the fall, but the others alighted without injury. All the rest were killed. The four survivors joined the men with the horses and escaped, joining Oñate.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 182-183. Bandelier attempted to identify these fields as those in the Acomita Valley, 12 miles north of Acoma. “The distance indicated by him (Espejo), 2 leagues, does not agree; but since he adds ‘on a middle-sized river . . .’ I infer that their fields were on some point along the course of the Blue-water.” *Final Report*, pt. II, pp. 315-316.

<sup>9</sup> Bolton, *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 138-139.

<sup>11</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> We are indebted to Villagr  for the account of this episode. While we need not accept each detail as assured fact, the central fact is true. Zald var and many of his men were killed at Acoma at this time. See Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 142-143.

It was decided to send Don Vicente Zaldívar, the brother of Don Juan, to punish the Acomas. Not only was revenge in order but other pueblos must not see Acoma remain victorious. So on the 21st of January, 1599, Captain Vicente de Zaldívar arrived at Acoma with 70 men, including Villagrà. It is said that Zutucapan was very defiant. Other leaders, especially one Chumpo, urged the removal of women and children from the mesa before any fighting began. Zutucapan and his followers were very confident, however, and everyone remained in the pueblo.

The fight began. Zaldívar sent most of his men to engage the Indians at the trail, while 12 men stealthily ascended the south mesa, unnoticed by the Indians, and gained the summit. The fight lasted two or three days. According to Villagrà the siege must have resembled the siege of Troy; great struggles of great heroes rocked the mesa. As a matter of fact, the Spaniards lost only one man. When they finally gained the village they killed many Indians and burned their houses. Chumpo, he who had counseled caution, was allowed to settle on the plain below with his followers.<sup>12</sup>

It is said that the Acomas saw Santiago hovering over the Spaniards on a white horse during the fight. The Spaniards were as ready to believe this as were the Indians.<sup>13</sup>

The Acoma people were soon back on the top of their mesa. And they were far from friendly. Father Zárate Salmeron is said to have "pacified" the Acomas about 1620. In his *Relación* he states that one Capt. Gerónimo Marquez had told him that he had once seen on the walls of an *estufa* at Acoma some pictures of Aztecs. The Acomas said that these people had come from the west some years previous; and since they had never seen any people like them, they had painted their likeness on the walls of their *estufa*. When they left, the Aztecs went toward the Rio Grande pueblos. Father Zárate made inquiry at some of the Rio Grande pueblos; and although he was frequently told about these strangers, he never succeeded in absolutely identifying them as people from Mexico.<sup>14</sup>

In 1629 (approximately) Father Juan Ramírez went to Acoma. He chose this pueblo because he had heard that they were the most rebellious of all the tribes. Upon (or shortly after) his arrival he restored a child, who had just expired, with holy water and appro-

<sup>12</sup> It is said that 600 accompanied Chumpo. The total population was estimated at 6,000, which is at least four times too large, I believe.

<sup>13</sup> In a letter to the viceroy, the Count of Monterey, dated Mar. 2, 1599, Oñate wrote as follows: "... because my *maese de campo* was not as cautious as he should have been, they killed him with 12 companions in a great pueblo and fortress called Acoma, which must contain about 3,000 Indians. As punishment for its crime and its treason against its majesty to whom it has already rendered submission by a public instrument (!), and as a warning to the rest (of the pueblos), I razed it and burned it completely." This is without doubt a great exaggeration, I believe. (See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 218.)

<sup>14</sup> See his *Relación*, translated in *Land of Sunshine*, vol. xii.



priate words. This act won for him the regard of the Acomas. Father Ramírez is said to have built the mission church at Acoma.<sup>15</sup>

The next incident of consequence at Acoma is the revolt of 1680, a general uprising of all the pueblos in which all the Spaniards in the pueblo area were either killed or driven out. Fray Luis Maldonado (and possibly two others) were killed at Acoma.<sup>16</sup>

During the reconquest of the country by Don Diego de Vargas, Acoma was visited by this general in November, 1693. The Acomas were ready to fight, but De Vargas persuaded them to yield, and on November 4 he entered the pueblo with his priests and some soldiers, where ceremonies of submission were performed. Eighty-seven children were baptized at this time.<sup>17</sup>

On the 4th of June, 1696, Taos, Picuris, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, and Jemez revolted and killed five missionaries and 21 other Spaniards. The Jemez people fled to the mountains. They sought aid from the Acomas, Zuñis, and the Navahos. On the 29th of June, Capt. Miguel de Lara, with a small detachment of soldiers from Zia, and Don Fernando Durán y Chávez, the alcalde mayor of Bernalillo, met the revolutionists in San Diego Cañon (at the ruins of the pueblo of San Juan). The Spaniards routed the Indians. Eight Acoma warriors were killed and a number of the Jemez. The alliance between Acoma and Zuñi was disrupted and the Jemez fled to the mountains.<sup>18</sup>

To quiet the Acomas, De Vargas marched to the pueblo, and on the 15th of August, 1696, he attacked the village, capturing five men, one of them a chief. But he did not succeed in entering the town. "Then he released the chief and resorted to persuasion, without success, finally shooting the captives, ravaging the corn fields, and retiring."<sup>19</sup>

Don Diego de Vargas was succeeded by Pedro Rodríguez Cubero as governor in 1696; Cubero assumed office on the 2d of July, 1697. During his tour of the west in 1699 Cubero received the submission of Acoma on the 6th of July.

#### ACOMA TO-DAY

Acoma's early reputation for vigorous unfriendliness to the whites has been maintained to the present day. Of course there has been no violence for many years, but Government officials and employees, representatives of religious organizations, and tourists well know the difficulties which confront a white man or woman at Acoma. The Acoma people are suspicious, distrustful, and unfriendly. In addi-

<sup>15</sup> Benavides, *Memorial, Land of Sunshine*, vol. XIII.

<sup>16</sup> See *Relación de Escalante, Land of Sunshine*, vol. XII.

<sup>17</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

<sup>18</sup> Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, pp. 215-216; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 215-217.

<sup>19</sup> Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

tion to their constant fears that they may have land taken from them, or that they may be taxed by the Government, they are ever on their guard to prevent any information concerning their ceremonies from becoming known lest they be suppressed (or ridiculed) by the whites. A young man whom I had become quite well acquainted with once told me that he had heard of such things as clans at other pueblos, but that nothing of that sort was to be found at Acoma.

With the exception of a few months (perhaps a year or so) the Acoma people have lived on the Acoma mesa for many centuries. Long ago they had fields in a valley to the north (as Espejo noted), but there were no houses there until after the danger of raids by Navahos had passed. Forty or fifty years ago there were only a few small houses at Acomita, and these were but temporary shelters for workers in the fields. With the passing of danger, the dwellings were built larger and families came down from old Acoma to live. At first the houses at Acomita were built high up on the side of a steep mesa, partly from habit and partly from fear. These old houses are still used; people climb laboriously up and down the mesa with burdens of water, provisions, etc., when they could live on the level below if they wished. At times their conservatism seems to be organic, below the level of thought entirely.

The layout of the pueblo of old Acoma is shown in the accompanying diagram. The houses are built on the bare surface of the rock. They are arranged in three long rows, with a few scattered between these and the church. They are for the most part three stories high. All houses in the rows face south. The top floor is used as a living room; cooking is done here on a fireplace. The bottom floor is used as a storeroom. The middle floor is used partly as a sleeping-living room and partly as a storeroom. Until recently there were no openings in the walls of the rooms on the ground floor; one ascended ladders to the upper floors and then went down ladders through trapdoors to the floors below.<sup>20</sup> There is very little American furniture in the old houses, although at Acomita and in a few of the homes of "progressives" at old Acoma there are stoves, tables, chairs, beds, cupboards, etc. In a few of the walls facing the north there are small pieces of gypsum which admit light into the dark rooms; on the south side there are windows and doors. Ovens are built on the roofs of the first terrace or in the streets. Piles of wood are placed on roof terraces or on the ground near by.

There is a cistern on the north side of the village. The path leading to it has been worn down to a depth of an inch and a half in places by hundreds of years of use by bare and moccasined feet. On the south mesa there is a great reservoir. It never goes dry, and the water is always cold and clear.

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<sup>20</sup> See Mindeleff, *A Study of Pueblo Architecture: Tusayan and Cibola*, p. 116.

There are no toilets or outhouses at Acoma; people go out to the edge of the mesa where they are sheltered by bushes or large rocks in the daytime, but at night they very frequently use the street, or after daybreak the roof terraces. So far as sanitation is concerned, however, it is probably much better not to have outhouses where filth would be preserved for flies. The sun and wind dry, scorch, and sterilize everything very quickly.

The rooms of the dwellings are usually very neat and orderly. The walls are plastered white. Pictures of Christ, virgins, girls showing the benefits of certain cold creams, Indian boys and girls at Govern-

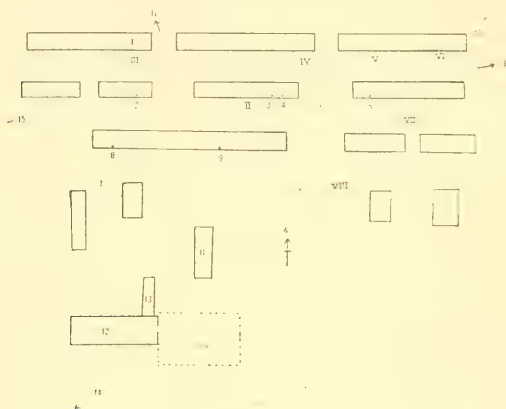


FIGURE 1.—Key to diagram of Acoma pueblo

[The roman numerals indicate the location of the dancing places used in *Natyati*.]

- 1, Chamber of the Fire Society. 2, Daut'k'ori's estufa. 3, Kock'asits estufa. 4, Corn clan's house. 5, Coska's estufa. 6, Tsitcinic k'a'ate, or Mauharots, the "head estufa." 7, Haimatatsi estufa. 8, Cacique's house. 9, Cutrini's estufa. 10, Plaza. 11, Komanira. 12, Church. 13, Convento. 14, Horse trail. 15, Foot trail. 16, Foot trail. 17, To water reservoir. 18, To Masewi's Rock. 19, Graveyard.

ment schools, etc., are found on the walls in numbers. In one house I noted a small bowl of corn flour and an arrowhead on a ledge by the door. Rifles, deer and antelope horns, moccasins etc. hang on the walls. Sheep pelts are placed on the floor.

Both Bandelier and Mindeleff state that there are six kivas at Acoma.<sup>21</sup> But, unfortunately, we do not know exactly what this means. The term k'aate at Acoma is used to designate the five chambers of the five kachina groups, and also for Mauharots, the "head estufa" (the chamber of the cacique and the Antelope clan),

<sup>21</sup> Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 268; Mindeleff, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 and 207.

and the chamber of the Fire society.<sup>22</sup> There are seven chambers, then, at Acoma called k'aate. In outward appearance they are alike, rectangular rooms on the ground floor, set in among dwellings. They are said to be similar inside, too, except that in Mauharots there is a ts'wai'mitym (a plank placed over a resonance chamber in the floor). (See fig. 2, p. 73.) I feel that there "should be" six kachina chambers at Acoma instead of five; this would resemble the six kivas at Zuñi. Whether the six kivas reported by Bandelier and Mindeleff imply six kachina chambers or not is an important question, the solution of which would be of great moment.

In the south wall of each k'aate there is a hole about 8 inches in diameter; it is placed about 20 inches from the ground. Into these holes corn meal is thrown with prayers by people who pass through the streets at night. The ladders which lean against the kivas are much longer than the ladders of the dwellings, and they have a cross-piece at the top which is carved in a shape suggesting arrows or lightning symbols.

Every person has a Spanish (or American) name, but while the young people know these names, some of the old folks do not. I was buying some pottery from some old women at old Acoma and leaving it there for a day or so when I could take it away. I asked (through an interpreter) what their names were, and they told me their Indian names. Fearing that I would forget them I asked for their Spanish names. They laughed and seemed slightly embarrassed. They said that they had Spanish names, but that they could not remember what they were. Kinship terms are usually used when conversing with one another, and sometimes the native name, but Spanish or American names are almost never used except when speaking to an American or a Mexican. I knew of two brothers whose last names were quite different; one was Spanish, the other English. I learned that these boys had received their names when they had gone away to school; their teacher named them, not knowing that they were brothers.

Many of the old people have never been more than a few miles from the reservation. I know of some old men and women who have never been to Albuquerque. Last summer one old lady made her first visit to Albuquerque. I gathered from reports of her behavior there that she was quite overcome by that little city. What seemed to distress her most was her inability to orient herself with reference to the cardinal points; the sun seemed to her to rise in the south. Some people, however, have traveled considerably; these are mostly men. Some of the older men went to Carlisle, one or two were in France with the American Expeditionary Forces, some were at an exposition in San Diego, and others have worked for the Santa Fe

<sup>22</sup> At San Felipe and at Santo Domingo the kivas are called *teik'ya*.

Railroad at various places. But I could never see that any prestige was attached to travel. On the contrary, I have learned of instances where old people strenuously discouraged young men from leaving the reservation.

In addition to the old mission at old Acoma, there is a small Catholic church at Acomita. Mass is held at old Acoma once a year (on San Estevan's Day, September 2), but once a month (or perhaps once in two months) a priest visits Acomita for religious services. Few attend these services, and the congregation is preponderantly female and juvenile. Many people are married by the priest, and quite a number of children are baptized, but I know of only one instance in which burial ceremonies were performed by a priest. This was the case of a death in the family of a "progressive." The pueblo fathers refused to allow the body to be interred in the church yard (where all burials are made). But the father of the child said that he would not bury his child there anyway. My impression from talking to the Acoma people about God and Christ is that they believe they are supernaturals with power, but, somewhat like the gods of other pueblos and the Navahos, they are not very close to the Acoma people. San Estevan, though, seemed to belong to old Acoma.

A man of about 50 told me the following: He "did not believe in" the kachinas or the medicine men; he thought he believed in Cristo. One night he had a dream. He dreamed he had died and had gone to heaven. He found himself before God. He could not remember exactly how God looked, but he seemed to resemble in appearance and dress a successful American business man. He was in an office, seated behind a desk "just like in a bank." The Indian stood before God at his desk. God asked him, "Where's your license?" (meaning, "Where is the sign that you have the right to enter heaven?"). The Indian had a Bible and showed it to God. God said, "No; that's not your license. This is your license," and he showed the Indian a prayer stick.<sup>23</sup> God told him that the Bible was the white man's license. Then the Indian looked around and he saw different kinds of Indians there; some were Apaches, some Pueblos. God told him that the prayer stick was the Indian's license. I tried to learn what the Indian thought and felt about his dream, but it was very difficult. He said he didn't know, but that he guessed the dream was right; he seemed to feel that the white man's things were for the white man and the Indian had his own things.

Farming is the chief occupation at Acoma, although sheep are raised in rather large numbers and cattle to a lesser extent. Corn, alfalfa, wheat, beans, and chili are the chief crops; melons, onions, squash, and some fruits and vegetables are also grown. Potatoes

<sup>23</sup> Compare Dumarest, p. 172.

are not cultivated; they say they won't grow. I never heard of anyone trying to raise potatoes, though, except one family near McCartys, who were quite successful. I never saw any hogs on the reservation. There are quite a number of chickens at Acomita and McCartys, and a few turkeys. There are nearly always a number of goats with the sheep flocks. Wool and pottery are about the only products sold; practically everything else is for home consumption. The wool is sold at a trading post at Cubero (a Mexican village near the reservation); pottery is sold to tourists along the highway at McCartys and at the railroad station at New Laguna, as well as at the trading post. The traders at the post make a great margin of profit from every transaction; the Indians are exploited in an outrageous manner.<sup>24</sup>

At Acomita there is a small store run by an Acomita family where a few articles, such as tobacco, jars of jelly, crackers, etc., are sold, but it is of little consequence.

Corn and mutton are the chief foods. Mutton is hung out on a line, like so many shirts, to cure in the sun. Stews are made, often, of mutton, very highly seasoned with chili peppers. No cow's milk is used. Chewing gum and soda pop are very popular. Alcoholic drinks are not used. Mexicans who sell *mula blanca* occasionally to the Indians are hunted and prosecuted (if caught on the reservation), and Indians who drink liquor are punished. Very little is consumed.

Men and women, and children who are old enough, work in the fields. The men do most of the heavy field work, but women often perform the same tasks at planting and harvesting. The women do most of the garden work, although the men share this, too. Grinding corn and wheat, cooking, household work, etc., of course, fall to the women. At house building, the men erect the walls and do the heavy work; the women do the plastering.

Little machinery is used. There are some mowing machines and rakes, but no cultivators, corn grinders, or corn shellers. The Indian office at Albuquerque once sent a small threshing machine to Acomita to use in threshing their wheat, but they refused to use it and asked to have it taken away from the reservation. Wheat is threshed out by driving ponies round and round in a corral, tramping on the grain. Chaff, straw, and grain are then thrown in the air with forks to blow the chaff away. The grain is then rewinnowed with trays.

Sheep are tended by men and boys. They often take their sheep to a considerable distance from the pueblo, often remaining away for weeks at a time. They live in little camps while out on the range.

<sup>24</sup> For example, an Indian wished to buy a machine from the trader who asked \$125 for it. The Indian went to Albuquerque (where another trader tried to charge him over \$100, until he found out that the Indian had a white friend in town who knew what prices were) and bought the machine, shipped it by freight to Acomita at a total cost of \$81.75. Other articles are sold in the same way. I asked why the Indians allowed this, and the young man who had bought the machine said that the Indians didn't know any better. The 1927 governor could not speak English.



They have burros to carry their tent, bedding, and supplies when they move.

Property is owned by both men and women. Some own houses and some women own herds of sheep. Property is divided among the children at death. Theoretically, all land is communally owned, but each farm is said to "belong" to some particular family. This means that they are using it and that they have the right to continue to use it, but should they neglect the land and allow it to lie idle some one else may ask the cacique to allot the land to him. And the cacique has the authority to do this. Recently, however, a family left the reservation. The head of the family "sold" his land to other men in Acomita. He said he had a right to do this because he had spent much money and labor in improving the land, clearing it of brush, rocks, etc., and in fencing it. And he did receive compensation for it. The grazing land is communal; the flocks of various families wander about over the range almost at random. By mutual recognition of "rights" which have crystallized from habit, conflicts over choice grazing lands are avoided. All other property is owned by individuals (except the communal buildings at old Acoma, of course).

The boys like to sing. They sing often in the evening while riding through the valley or at some house. New songs are frequently composed; almost anyone may (and often does) compose a song. Favorites are learned by others and are kept for dances. Sometimes boys (young men) gather at a house in the evening to practice songs. Girls do not sing like this.

There are one or two phonographs among them, but they are not popular. The Government farmer once had a radio which interested them slightly, not because of the music but to determine how the sounds were produced. They refused to believe that the music they heard was transmitted from Denver, Los Angeles, etc.; they insisted that "there must be something inside" the box which made the music. Witch-fighting medicine men they could believe in, but not radio.

### KIN AND CLAN

There are 14 clans at Acoma at the present time.<sup>25</sup> The clans are exogamous; one must marry outside his clan. This rule, however, is becoming a trifle lax nowadays, as we shall see shortly. Descent is reckoned in the maternal line. The 14 clans are here listed in order of size:

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<sup>25</sup> Hodge, in the *Handbook of American Indians*, lists, in addition to these, the \*Blue, \*Brown, and White Corn, Snake, \*Buffalo, \*Fire, and Ant clans. Those marked with an asterisk he lists as extinct. He fails to mention the Tansy Mustard clan. The White Corn, Snake, and Ant clans, then, have become extinct quite recently. The last member of the Snake clan died only two or three years ago.

|                  |     |                    |     |
|------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| Eagle.....       | 167 | Antelope.....      | 26  |
| Sun.....         | 140 | Water.....         | 20  |
| Bear.....        | 112 | Sky.....           | 18  |
| Yellow Corn..... | 91  | Pumpkin.....       | 15  |
| Parrot.....      | 70  | Turkey.....        | 13  |
| Red Corn.....    | 66  | Tansy Mustard..... | 11  |
| Oak.....         | 47  |                    |     |
| Road Runner..... | 30  | Total.....         | 826 |

I made a census of 205 marriages, showing the clan affiliation of each person. Table 1 gives the data for 194 of these marriages. Table 2 lists the marriages in which non-Acoma persons are involved. Table 3 lists the husbands and wives for each clan.

TABLE 1.—MARRIAGES SHOWING CLAN AFFILIATIONS

| Men                | Women |             |                     |               |      |                     |     |            |       |     |                       |             |             |              |
|--------------------|-------|-------------|---------------------|---------------|------|---------------------|-----|------------|-------|-----|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
|                    | Sun   | Red<br>Corn | Yel-<br>low<br>Corn | Ante-<br>lope | Bear | Road<br>Run-<br>ner | Sky | Wa-<br>ter | Eagle | Oak | Tansy<br>Must-<br>ard | Par-<br>rot | Tur-<br>key | Pump-<br>kin |
| Pumpkin.....       | 1     | 1           | 5                   | 0             | 1    | 0                   | 0   | 0          | 0     | 0   | 0                     | 1           | 1           | 0            |
| Turkey.....        | 0     | 0           | 0                   | 0             | 0    | 0                   | 0   | 0          | 1     | 0   | 0                     | 0           | 0           | 0            |
| Parrot.....        | 0     | 1           | 1                   | 0             | 2    | 1                   | 1   | 0          | 1     | 0   | 0                     | 0           | 0           | 0            |
| Tansy Mustard..... | 4     | 1           | 0                   | 0             | 1    | 0                   | 2   | 0          | 0     | 0   | 0                     | 0           | 0           | 0            |
| Oak.....           | 4     | 1           | 2                   | 0             | 1    | 0                   | 0   | 0          | 4     | 0   | 0                     | 1           | 0           | 0            |
| Eagle.....         | 7     | 2           | 4                   | 3             | 2    | 0                   | 1   | 1          | 0     | 0   | 1                     | 2           | 0           | 0            |
| Water.....         | 2     | 0           | 1                   | 0             | 0    | 0                   | 0   | 0          | 0     | 0   | 0                     | 1           | 0           | 1            |
| Sky.....           | 1     | 1           | 0                   | 1             | 0    | 0                   | 0   | 0          | 0     | 0   | 0                     | 0           | 0           | 0            |
| Road Runner.....   | 1     | 0           | 1                   | 0             | 2    | 0                   | 0   | 0          | 1     | 1   | 0                     | 1           | 0           | 0            |
| Bear.....          | 6     | 1           | 2                   | 0             | 0    | 1                   | 1   | 0          | 5     | 1   | 0                     | 2           | 0           | 1            |
| Antelope.....      | 3     | 0           | 1                   | 0             | 2    | 0                   | 0   | 0          | 5     | 0   | 0                     | 0           | 0           | 0            |
| Red Corn.....      | 9     | 1           | 1                   | 1             | 1    | 2                   | 0   | 0          | 2     | 0   | 0                     | 2           | 0           | 2            |
| Sun.....           | 7     | 3           | 5                   | 2             | 11   | 1                   | 1   | 3          | 14    | 3   | 0                     | 2           | 0           | 0            |
| Yellow Corn.....   | 1     | 2           | 0                   | 0             | 1    | 1                   | 1   | 0          | 6     | 2   | 0                     | 0           | 0           | 0            |

NOTE.—The vertical column on the left refers to men; the clan list across the top refers to women. For example, 2 Eagle clan men married Bear clan women; 2 Road Runner clan women married Red Corn clan men.

TABLE 2.—ALIEN MARRIAGES

|                             | Cases |                            |
|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| Mexican husband.....        | 1     | Lives on reservation.      |
| Hopi husband.....           | 2     | Both live on reservation.  |
| Zuni husband.....           | 1     | Lives on reservation.      |
| Mexican-Navaho husband..... | 1     | Lives on reservation.      |
| White husband.....          | 2     | 1 lives on reservation.    |
| White wives.....            | 3     | None lives on reservation. |
| Jemez wife.....             | 1     | Lives on reservation.      |
|                             | 11    |                            |
| Husbands.....               | 7     | 6 live on reservation.     |
| Wives.....                  | 4     | 1 lives on reservation.    |



TABLE 3.—HUSBANDS AND WIVES OF EACH CLAN

| Clan               | Husb-<br>bands | Wives | Total | In order of size |
|--------------------|----------------|-------|-------|------------------|
| Sun.....           | 51             | 45    | 96    | Eagle.           |
| Eagle.....         | 23             | 39    | 62    | Sun.             |
| Bear.....          | 20             | 24    | 44    | Bear.            |
| Yellow Corn.....   | 14             | 23    | 37    | Yellow Corn.     |
| Red Corn.....      | 21             | 14    | 35    | Parrot.          |
| Oak.....           | 13             | 7     | 20    | Red Corn.        |
| Parrot.....        | 7              | 12    | 19    | Oak.             |
| Antelope.....      | 11             | 7     | 18    | Road Runner.     |
| Pumpkin.....       | 10             | 4     | 14    | Antelope.        |
| Road Runner.....   | 7              | 6     | 13    | Water.           |
| Sky.....           | 3              | 7     | 10    | Pumpkin.         |
| Tansy Mustard..... | 8              | 1     | 9     | Sky.             |
| Water.....         | 5              | 4     | 9     | Turkey.          |
| Turkey.....        | 1              | 1     | 2     | Tansy Mustard.   |
| Total.....         | 194            | 194   | 388   |                  |

TABLE 4.—MARRIAGES BETWEEN CLANS

| I                |                  | II |              | III |
|------------------|------------------|----|--------------|-----|
| Sun.....         | Eagle.....       | 21 | Sun.         |     |
| Sun.....         | Bear.....        | 17 | Eagle.       |     |
| Sun.....         | Red Corn.....    | 12 | Bear.        |     |
| Yellow Corn..... | Eagle.....       | 10 | Yellow Corn. |     |
| Antelope.....    | Eagle.....       | 8  | Red Corn.    |     |
| Sun.....         | Oak.....         | 7  | Oak.         |     |
| Bear.....        | Eagle.....       | 7  |              |     |
| Sun.....         | Yellow Corn..... | 6  |              |     |
| Sun.....         | Antelope.....    | 5  |              |     |
| Pumpkin.....     | Yellow Corn..... | 5  |              |     |
| Sun.....         | Water.....       | 5  |              |     |
| Oak.....         | Yellow Corn..... | 4  |              |     |
| Pumpkin.....     | Red Corn.....    | 3  |              |     |
| Red Corn.....    | Yellow Corn..... | 3  |              |     |

NOTE.—There were 21 marriages between members of the Sun clan and members of the Eagle clan; 5 between the Antelope clan and the Sun clan, etc. Column III lists a few clans in order of number of married persons. The Sun clan with the greatest number of persons married heads the list.

Is there a moiety division based upon marriage? One would not expect to find such a division at Acoma, but any proofs of its non-existence are to be welcomed. Table 4 lists clans between which there have been marriages; i. e., in Column II the clan name is placed

opposite the clan name in Column I between which there have been marriages. They are listed in order of numerical frequencies, the greatest number being at the head of the list. It will be noticed that clans which show the greatest number of between-clan marriages are also the largest clans, which argues that numerical preponderance rather than psychological affinity accounts for the marriages. To go further, suppose we apply the laws of chance to the marriages between the Sun and Eagle clans, for example. There are 62 Eagle clan members with mates. Excluding these from the total of married people (388), we have 326 people from which the Eagle people may choose mates, of which the Sun people number 96, or one in three. If the marriages were contracted at random (i. e., without regard to clan affiliation other than Eagle), an Eagle clan member would have one chance in three of getting a Sun clan mate, which for the 62 Eagle people would give 21 marriages with the Sun clan. Or, suppose we take the marriages between the Sun clan and the Red Corn clan. Excluding the 96 Sun clan members from the total of 388, we have 292 from which they may choose mates. The Red Corn people are represented in this number, 292, in the proportion of one to eight. If, then, the Sun clan members married according to this ratio, they would marry 12 Red Corn clan members, which again corresponds to the actual number. But, of course, one must not expect the law of probability to be validated in each instance. If one figures the marriages between the Yellow Corn clan and the Eagle clan, for example, he gets 7 marriages instead of 10. But as the clans grow smaller in size the law of probability becomes less illuminating because of the great increase in the range of choice for members of the small clans.

We now have two items of testimony, then, which make the existence of a moiety division highly improbable. We can now offer complete and absolute proof of its nonexistence in this way: Suppose we take the clans between which marriages are quite numerous, and assume that they belong to opposite moieties or phratries, and list them accordingly in two columns (as we have done in Table 4). We soon find that it is impossible not to include a given clan in both columns. Moreover, there are marriages between clans comprising each column which we do not show in this table, but which may be ascertained from Table 1. The assumption of a moiety division based upon marriage, then, is completely demolished by our data.

Of course, there are some clans which do not mate with some other clans. But this is to be explained by their size; there are not enough Water clan adults to mate with all the other clans, nor enough Sky, Tansy Mustard, or Turkey clan members.

Nevertheless, it still might be possible that one clan might have a traditional prohibition against marriage with another clan. However, I feel very sure that nothing of this kind exists. Size of clan and the laws of chance are, I believe, adequate to account for the marriages between the clans.

Returning for a moment to Table 2, it is to be noted that of the 11 aliens, 7 are husbands; there is only 1 alien Indian wife, whereas there are 3 or 4 (I do not know whether the Navaho half-breed was reared with the Navahos or the Mexicans) alien Indian husbands. Of the white wives of Acoma men, there was 1 white wife who lived on the reservation for a time, but she has gone. Only 1 white husband is living on the reservation, and he is tolerated (I believe) only because he is ill.

Table 1 shows a number of marriages within the Sun clan. This, according to my informant, is due chiefly to the fact that quite a number of Sun clan people originally came from Santo Domingo and from Zia. (When this immigration took place, the number of immigrants, the reason for their change of residence, etc., were not learned.) But it is also due, in part at least, to the weakening of the traditional observance of clan exogamy; a number of the younger people speak of it as being "old-time ways," something not to be held sacred.

With the cases of alien husbands, the children would, of course, belong to the clan of the mother. Unfortunately, I did not learn the status of children born to alien mothers. I believe that children born to white women (or even Mexican) would not be considered Acoma people. I was told that the children born to the woman from Jemez (or any woman from another pueblo) would belong to her clan. If her clan corresponded to one in the village where she married she would join that clan. If her clan had no equivalent in her husband's pueblo she would start a new clan. (However, this whole matter should receive further study.)

Regarding marriage with non-Acoma persons, I received the impression quite decidedly that marriage outside the pueblo is not to be encouraged, even with other pueblos, and marriage with whites or Mexicans is disapproved of.

*Clan property.*—There is no clan property as such. All property is held and transmitted by individuals as members of a family group. Both men and women own property and may transmit it to their offspring.

*Clan and officials.*—The cacique must always be a member of the Antelope clan. This is the only instance of this kind; all other officers are selected without regard to clan affiliation. This holds true for the secret societies as well.

*Clans and ceremonies.*—Because of the cacique, the Antelope clan plays a prominent rôle in a number of ceremonies, particularly those in which the k'atsina are impersonated. These instances will be described fully in the sections devoted to ceremonies. The Corn clans have a ceremony of their own, the one in which Curatea lights the fires. In olden days the Parrot clan and the Pumpkin clan had charge of salt gathering. There are no other instances of special rôles played by clans.<sup>26</sup>

*Clan and initiation, marriage, sickness, and death.*—A clansman frequently assists at the initiation of a boy into the kachina cult or into a medicine society. During sickness and at death the clan members usually assist, with their presence, by grinding meal, contributing gifts, etc. The clan plays no special rôle in marriage. (See sections on Initiation, Sickness, Death, etc.)

*Clan and labor.*—Members of a clan frequently come together at house building, wheat cutting, corn grinding, etc. But it is not really a formal clan affair but rather a communal task in which several related family groups cooperate.

Kinship terms are given in Table 5.

*Summary of kin and clan.*—The family is a rather loose unit, separation being not uncommon (in spite of the Catholic rule against it), and illegitimacy quite common.

The chief function of the clan at Acoma is to regulate marriage. Apart from the Antelope clan, the rôle played by clans in ceremonies is very meager.<sup>27</sup> Nor is election to office or membership in a secret society determined by clan affiliation, with the exception of the cacique. The functions performed by clan members at such times as initiations, sickness, death, etc., and during the performance of communal tasks, are not prominent; they are not regarded as preeminently clan activities; they belong primarily to the stratum of kinship.

<sup>26</sup> One informant stated that other clans have been the "head" clans at previous times. The first was a'ca-ni (all kinds of grass and seeds). The next were hak'ani (lots of coals burning), and dya'nyi (deer). The close relationship between the Antelope clan at Acoma and the kachina organization is interesting in the light of data from Laguna and Zuñi. In these villages there is a special relationship between the Antelope (or Deer) clan and the Badger clan and the kachina organization. (The Badger clan has not been found at Acoma.) At Laguna, Doctor Parsons states (in Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna, p. 103), the kachina dancers were led by Badger or Antelope clansmen. Also, she states (in footnote 7, p. 103): "Nowadays at Laguna masks would be made only by the Badger and Antelope clans." Referring to Fewkes (Tusayan Totemic Signatures, American Anthropologist, vol. 10, no. 1, 1897), Doctor Parsons states that among the Hopi "the chief of the k'atsina priesthood was a Badger clansman." (Footnote 8, p. 103, Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna.) At Zuñi the director of the kachina organization and his warrior (Kopitlashiwanni, "god bow priest") must be of the Deer clan. The Kopekwin, or deputy (literally "god speaker"), of the director (or Komosona), and his warrior must be of the Badger clan. (See Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 163.) The association of the Antelope clan at Acoma, then, seems to be definitely a western feature; I have not found any such relationship at Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Zia, Santa Ana, nor is it to be found at Cochiti.

<sup>27</sup> See Parsons, E. C., The Antelope Clan in Keresan Custom and Myth, Man, vol. 17, art. no. 131, London, 1917.

TABLE 5.—KINSHIP TERMS

|                                                                             |                                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Father= <i>sa naieñi'a</i> (my father).                                     | Daughter's son= <i>Sa na'na</i> .                                |
| Mother= <i>naí'ya</i> .                                                     | Daughter's daughter= <i>Sa baba<sup>a</sup></i> .                |
| Son= <i>sa mit'</i> (my son).                                               | <i>Nai'cñia</i> =Father, father's brother,                       |
| Daughter= <i>sa ma'ak'</i> .                                                | father's sister's husband, mother's                              |
| Brother= <i>dyu'm<sup>a</sup></i> .                                         | sister's husband.                                                |
| Sister= <i>te'ite'i</i> .                                                   | <i>Nai'ya</i> =Mother, father's sister, fa-                      |
| Father's brother= <i>naieñi'a</i> .                                         | ther's brother's wife, mother's sister.                          |
| Father's sister= <i>naí'ya</i> .                                            | <i>Dyu'm<sup>a</sup></i> =Brother, father's brother's            |
| Father's father= <i>na-na</i> .                                             | son, father's sister's son, mother's                             |
| Father's mother= <i>baba<sup>a</sup></i> .                                  | sister's son.                                                    |
| Father's brother's wife= <i>naí'ya</i> .                                    | <i>Baba<sup>a</sup></i> =Father's mother, mother's               |
| Father's sister's husband= <i>naí'cñia</i> .                                | mother, son's daughter, daughter's                               |
| Father's brother's son= <i>dyu'm<sup>a</sup></i> .                          | daughter.                                                        |
| Father's brother's daughter=( <i>sa</i> ) <i>k'uite'</i> .                  | <i>Na'na</i> =Father's father, mother's                          |
| Father's sister's son=( <i>Sa</i> ) <i>dyu'm<sup>a</sup></i> .              | father, son's son, daughter's son.                               |
| Father's sister's daughter=( <i>Sa</i> ) <i>k'uite'</i> .                   | <i>Sa mit'</i> =Son, mother's brother's son,                     |
| Mother's mother=( <i>Sa</i> ) <i>baba<sup>a</sup></i> .                     | brother's son.                                                   |
| Mother's father=( <i>Sa</i> ) <i>na'na</i> .                                | <i>Sa ma'ak'</i> =Daughter, mother's brother's                   |
| Mother's brother= <i>Sa' nawe</i> .                                         | daughter, brother's daughter.                                    |
| Mother's sister= <i>Sa naí'ya</i> .                                         | <i>Sa nawe</i> =Mother's brother, sister's son.                  |
| Mother's brother's wife= <i>Sa k'uite'</i> .                                | <i>Sa k'uite'</i> =Father's brother's daughter,                  |
| Mother's sister's husband= <i>Nai'cñia</i> .                                | father's sister's daughter, mother's                             |
| Mother's brother's son= <i>sa mit'</i> .                                    | brother's wife, mother's sister's                                |
| Mother's brother's daughter= <i>Sa ma'ak'</i> .                             | daughter.                                                        |
| Mother's sister's son= <i>Sa dyu'm<sup>a</sup></i> .                        | <i>Sa bi'ye</i> =Brother's wife, brother's son's                 |
| Mother's sister's daughter= <i>Sa k'uite'</i> .                             | wife, sister's son's wife, son's wife.                           |
| Brother's wife= <i>Sa Bi'ye</i> .                                           | <i>Sa wa'ati</i> =Brother's daughter's hus-                      |
| Brother's son= <i>sa mit'</i> .                                             | band, sister's daughter's husband,                               |
| Brother's daughter= <i>Sa ma'ak'</i> .                                      | daughter's husband, sister's husband.                            |
| Brother's son's wife= <i>Bi'ye</i> .                                        | <i>Tei'tei</i> =Sister.                                          |
| Brother's daughter's husband= <i>Wa'ati</i> .                               | <i>Si nayateani</i> ( <i>Saawa<sup>a</sup></i> )=Sister's daugh- |
| Sister's husband= <i>Sa wa'ati</i> .                                        | ter.                                                             |
| Sister's son= <i>Sanawe</i> .                                               | Man= <i>Hatetsi</i> .                                            |
| Sister's daughter= <i>Si nayateani</i> ( <i>Sa-<br/>awaw<sup>a</sup></i> ). | Woman= <i>K'ü</i> .                                              |
| Sister's son's wife= <i>Bi'ye</i> .                                         | Boy= <i>Mütjetsa</i> (sing.).                                    |
| Sister's daughter's husband= <i>Wa'ati</i> .                                | Boy= <i>Crüyet'</i> (coll.).                                     |
| Son's son= <i>Sa na-na</i> .                                                | Girl= <i>Ma'ak'ütsa</i> .                                        |
| Son's wife= <i>Sa Bi'ye</i> .                                               | Baby= <i>Oak'</i> .                                              |
| Son's daughter= <i>Sa baba<sup>a</sup></i> .                                | Child= <i>Dat'e</i> .                                            |
| Daughter's husband= <i>Sa wa'ati</i> .                                      | Boy 10 to 16 years= <i>Tear'taka</i> .                           |
|                                                                             | Girl about 16= <i>ma'asitra</i> .                                |
|                                                                             | Adults (coll.)= <i>Nawaititra</i> .                              |

NOTE.—See list of kinship terms in Doctor Parsons's *Laguna Genealogies*, p. 147. There is a list, too, on p. 81, *Zuñi Kin and Clan*, which Professor Kroeber secured from Acoma and Laguna informants. *b*=intermediate *b-p*; *d*=intermediate *d-t*.

## GOVERNMENT

Political control of the pueblo is exercised by officers and societies. The officers may be divided into two groups, viz, the cacique-war chief group, and the governor with his aides. The latter is of post-

Spanish origin, and is simply a secular arm of the cacique and the war priests. Government at Acoma may be said to be theocratic; the chiefs are priests and their authority is sanctioned by, if not derived from, the deities. Closely associated with the priest-chiefs are the curing societies, and at times the *opi*, or Warriors' Society, and the *k'acale* (*koshare*). The societies, especially the medicine societies, exert a great influence in political life, although they do not function directly as administrators.

The officers and societies are the chief custodians of tribal lore, paraphernalia, and ritual, much of it being esoteric in character. Our account of the political functions of these agencies will, naturally, bring us into rather close contact with other than political phases of pueblo life, such as worship, ceremonialism, etc. The functions of the officers are not political alone, but astronomical, ceremonial, agricultural, and ethical as well.

#### THE CACIQUE.<sup>28</sup>

The cacique is called *ha'actitcani* (*ha'acti* means pueblo; the *tcani* refers to a person; *ha'actitcani*, then, means a person who symbolizes or represents the whole pueblo). The cacique is the most important individual in the pueblo, the most honored, and most respected. He is regarded as the father of the pueblo. He is also the "father of the *k'atsina*" (the spirits from *Wenimats*<sup>1</sup> who are impersonated by the masked dancers, q. v.). He is always a member of the Antelope clan. He serves from the time of his selection to his death. If old age or blindness should interfere with the performance of his duties, however, another Antelope clan man (or perhaps the war chief) will substitute for him.

The cacique is more priest than chief; he counsels more than he commands. He is the highest religious officer as well as the political head. His duties and functions are as follows: He "watches the sun"; i. e., he determines the times of the solstices. This is, perhaps, his most important ceremonial function. (See section on Solstice Ceremonies.) He sets the dates for practically all ceremonies. The medicine societies set the date for their initiation ceremonies and for private curing ceremonies, but they secure the permission of the cacique for their initiation ceremonies. The cacique decides when general public curing ceremonies are to be held and requests the medicine men to hold them. He decides which *kiva* groups are to dance in the summer dance. He is host to the masked dancers when they come to give a dance in the plaza, welcoming them when they arrive and thanking them upon their departure. He has an altar (pl. 1, a); but since the cacique is not a medicine man (as he is, or may

<sup>28</sup> See myth, Antelope Man Brings Back the *K'atsina*.



be, in the Rio Grande Keresan pueblos) he may not erect this altar; this must be done by the Kabina tcaian<sup>1</sup>. This altar (yabaicini) is erected at the solstices and when the children are initiated into the k'atsina cult. The cacique is present at this ceremony. Afterwards the whipped children are assembled behind the church when the cacique tells them about the k'atsina and the masked dancers. The cacique makes and deposits a prayer stick which is different in design from all others in the pueblo. He also instructs the newly appointed war chiefs in the manufacture and use of their prayer sticks. The cacique appoints all officers at the yearly elections (q. v.) and he selects the principales. He makes allotments of land to individuals or to families (q. v.).

Whether the cacique has a "medicine bundle" or "yaya" (mother) or not, I could not learn. Informants felt that "he must have one," and I feel the same way, but exact information on this point was not to be obtained.

It might not be out of place to offer some of my impressions of the present cacique and his position at Acoma. I received the impression from conversations with informants (and some others) that the cacique is the most important and most honored and respected officer in the pueblo; he is the "most sacred." But he is somewhat aloof from the daily life of the people. The war chief, I believe, is the most important officer in the entire pueblo who actually comes into contact with the people and who directs their affairs. And the authority of the war chief is virtually the authority of the cacique. (The situation is somewhat akin to the officers on a man of war: The captain is the supreme authority, but he is a bit remote. It is the executive officer who, wielding the captain's authority, comes into intimate contact with the other officers and men and who directs their activities.) The cacique is a counselor; he is a wise, sympathetic, and just man. His first duty is ever to promote the well-being of his people. His wishes are transmitted to the people through the war chief. It is the latter who commands and directs. The war chief also exercises considerable authority upon his own initiative, as, for example, in the supervision of ritual routines and in the supervision of the behavior of the folk and visiting aliens.

But while the cacique is regarded as the highest of officers, he is not to be distinguished from other men in mode of living. (Except, of course, that he does not work his fields; this is done by the folk under the direction of the war chief.) The cacique is the symbol, so to speak, of a tradition which is very sacred. But there is nothing sacred about the person of the cacique. He lives in a house at old Acoma (he spends all of his time at old Acoma) which is situated in a row of dwellings which are just like his except for color. The cacique's house is plastered with a pinkish color. This, however, is



a personal whim of his wife, not a rule of the pueblo.<sup>29</sup> In dress the cacique resembles any other man, and he is treated by the people as any other old man would be.

I had a long talk with the cacique one afternoon at Acoma. There had been some objection to my visits to old Acoma, so I requested to be allowed to see the cacique and tell him what I wanted. I told him that I wished to buy very old pottery to deposit in the museum at Santa Fe to keep tourists from carrying it off to Iowa and Los Angeles where it would be lost to the Acoma people forever. The cacique is an old man and almost blind. He was very kind to me. (It was necessary to use an interpreter.) I did not enter his house; he came outside and we sat in the shade on a ledge of a house. I told him my errand and he approved whole-heartedly and offered to assist me in any way that he could. He said that he would call his officers together and have me tell them, too, but I carefully evaded this, as I did not wish to be questioned and examined too closely. While we were talking the old man sat playing with a lower incisor tooth which was loose; he would run the tip of his right index finger over the end of the tooth, moving it from side to side. Occasionally he would spit—usually on his unbuttoned vest. The translations of his replies reminded me of speeches of courtiers or diplomats in novels of eighteenth century Europe. He was kind, polite, and frequently used appropriate and pleasing figures of speech. To help "his children" seemed to be his chief aim, and since I professed the same desire, he offered to assist me. When I left he shook hands warmly. When I was about 70 feet from his house he called me back; I had not told his wife good-by. (She was plastering the house when I arrived. She wanted to shake hands with me; but as her hands were covered with plaster, she offered me her wrist which I shook.) When the cacique called me I turned to see his wife hastily climbing down the ladder. She washed her hands in a bucket of water and dried them on her apron. She smiled as she shook hands and talked to me in Keresan.

*Succession and installation.*—When a new cacique is installed a man (always a member of the Antelope clan) is named as his successor. This means, of course, that at any time everyone knows who the next cacique will be. But upon the death of a cacique, his successor is not installed at once. The members of the Antelope clan meet informally, as many times as may be necessary, to select a successor to the cacique who is about to be installed. Usually a year elapses before a new cacique is installed. During this time the duties of cacique are discharged by the man who was successor to the last cacique, assisted by the wife of the deceased and her brothers, if

<sup>29</sup> This is what I was told, but we note that the Antelope clan men paint themselves pink during the ceremonial fight with the K'atsina (q. v.).

necessary. When the time for installation draws near the Antelope clan people hold a meeting in the Antelope clan house. The successor to the future cacique is definitely decided upon at this time. About eight days later the final meeting of installation is held in Mauharots, the "head estufa" (q. v.). All of the Antelope clan men are present, and the head men of each of the five estufas. The war chiefs may attend if they wish; they usually do attend. At this time the future cacique is formally introduced, together with his successor. The spokesman for the Antelope clan asks the head men of the five estufas when they can be ready to dance for the new cacique. After some deliberation a date is set for the welcoming dance.

Four days before the dance a rabbit hunt (q. v.) is held to supply the feast. On this day also each man who is to participate in the dance makes one prayer stick (*hateamini*) with which he prays. From this time until the day of the dance the men practice songs and dances in their estufas and make ready their masks and costumes. The day before the dance each dancer makes a prayer stick and brings it to Mauharots; the sticks are deposited in four baskets. On the evening before the dance the cacique and his assistant go to Mauharots, where they will spend the night. The dancers, too, come to Mauharots with their masks and spend the night there. In the morning, before the dancers leave, the cacique erects his altar. (It will be remembered that another informant stated that the cacique could not erect his own altar, since he was not a medicine man. This is a doubtful point.)

Early in the morning the dancers leave the estufa and go to the plaza to dance. They dance the *Gaiya'*, or "mixed dance" (i. e., there are many different kinds of *k'atsina* represented. See section on ceremonies). The cacique and his assistant remain in the head estufa, Mauharots, all day, making herb medicines and praying.

At noon the dancers come into Mauharots, where they eat lunch. They eat the rabbits which were killed in the hunt for this purpose. After lunch they go out again to dance. They dance all day. When they have finished they return to Mauharots. They take off their masks and the cacique gives them some medicine to drink. The head men of the five estufas then take the four baskets of prayer sticks and distribute them to the dancers. Each man takes the stick which he has made. They go out and pray and then go to their own estufas and put their costumes and masks away.

After the dance is over the people of the village are permitted to go into Mauharots and drink some of the medicine that the cacique has made.

The present cacique is named *Waiictu* (Spanish, Francisco Watchempino). His predecessor, who died about 1918, was named *Dzikin* (Spanish, *Torrivio Josecito*). The mother of the present cacique

was the sister of the preceding cacique, Dzikin. The successor to the present cacique is Ga'tsi (Spanish, Lorenzo Watchempino). The mother of Ga'tsi is the sister of the present cacique, Waiictu.

#### THE WAR CHIEFS

There are three war chiefs, known collectively as tsatyao hotceni, or "outside chiefs."<sup>30</sup> The head war chief is called Cutimiti (cuti refers to a brown bird which I was not able to identify; -miti indicates a man). The first assistant war chief is called Cpatiniti, or "mocking bird man." The second assistant war chief is Maiyatcotimiti (which I was unable to translate).

The war chiefs are chosen for a period of one year at the annual elections (q. v.). Three cooks (cocineros) are chosen to cook for them and supply them with ganacaiya (deer meat ground with guayave) with which they pray. The ten little chiefs (q. v.) also assist the war chiefs. The war chiefs are chosen without regard to clan affiliation.

We have already spoken of the war chiefs in our paragraphs on the cacique. They are usually men of considerable force of character and are always vigorous conservatives. They do their utmost to preserve the old traditions intact; they oppose any imitation of white or Mexican customs and deplore lack of interest in the old ways. The war chiefs constitute one of the most vital forces in the pueblo. The duties of the war chiefs include the following: They make visits throughout the year to springs and bring back water; this is supposed to insure a plentiful supply of water for the crops and for drinking during the year. (See section on Installation of War Chiefs for a detailed account of these trips to the springs.) The war chiefs act as agencies for making known to the people the wishes of the cacique.<sup>31</sup> They notify the heads of the kiva groups to prepare for dances. They see that sentinels are posted to prevent aliens from witnessing masked dances, and they assist the cacique in the plaza during the masked ceremonies. They announce the dates for rabbit hunts and superintend them in a general way. They summon the heads of the curing societies when the cacique wishes to have a general public curing ceremony, and they guard the medicine men at all times while they work at their cures to prevent attacks from witches. They keep track of the children who are to be initiated into the kachina organization. Very early in the morning of September 2, when the annual fiesta is held in honor of San Estevan, the patron saint of Acoma, the war chiefs build the little bough house for the saint; they sit in this

<sup>30</sup> In Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Zia, and Cochiti, there are two war captains. They are called ts'ak'tia and ts'ak'tia teniente, or masewi and oyoyewi, respectively.

<sup>31</sup> The practice of making announcements from housetops, found in Rio Grande pueblos, is not observed at Acoma. The crier walks through the streets. War chiefs frequently make announcements in this way or designate someone to do it for them.

house all day, and at the close of the dance they thank the dancers and pray. (See section on Ceremonies; the Fiesta Dance.)

*Installation of war chiefs.*—After the election, the new war chief chooses a place for his headquarters for the coming year. This is usually, but not always, located in his own home. The rooms set aside for the war chiefs are cleaned and replastered. When this is finished all of the paraphernalia which belongs to the office of war chief is brought to the new quarters. Data on this paraphernalia is quite meager. There are pots for cooking, some buckskin shirts, quivers made of mountain lion skin (*uictiwactan*), and perhaps a *yaya*, or “mother” (my informant said that he thought the war chief had a round stone with turquoise eyes and mouth, but he was not certain). The outgoing war chief passes to his successor a *hatcamuni kaiok’* (prayer stick broken).<sup>32</sup> The ex-war chief also orders, just before leaving office, every family in the village to bring a load of wood for the new war chief. This is piled up a short distance north of the seventh dancing station. (See fig. 1.)

The day after the war chiefs move into their new quarters the two lieutenants set out for *K’amaack’uk’awaic* (Spider Spring), which is southwest of *Cakaiya* (a large mesa near Acoma), to get wood for prayer sticks. They wear the official buckskin shirts and carry the quivers made of mountain lion skin (*uictiwactan*). Each carries two *yabi* (wooden staff; see section on Paraphernalia). One is a rather large staff which is presented at the time of election; the smaller one is kept permanently in the lion-skin quiver. They carry a lunch which was prepared for them by the *cocineros* (cooks), for the trip takes all day. When they get to the spring they cut the sticks (see section on prayer sticks and their manufacture), singing the while. They tie the sticks into bundles with buckskin. Then they start for home. When they approach close to the house of the war chief, *Cutimiti* (the head war chief) comes out to meet them, singing. He makes two lines or “roads” of corn meal on the ground along which they walk when they enter the house. The *cocineros* (cooks) take the prayer sticks.

The next day is spent by the war chiefs in making prayer sticks. In the evening the three chiefs set out for *G’otsicpawatsa* (Pretty Spring), which lies to the north of Acoma. Each chief carries a prayer stick and a small water jar (*epo’na*). When they get to the spring a prayer is said and one jar of water is filled. Then they go to *G’anipa*, which lies to the southeast. Here another prayer is said and another jar of water is secured. Then they go to *G’omi*, a spring north of Acoma, where they again repeat this ritual. Then they set out for Acoma.

<sup>32</sup> I was unable to secure any adequate information concerning this broken prayer stick. It certainly must be different from an ordinary prayer stick, for it is never used in praying as ordinary sticks are. It was said to be the “pole upon which the world rests.”

It is about 3 o'clock in the morning when they get back to the village. They ascend the west trail. When they reach the top the two lieutenants go direct to the house of the war chief, taking the jars of water with them. Cutimīti goes to Mauharots, the head estufa. Perhaps there are some medicine men (tcaiani) or Antelope people (kuuts<sup>1</sup> hanote) sleeping there. Cutimīti goes to the top of the estufa and pauses at the entrance. He removes the cover and calls below: "Guatzi, ckanaicpia, ckanaiya, eko'tceni dyaimi tutietco!" (Guatzi, hello! The next three words refer, respectively, to fathers, mothers, and chiefs; the last two are interpreted as asking permission to enter.) The people respond, "Ha ai! No icomekuta," which was translated "Yes, it is you yourself. Come in." If there happen to be any medicine women present, they say, "Ha o" instead of "Ha ai." (Ordinarily ha means yes.) In talking with the informant about this exchange of salutations I got the notion that the war chief saluted the occupants of the estufa as hotcenis or chiefs, and they, in their reply, politely implied that he was their superior.

The war chief descends the ladder into the estufa. He goes to the northeast corner near the altar. There is a hole in the floor at this place called G'auwatseicoma (which is the gateway to Shipap, the place of emergence. It is said that souls or spirits pass down through this hole after death on their journey back to Shipap). Cutimīti carries four wabani (wabani, a long eagle feather with four small feathers attached to it; see section on paraphernalia) with him. He prays to the four directions, to the heavenly bodies, to the rivers and lakes, to the plants and animals, to the k'atsina, k'obictaiya, etc. He deposits the wabani in the hole in the floor, turns to the left, passes to the west of the fireplace, and leaves the estufa. As he goes out the people who are passing the night there advise him and encourage him in the performance of his duties.

After leaving Mauharots the head war chief (Cutimīti) goes to the east edge of the mesa to Masewi k'am (Masewi, his home; a rock under which the spirit of the elder war twin lives), where he prays. Then he goes to the very edge of the mesa, where he prays to the sun which is about to rise. When he has finished he walks up and down the village streets calling to the people. He tells them that Ocate (the sun), the father, is coming and that they should get up and pray to him. Everyone comes outdoors and prays to the sun, sprinkling corn meal toward him.<sup>33</sup> The head war chief (Cutimīti) goes now to his house. The two lieutenant war chiefs have taken the jars of water out at sunrise and have emptied them into the pools. That day is spent in rest.

<sup>33</sup> I was told that nearly everyone does come out for this prayer; even children are brought out of bed by their parents for this purpose.



The next day they make more prayer sticks. That night they go to the west, as two nights before they went north, with their prayer sticks (*hacamuni*) and water jars. After praying at the springs and filling their jars with water, they return to the pueblo. This time it is *Cpatimiti* (the first assistant war chief) who goes to *Mauharots* to pray and, later, to rouse the people of the pueblo to pray to the rising sun. The next day is one of rest. On the day following they make prayer sticks for the third time, and in the evening they set out to the south, where they fill their jars at springs. *Maiyatcotimiti*, the second lieutenant war chief, goes to the head *estufa* (*Mauharots*) upon their return. After a day of rest, they make prayer sticks and for the fourth time visit springs for water, this time going to the east. The head war chief, *Cutimiti*, goes to *Mauharots* when they get back, after which, as usual, the people are roused for the prayer to the sun. The cycle is now complete.

The formal initiation of the war chiefs is to take place four days after the completion of the above circuit. The *cacique* requests the new war chief to inform the *kabina tcaiani* (member of the *kabina curing society*) of this fact. *Cutimiti* (the head war chief) takes *wabani* (q. v.) to the *kabina tcaiani* with prayers and gives him the *cacique's* message. The *kabina tcaiani* secures the assistance of one of the young *hictiani tcaiani* (Flint Society medicine man<sup>34</sup>). On the day before the initiation, *kabina tcaiani* erects his altar in *Mauharots* (see references to *kabina tcaiani*; also section on *kivas*). The altar consists of two fetishes placed in an east-and-west line. The one on the east end is called *tsamai'ye*; the other is named *tsamahi'a*.<sup>35</sup> They were made of buckskin with feathers at the top. In front of the altar were placed flints, fetishes of stone, and a large stone lion in the middle.

*Kabina tcaiani* and his assistant go to *Mauharots* (the "head *estufa*") early in the morning of the initiation day and begin to sing. Food is brought into the *estufa* and placed before the altar. Anyone may attend the initiation, even women. The initiation ceremony consists chiefly in a whipping which is administered to the candidates, much as the children are whipped when they are initiated into the *kachina* organization. The initiation ceremony lasts all day, and anyone who wishes to be whipped may come in for that purpose. Many people wish to be whipped at this time because they believe that the whipping will give them strength, either physical or spiritual, or give them luck in hunting, racing, or gambling.

The war chief comes into the *estufa* wearing only a breechcloth (and a blanket thrown over him, which he removes upon entering

<sup>34</sup> As will be noted in the section devoted to the curing societies, there was only one member of the *kabina* medicine society alive in the summer of 1926. He died that fall without initiating any new members. The society therefore has become extinct at Acoma. Since his death his functions have been taken over by the Flint Society (the *hictiani tcaiani*).

<sup>35</sup> See Parsons, Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna, p. 119.

the estufa); he is barefooted. He goes to each of the standards of the altar and prays. Into each standard he inserts a habi (a feather; see section on paraphernalia). Then he steps onto the tsiwaimityim (the planks over the cavity in the floor; see section on kivas). kabina and his assistant are standing on opposite ends of this tsiwaimityim. Each holds a whip of about 10 switches (howaip<sup>a</sup>). The teaiani (medicine men) begin to sing and dance. At the end of the song they stop and cry, "Do-o-o-wa-a-a-ra-a-a Hio! Hio!" Then the chief faces the altar. The medicine man at the east end strikes the candidate forcibly on the shins with his whip; the one on the other end strikes him on the shoulders. Then they sing and dance again, and when finished strike him again. This is done four times. The medicine man on the east end whips upward, striking first the shins, then the thighs, then the belly, and last the chest. The other medicine man whips downward, striking first the shoulders, then the middle of the back, the back of the thighs, and last the calves of the legs. This covers the candidate pretty thoroughly.

The three outgoing chiefs are whipped in this way, together with their two cooks; the three incoming chiefs are whipped, but the incoming cooks are spared. And anyone else who wishes to be whipped may undergo the same ceremony.

The war chiefs remain in the estufa all day. Toward evening everyone leaves except the new war chiefs, the kabina teaiani and his assistant, and perhaps a few other medicine men. It is now time to administer medicine to the new chiefs. The kabina teaiani has some feces of a snake (tsitcuni); it looks like chalk. He grinds a little of this in his medicine bowl and pours in some water. Then he sings six songs, moving the bowl toward each of the cardinal points, up and down, as they progress. The bowl is then placed between the standards. Kabina then asks the two lieutenant war chiefs if they wish to take this medicine. They have the privilege of refusing, but Cutimiti (the head chief) must drink it. If the lieutenants refuse then kabina teaiani and one or two of the other medicine men will probably drink some "to keep the war chief company." This medicine is supposed to give one great strength and also the ability to foretell events through dreams. The chiefs remain in the estufa for four days and four nights. No one may touch them during this time, nor do they touch each other, not even their blankets, for "they are so powerful." The altar remains standing during this time. Food is brought to the chiefs by their wives during this period of seclusion. The tsamai'ye and the tsamahi'ye (the two altar fetishes) are given food at each meal, and a cigarette afterwards. The outgoing war chiefs are finished with their duties after the whipping, and after a period of 12 hours they may again sleep with their wives. (The war chiefs may not sleep with their wives during the whole year of their service in office.)



After the war chiefs have rested for a few days they again make the circuit of the springs just as they did before their whipping. When the circuit of the four directions has again been completed an interval of eight days' rest follows. From then on to the end of the year the war chiefs take turns going singly to the springs of the four directions (according to the chart below). They do not bring water back to the pueblo, but they do go to Mauharots (the "head estufa") to pray when they return, after which they summon the people to pray to the rising sun.<sup>36</sup>

*Summary of war chiefs.*—There can be no doubt regarding the importance of the rôle played by the war chiefs at Acoma; they are virtually the backbone of the spiritual and institutional life of the pueblo. Specifically their chief function is to promote the rain supply, which is really the most vital thing in pueblo life. Secondly, they protect the medicine societies and oppose witches. But in general they are vigilant overseers of the whole range of daily life, doing their best to preserve the old customs and to oppose the encroachment of aliens, especially whites and Mexicans.

The position of war chief is loaded with responsibility, exacting in its observance of many difficult routines and rituals, and demands unbroken sexual continence. And there is no compensation, except honor and enhanced status; they receive neither money nor goods for their services. (See section on elections.)

#### CALENDAR OF INSTALLATION OF WAR CHIEFS

1. They move into their new quarters.
2. Next day they get wood for prayer sticks.
3. Next day they make prayer sticks; go north that night.
4. Next day rest.
5. Next day make prayer sticks; go west.
6. Next day rest.
7. Next day make prayer sticks; go south.
8. Next day rest.
9. Next day make prayer sticks; go east.
10. Four days from this time they are whipped.
11. Remain in estufa four days and four nights after initiation.
12. Few days' rest.
13. Nos. 3 to 9, inclusive, are repeated.
14. An interval of eight days elapses.
15. Cutimiti goes north at night.
16. Interval of eight days.
17. Cpatimiti goes west at night.
18. Interval of eight days.
19. Maiyatecotimiti goes south at night.
20. Interval of eight days.
21. Cutimiti goes east.

<sup>36</sup> There is no ceremony of installation of war chiefs among the eastern Keres; certainly nothing like the Acoma ceremony. (White, Leslie A., *Manuscripts on Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Zia, and Santa Ana.*)

And so on through the year, officers rotating in this order and visiting the cardinal points in the order named.

#### THE O-PI, OR WARRIORS' SOCIETY <sup>37</sup>

This society of warriors is now extinct at Acoma, and data concerning it are meager and rather vague. However, the impression was given by informants that the opi, together with the war chiefs, were in complete charge of the pueblo during war times. And the warriors were assisted by the medicine men who gave them "power." It seems, then, that the ordinary administration of peace times yielded to a war-time rule in times of trouble.

#### THE KOSHARE <sup>37</sup>

There is another instance in which the ordinary administrative organization of the pueblo was suspended. This was at the time of the initiation of koshare and the execution of the scalp dance. At this time the koshare had complete charge of the pueblo. (See Koshare, Scalp Dance.)

These two instances of the opi and the koshare assuming temporary control of the administration of the village are interesting examples of pueblo government, its many-sidedness and versatility.

#### THE THREE COOKS

We have already spoken of the cooks at some length; there is little else to be said. The cooks provide the war chiefs with a lunch when they go out at night or when they leave for the day. It is their business to make the ganacaiya (ground deer or rabbit meat mixed with guayave) for the prayers. The cooks go up on top of the war chief house when they have made some ganacaiya and pray with it themselves (sprinkling it as they pray). They have charge of all foods that are collected or issued for communal ceremonial feasts. (See Ceremonies for further references.)

#### THE "LITTLE CHIEFS"

There are 10 of these *tcukacac hotceni*, or "little chiefs." (They are sometimes called *tcuikats*<sup>38</sup> also.) They are appointed by the *cacique*.<sup>38</sup> They are really helpers for the war chief. They carry wood from the war chief's woodpile to the houses of women who are

<sup>37</sup> See chapter on ceremonialism.

<sup>38</sup> I am not sure whether these little chiefs are appointed for one year or for some other period of time. I understood that they did not serve after reaching maturity. One informant stated that the war chiefs were frequently selected from the ranks of ex-"little chiefs"; another stated that a war chief must have served as a "little chief." These little chiefs resemble the *Go'wacanyá* of Santo Domingo and San Felipe.—White, *ms.*

baking bread for the war chief. They also distribute corn and wheat from the war chief's store to houses about the village to have it ground for some feast. Before ceremonies they are frequently sent around the village by the war chief to collect meat for a feast. They also assist the war chiefs in guarding the entrance of estufas when important ceremonies are taking place, especially the curing ceremonies of the medicine societies.

#### THE PRINCIPALES

There are 10 principales, chosen to serve for life by the cacique.<sup>39</sup> Although their duties are not very explicit, their influence in pueblo affairs is very great indeed. In general, their duty is to watch over the pueblo and "see that everything goes all right," which means, of course, that the old customs will be observed and innovations and deviations will be discouraged. They meet with the governor and also with the cacique, the war chiefs and the medicine men, and their counsel usually carries considerable weight. It is this wide range of function (i. e., working with the governor and his lieutenants on the one hand and the cacique, war chiefs, and medicine men on the other) that serves to coordinate and unify the administration of the pueblo.

#### THE MEDICINE SOCIETIES

These groups are, of course, curing societies; their major function is to cure (and to prevent) sickness. But they also exercise a profound influence upon the political life of the pueblo. They are always staunch supporters of the old tradition, and the "moral" or spiritual pressure which they bring to bear upon the folk is very effective in securing faithful adherence. More specific and tangible than this, but no more important, is their veto power over the cacique's choice of appointments at the yearly "elections" (q. v.). This power, though infrequently exercised, makes them virtually supreme in political authority.

#### THE GOVERNOR

We now come to the second set of officers, viz, the governor and his two lieutenants and the three *bickales*.

This group of officers is of post-Spanish origin. They serve a double function now, and I presume that the need for such services

<sup>39</sup> They are chosen without regard to clan affiliation. This body of principales does not include ex-officers, as is the case at San Felipe and Santo Domingo. The name would imply that this group is of post-Spanish origin. However, I am inclined to believe that there was a group of councilors before the coming of the whites and that the name principales was subsequently adopted. The Rio Grande practice of including ex-governors, ex-war chiefs, etc., in this group reinforces this belief. There is one instance of record of the deposition of some principales. When the United States entered the war in 1917 the Acoma people were urged to send men to the army. Some of the principales wished to do this, but most of them opposed helping the United States win the war. So the cacique, influenced by the medicine men and (perhaps) the war chief, deposed those principales who favored armed assistance and chose others to replace them. This is the only instance I have heard of where a principale was ousted from his office.

was responsible for their origin. First, they represent the pueblo in business, political, or religious transactions with the whites and the Mexicans. Secondly, they act as a screen which quite effectively conceals the existence of the cacique, the war chiefs, and the medicine men—the real powers in the village. Ever since the white men entered New Mexico there have been attempts to suppress the religion of the pueblos. And the identification of political functions with priestly office exposed their religion and ceremonies to a certain extent in all dealings with the whites. The creation of the offices of governor and lieutenant governors has made it possible for the pueblo to deal with outside organizations without any apparent trace of priest or religion. Moreover, the whites, learning that the governor holds office for one year and is then (with few exceptions) succeeded by another man, believe that the pueblo is a “democratic” community and that the people elect the governor every year, and that the governor’s authority is the will of the people. This pleases the whites and diverts suspicion. Many white people who have lived in the pueblo country for years—even agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs who have lived on the reservations—do not even know of the existence of the cacique and the war priests.

This notion of the whites is, as we know, very far from the truth; the governor and his men are merely the tools of the cacique and the medicine men, who are concealed by this simple device.

Since the whites began to be numerous in New Mexico, and more especially since the pueblos have come within the jurisdiction of the United States, there has been considerable business between the pueblos and the United States Government, as well as with church and commercial organizations, which, to the cacique and the war chiefs, is but a very distasteful intrusion and a hated violation of their old customs. Nevertheless, the whites are there and their influences persist and must be dealt with. It were better to have a small group of men to take care of this business than to drag the priests into it. So here again the governor and his men serve a useful purpose. They take care of a host of petty and for the most part distasteful transactions with the Government and with outside organizations, leaving the priests free for their sacred duties. Of course, the general policy of the governor is always formulated and enforced by the priests.

The following items give some idea of the kind of extra-pueblo business that falls to the governor. There is an Indian agency at Albuquerque which “supervises” Acoma. They have a “farmer” living at Acomita.<sup>40</sup> He supervises irrigation, livestock, road building, upkeep of the schoolhouse, etc. There is a day school at Acomita;

<sup>40</sup> This “farmer” does almost everything but farm. He is really the executor of all orders from the office of the superintendent at Albuquerque regarding Acoma. See subsequent section on this individual.

all the children are supposed to attend. A physician and a dentist visit Acoma at intervals to examine the people. The Santa Fe Railroad runs through the reservation and occasionally livestock or a person is killed by a train. There is a Catholic church in Acomita. A religious organization has contributed money for the repair of the old Spanish mission at old Acoma. There is a trading post near the reservation where most of the Acoma people trade. Once in a while there is some difficulty with accounts. Tourists visit old Acoma every summer in considerable numbers. Occasionally liquor ("white mule," or "mula blanca") is brought into the pueblo by Mexicans and sold to the Indians. Occasionally some one with many sheep wishes to lease land from the Government (State or Federal).

This indicates the nature and range of the governor's business. His is really a difficult position. He has to obey the priests and work with the whites. He is frequently caught between the cacique at old Acoma on one side and the superintendent in Albuquerque and the Government farmer in Acomita on the other. Many orders from the superintendent at Albuquerque are transmitted to the governor through the farmer at Acomita and, according to the disposition of this farmer, enforced. The governor must deal with such matters as whether the children attend school or not; the sending of children to schools in Albuquerque and Santa Fe; the sending of patients with tuberculosis and trachoma to the hospital at old Laguna; the repair of pueblo roads; the maintenance of the irrigation system; trespassing on the reservation by aliens (livestock or people); the suppression of bootlegging; the regulation of the tourists; the Catholic priest who visits Acomita occasionally (the governor usually acts as interpreter, translating the sermon and announcements from Spanish to Keresan); the summoning of men for any communal labor project, such as repairing the old mission at old Acoma, etc. The governor spends a great deal of his time with his work. He has conferences with the Government farmer, with the Catholic priest, sometimes with the school teachers or Government doctors, with the principales, and occasionally with the priests.

In addition to attending to matters which involve non-Acoma agencies, the governor's duties include the supervision of intrapueblo affairs to some extent. Occasionally domestic or marital troubles are brought to him; or disputes over property or minor quarrels of any kind.<sup>41</sup>

In connection with ceremonies, too, the governor has duties to perform. At minor fiestas he is the officer in charge. When masked

<sup>41</sup> Just what his authority is in such cases I could not determine. It seems that he usually has "a meeting" which is attended by the disputants and perhaps by one of his *tenientes* and some *principales*. They "talk it over," and from this meeting there seems to emerge a consensus of opinion which is respected by everyone concerned. However, I witnessed one case in which the governor sentenced a young man to several days' work on the roads for buying *mula blanca* from a Mexican and getting drunk with it.

ceremonies are held the governor posts sentinels all around old Acoma to prevent whites or Mexicans from approaching.

The governor is also custodian of the pueblo treasury. He collects \$1 from every tourist who visits old Acoma, and he may make assessments among the families (if this is approved, of course, by the principales). This money is to be used for pueblo purposes. Occasionally it becomes necessary for the governor to take a trip on pueblo business. His expenses are then defrayed from the treasury. But this is as far as compensation goes; the governor receives not one cent for his year's services.

The governor is appointed yearly at the Christmas "elections" by the cacique. He wears a badge bearing the words "Governor of Acoma," and he has a cane which was given to the pueblo by President Lincoln and bears the inscription "A. Lincoln, Prst. U. S. A. Acoma, 1863." He carries this cane on September 2 at the fiesta of San Estevan. Some colored ribbons are usually tied near the top.

#### THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS

These officers merely assist the governor, advising with him and executing his orders.

#### THE BICKALES (SPANISH, FISCALES)

Formerly these men were attached to the church during the days of Spanish administration. It was their duty to collect money and food for the church as well as to keep it in order and repair. Under the United States régime these officials used to keep the rooms of the old convento ready for the priest and supply his wants when he visited the pueblo. But these old duties have all but disappeared. The old mission church at old Acoma is visited but once a year by the priest. The bickales now seem to function almost solely as councilors for the governor. They serve as sentinels during masked dances.

#### THE MAYORDOMO OR DITCH BOSS

An irrigation ditch runs through the Acomita Valley. The water boss supervises this system, seeing that the ditches are kept in repair, and also apportioning the water among the different users at specified times. If a man wishes to irrigate his garden or field he must first make sure that he has the permission of the water boss. The water supply is limited, and one must not take more than his share, nor may everyone use the ditch at the same time. Sometimes a man has to get up in the middle of the night to irrigate his fields.

#### THE GOVERNMENT FARMER AND HIS INDIAN POLICEMAN

The recent history of Acoma (as well as other pueblos) presents an interesting study of acculturation, and from the standpoint of the pueblo cultural disintegration. A great deal of cultural innovation



is to be attributed to traders, missionaries, neighboring Mexicans, white tourists, etc., but at the present time the most important fact in the process of acculturation is, I believe, the program of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. The results of other acculturation factors have been largely external, the changes occurring chiefly in the material culture. (The missionaries have had almost no success. A Franciscan priest who had worked for almost 14 years among the Acomas said that he did not believe he had a single thorough convert.) But the program of the United States Government is aimed at their inner life, their ideas and ideals. Moreover, its program is definite, concerted, and unrelenting.<sup>42</sup> There can be little doubt but that the forces brought to bear upon the pueblo by this bureau will ultimately bring about the disintegration of its politico-religious life, such as has already occurred at Laguna.

The point at which the interplay of forces between the pueblo and the Bureau of Indian Affairs is focused is the Government farmer and his Indian aide (called a "policeman"). It is through him that the Government puts its policies into operation, and it is with him that the pueblo political organization makes its adjustment to this external authority. There is a day school at Acomita which has considerable influence, of course. But this institution is backed by the police power vested in the Government farmer and his policeman. A survey of the functions of these officials will illuminate the multifold processes of cultural conflict and adjustment which are at work at Acoma to-day.

Compulsory school attendance is, I believe, the most effective means of breaking down the old traditions. There is a day school at Acomita, and many children go to the Government school at Albuquerque or to the Catholic school at Santa Fe. Perhaps the greatest change wrought in these children who go away to school, though perhaps the most subtle, is a weakening of their loyalty to their pueblo; their provincialism is shaken. They meet many children from other pueblos and Navahos; their horizon widens. Acoma still remains a most important place, but it no longer monopolizes the entire stage of their interest; and, I have no doubt, acquaintance with other peoples induces an unconscious attitude of comparison (which means criticism) which makes unqualified allegiance to their home pueblo considerably more difficult.

Then there are the contacts with the whites. The Indian Service schools are not the equivalent of the white city schools, nor do the Indian children have the early training which would enable them to do work on the same plane as the pupils of the Albuquerque High

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<sup>42</sup> I do not mean to imply that the bureau is actuated by malevolent motives, as some have charged. It is blind, and stupid at times, but its intentions are good.



School, but they do learn something. They are exposed to a great deal. They are taught something of hygiene. They are treated by physicians and dentists, and whether they get a clear notion of natural causes of disease or not, they are brought at least face to face with a system and a philosophy of medicine which completely ignores the principles upon which their curing societies rest. The boys learn something of blacksmithing, automobile mechanics, carpentry, etc., in the shops at the school, which not infrequently causes them to seek jobs away from the pueblo—in Albuquerque, Gallup, with the Santa Fe Railroad, etc.—for the home folks do anything but encourage the introduction of new crafts and trades.

The Federal Government has influenced agriculture to a considerable degree and hence, indirectly, religion and ceremonies. An excellent irrigation system has been constructed in the Acoma Valley. This has affected the Acoma people profoundly. For centuries they had lived upon the top of the Acoma mesa; they had lived there for many, many years when the Spanish arrived in 1540. Here they lived in a very compact village and breathed the air of a hoary antiquity which made innovation seem almost a sacrilege. Their farms were scattered about in the flats below. Change in the old pueblo was next to impossible, due to the difficulties of ascending the mesa, the limits to expansion, etc. Forty years ago there were a few little huts scattered among the farms in the Acoma Valley. Men went down there during the growing season and tended their crops. A little later some women went down to help; then the huts became larger. The children came with their mothers, and homes made their appearance along the little stream, and (later) the irrigation ditch. The tide swelled until almost every family at Acoma had a home in the new territory. The homes were built for permanence. At first they built high up on a steep mesa side (the "east village" at Acoma is the first site) from sheer force of tradition, for there was no longer danger of attack; but later the houses spread out, often being built quite apart from the others. At the present time there are houses strung out along the stream and the ditch for a distance of over 2 miles. Families now have more privacy than they ever had before, and this freedom from constant scrutiny and supervision can hardly fail to exert an influence upon freedom and independence of mind and spirit. At first the families came down to the valley from old Acoma for the summer season only. Then they began to spend the winter in Acoma and McCartys, going up to old Acoma only for the ceremonies.<sup>43</sup> Now some of the families do not go back to their old home, even for the ceremonies.

<sup>43</sup> There are no ceremonial chambers except at old Acoma, and no dances except the Comanche dance which is danced at fiestas.

The building of new homes in a new location gave them a chance to build as they pleased, to adopt any style of house, or any part thereof, that they chose. And there certainly is a great difference between the 3-story house rows at old Acoma, without doors on the ground floor and few or no windows, and the little individual houses with yards in the Acomita Valley. The new houses were furnished from the white man's stores. Stoves, beds, bureaus, tables, etc., which are rare at Acoma, are to be found in nearly every Acomita household.

It would be tedious to further detail the changes that have followed upon this descent from the wind-swept rock of old Acoma to the waters of the Acomita Valley, but most important among the consequences of this migration is, I believe, the shifting of psychological forces and values. This change of residence has contributed more to the gradual but inevitable breakdown of the old tradition than anything else I know of, and the initiating cause is water—water controlled and regulated by a system of irrigation. Physical separation from the sacred Acoma tends to weaken the bonds of attachment. Their new homes are more roomy, clean, and comfortable, and the journey to the old home is not an easy one. The Acoma people are becoming more mobile. For centuries they confined their dwelling area to a few acres on the old cliff; now they are spread out over square miles. Some families have even moved off the reservation entirely and have bought farm land near by. This points toward further dissemination and eventual disintegration of the pueblo. Families who live quite apart from each other in the Acomita Valley are more free to do and think as they please than when they were living in full view of the whole population at old Acoma. There is psychological disintegration taking place; the pueblo is tending to break up into family groups.

Then, Acoma is the home of the gods and the medicine men. The k'atsinas (the rain makers, q. v.) never visit the Acomita Valley. Indeed a k'atsina would be quite out of place among irrigation ditches.<sup>44</sup> And the motive behind the masked dances is, I have no doubt, weakened considerably by the presence of an irrigation system and windmills. Why should men go to such pains and effort to have a 4-day masked dance for rain when they can water the fields themselves with their ditches? The k'atsinas are becoming obsolete.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Although masked impersonators of these supernaturals officiate at ditch operations at Santo Domingo, such as directing their cleaning, etc.

<sup>45</sup> I make this assertion despite the fact that the number of kachinas impersonated at Acoma (as well as at Keresan villages on the Rio Grande) has been, and probably is now, increasing. But the percentage of people who really "believe in" these spirits is constantly decreasing. The kachinas may undergo a reinterpretation or may be kept for socio-ceremonial reasons alone. (See Doctor Parsons's illuminating chapter on Decay of Ceremonialism, Notes on Zuñi, pt. II, pp. 242-248.)

In still another way the Government is changing the life and belief of the Acomas. New or better seeds, livestock, or machinery is sent out to the reservation and given to them. Compulsory dipping of sheep is another blow at the medicine man.

To return to the Government farmer and his native policeman: much, of course, depends upon the disposition of the individual who fills this office; one man may be indolent and do as little as possible; another may be very conscientious and energetic. The Government farmer is assisted by a native, called a "policeman," who receives a salary from the Government. The duties of this policeman are to interpret and to perform any task set him by the farmer.

The farmer collects statistics regarding births, deaths, marriages, etc., among the people. He also gathers data concerning crops and livestock which he sends to the superintendent's office. He keeps the schoolhouse in repair and supplied with fuel and water (pumped to a tank at the schoolhouse by an engine or a windmill). He is the truant officer. He and his police assistant hound the parents and keep the children in school. He takes people to the hospital at old Laguna, either at their own request or upon order from the superintendent's office. Force is used if necessary. I have known of instances where a revolver was displayed rather conspicuously, and the children or patients carried off bodily. The policeman has spanked school children for destroying school property.

The farmer serves as secretary and adviser for the Indians. He helps them in their transactions with the trading post, in leasing land from the Government, in putting in claims for damages done by the railroad, etc. He frequently discusses matters of dispute among the Acoma people themselves or between them and neighbors, such as the Lagunas, Mexicans, etc. He hires men to do work on the roads, bridges, or for any building that may be undertaken by the Government. He collects pottery for fairs. He has some police authority.<sup>46</sup> He has arrested Mexicans who were selling mula blanca on the reservation, and he has even arrested Indians for disturbing the peace and has deposited them in the jail at Isleta or elsewhere.

All in all, the Government farmer and his native policeman are very important figures in the present-day life of the pueblo. It is through him chiefly that the policies of the United States Government are being put into operation (without the farmer at Acoma the day-school attendance would be very small indeed), and it is unre-

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<sup>46</sup> Precisely what the legal status of the Acoma Indian is I was never able to learn; I could never find anyone who knew. The extent to which he is subject to civil and criminal law of the Federal, State, and county governments seems to be very uncertain. The farmer may, and often does, act upon his own judgment and initiative, and sometimes upon his own responsibility.

mitting execution of these policies that is contributing so rapidly to the ultimate disintegration of Acoma as an integrated socio-political unit.

#### THE ELECTIONS

The cacique, as we have seen, appoints all officers, with the exception, of course, of his own successor, and the medicine men, who are only secondarily political in character.

The elections take place during the Christmas week. Nearly everyone is up at old Acoma at this time. Some time before Christmas the cacique decides upon his men for the forthcoming year. Before these names are announced they are given by the cacique to the medicine men. It is very important to note, too, that the medicine men may substitute a man of their choice for one of the cacique's. They very seldom do this, it is said, but they reserve the right to veto the cacique's choice and to substitute a man of their own selection, and the cacique may not protest. "It must be for the best," they say.

The appointments are to be announced on December 28. On the evening of the 27th, the war chief goes to the head man of each *estufa* (*k'aate*) and requests him to have every one of his men in the *komanira* (the name of the building in which the appointments are announced; name of Spanish derivation) at the appointed time. Everyone must attend. If there are men in the sheep camps, boys are sent to relieve them. No man may be excused without very good cause. Many men do not wish to shoulder the responsibilities, labors, and privations of office, for which honor and distinction are the only rewards, and they seek to avoid such a possibility by being absent when the appointments are announced.

On the morning of the 28th, at the hour set, the men gather in the *komanira*. There is a sort of stage at the south end of the large room. The medicine men are seated in the middle of this stage with the *yabi* (q. v.) of the outgoing officers lying before them. These small staffs have been recharged with "power" by the medicine men for use during the coming year. The war chiefs also are on the stage. The men of the village are in the main part of the hall. The war chief announces the names of the new officers. As their names are called each man ascends the platform to receive from the medicine men his *ya'bi* (the governor and his men receive American canes; the other officers are presented with native staffs). The announcements are made in the following order: The war chief and his two assistant war chiefs, the cooks, the governor, his two lieutenants, the *bickales* (*fiscales*), and the water boss.

Sometimes when a man is named for an office he tries to refuse. Sometimes a man named for war chief weeps upon learning of his

appointment and tries to be excused, but, of course, no one will allow it. Instead, they encourage and reassure him, and speak of his many and eminent qualifications for such an important and honorable position.

#### "POLITICAL PARTIES" AT ACOMA

The use of this term may seem at first glance to be an unwarranted projection of our own concepts into foreign material, but there is no disputing the fact that there are parties at Acoma. There are Liberals and Conservatives. To be sure, the interests and activities of these parties quite exceed the bounds of politics; they cover every phase of life. But the same may be said for the political parties in practically all of the nations of to-day.

In a word, the Conservatives are those who wish to preserve the old aboriginal traditions intact. The Liberals wish to adopt such items of white culture as would be to their advantage; they wish to compromise between the old and the new. Their position might be stated somewhat as follows: "Beyond the boundaries of our reservation there are many peoples. Our ways of life are not the ways of other groups, nor are they superior at every point. The whites are crowding in on us, and whether we wish it or not, we must deal with them. Through ignorance of their ways and their laws we are often at a disadvantage in our transactions with them; we are very often cheated in business deals. Therefore we should learn their ways in order to protect ourselves against them. Then the whites have many things which we have found useful—the rifle, kerosene lamps, hoes, saws, etc. If we have profited by taking these things from the whites, should we not go further and adopt anything else that we like? The white man's treatment of disease is vastly superior to our own; we should follow their doctors, etc."

This is the way the Conservatives feel: "We are an ancient people. We have a long and honorable past. We were living here happily, long before the white people ever came. Our fathers have handed down to us the wisdom of many centuries. They found it good, and all went well. Everyone was happy. Then the white men came. They have crowded in on us on all sides. They are forever trying to meddle with our own business. They are trying to run our lives. Their Government is forcing us to do things which we hate. Their churchmen are trying to rob us of our gods. Our children are driven into their schools like sheep into a corral. The young folks are falling away from the ways of our fathers and are losing respect for the gods who keep us, and it is all because of the whites. We hate them and want to have nothing to do with them.

Every compromise is a defeat for us. Let us not touch them in any way lest we perish."<sup>47</sup>

As one would expect, the Liberal Party is composed largely of young men and women who have spent years away at schools. They have seen enough of the ways of other people to have become impatient of the intolerant and bigoted provincialism of the Conservatives. They see no reason why they should not bring such machinery, tools, household utensils, etc., into the pueblo as would make their life easier and more pleasant. They wish to learn the ways of white men in order to protect themselves in legal and commercial dealings with them. They realize that the medicine men are simply magicians, and that they frequently spread disease, etc. But the core of the Liberal position is an emotional attitude; they are willing to change—to compromise.

The key of the Conservatives' position is likewise an emotional state. They suffer from an emotional fixation upon the past. Nevertheless, the Conservatives are quite correct in charging many of their present ills to the whites. They have suffered much at their hands. Moreover, they have adopted the most efficient policy possible to preserve the old ways; no commerce of any kind with the whites. This policy, which is an unconscious, intuitive reaction to white encroachment, is tremendously effective in serving their interests. For they are right; every compromise is a loss for them. Their ideal is absolute isolation, and they approach it as closely as possible.

At the present time the Conservative Party is in the majority. They predominate numerically and, to even greater extent, in influence. Most of the officers are Conservatives. This is, of course, what one would expect. The officers are the custodians of the old tradition. Much of the power and vehemence of the Conservative Party is due, without doubt, to this fact. The officers would lose their power, their status, if the Liberal policy were adopted. Indeed the very positions would become extinct. Old Laguna stands before their eyes as an example, the bones of the ancient régime bleaching in the sun. Naturally the men in office will do everything in their power to continue the system which gives them power, distinction, and status; and the Liberals do not want offices (except perhaps the governorship) because they are identified with the régime which they wish to supplant.

By degrees, however, the Liberal Party grows in numbers, and the hold of the Conservatives, although more militant and articulate, grows weaker. It is just a question of time before the whole scheme shall collapse, and the integrity of the political and social organization of the pueblo be lost forever.

<sup>47</sup> It must be understood, of course, that neither side has expressed itself in these words: they have not analyzed the situation carefully nor consciously stated their position, but these statements of mine well represent the feeling and position of these two parties.



## SUMMARY

Government at Acoma, as at other pueblos, is theocratic: The officers are priests and the authority which they exercise is religious (supernatural). The officers and secret societies are the chief custodians of sacred lore, paraphernalia, and ritual. Pueblo administration is concerned chiefly with ceremonies, which may be divided into two classes: (*a*) Those which promote the growth of crops by influencing the weather, the heavenly bodies, etc. (the kachina cult, the solstice ceremonies, etc.); and (*b*) those which cure disease and exorcise evil spirits from the pueblo (the medicine cult). Profane duties of government, such as business with aliens, keeping order and peace, repairing roads and communal buildings, etc., are delegated to the governor and his aides who have come into existence (since 1540) for this purpose and to screen the existence of the sacred officers from the eyes of the whites.

We have discussed at some length the Government farmer and his native policeman, and the two parties, the Liberals and the ultra-Conservatives, in order to illuminate the functioning of the government under present conditions, and to indicate the forces which are at work—mechanisms of cultural change. The ultra-Conservatives wish to remain 100 per cent Indian, to purge the pueblo of all things American (except, no doubt, some tools and weapons), but they are fighting a hopeless situation. The forces of American culture, assisted somewhat by the Liberals, are encroaching more and more upon the Acoma people. It is simply a matter of time before the present politico-religious organization disintegrates and Acoma loses its integrity as a pueblo.

## CEREMONIES AND CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

Ceremonialism at Acoma, as at other pueblos, is a conspicuous phase of their life. Functionally, one may view ceremonies from three angles: They serve to establish rapport with supernaturals whose favors are desired; they are pleasurable, social occasions; and they represent the many-sided expression of the artistic talents of the people. Thus, religious, social, and æsthetic ends are served. Possibly some do not have religious significance, except in an indirect way, but most ceremonies incorporate these three factors in varying degrees.

The most conspicuous phases of Acoma ceremonialism are the rain cult, or kachina cult (in which men impersonate the kachinas or rain gods), and the medicine cult (societies of doctors cure and prevent disease by virtue of powers received from certain supernaturals). Then there is the war cult. The O'pi, or Warriors' Society, and the koshare functioned in this capacity. Since wars have long since



ceased this phase of ceremonialism has largely disappeared. The Caiyaik, or Hunters' Society, too, seems to have suffered a decline. Lastly, there are some fiesta dances, such as on San Estevan's Day (September 2) and San Lorenzo's Day at Acomita (August 10), and some miscellaneous dances—Comanche, Navaho, Eagle, Deer, etc.—which are performed at Christmas time, or on anonymous occasions.

Before entering upon descriptions and discussions of these various cults and ceremonies, let us turn to the supernaturals of Acoma and to the ceremonial calendar.

#### THE PANTHEON

*The sun (ocatc).*—He is a great spirit, perhaps the greatest of all supernaturals. He is called father (naicbia). People pray to him often with corn meal. Prayer sticks are made for him. He figures in myths as the father of twin boys (sometimes the twin war gods, Masewi and Oyoyewi). He is prayed to at rabbit hunts, and, of course, he is the chief object of the solstice ceremonies (q. v., and other relevant sections). He is pictured in colored carvings on the face of rock mesas. He is not represented in myths as being manlike in form; the pictures of him show merely a face with rays radiating from the outer edge.

*Masewi and Oyoyewi.*—These are the twin war gods. They are very important.<sup>48</sup> They are the patron gods of the O'pi (the Warriors' Society) and of the war chiefs. Anyone, however, may pray to them for strength. They are represented with masks in dances. They are also depicted on altars of curing societies. (Pl. 1, *b*.) On the eastern edge of the mesa of old Acoma there are two rock columns (a natural formation) which are said to mark the place where the spirits of these two gods have lived since they left the Acoma people in person. They symbolize courage, strength, and virtue. They are also represented in mythology as great rain makers. They were the leaders and champions of the Acoma people in the early days when they lived in the north, and during their long migration to the south.

*The k'atsina.*—These are the anthropomorphic, spirit rain makers. (See Origin-Migration myth, and others, for accounts of these spirits; also see accompanying pictures and descriptions of the masked dancers.) They are of the greatest importance in Acoma ceremonialism. There is an indefinite number of them who live at a mythological place called Wenimats<sup>1</sup>, located "somewhere out west," perhaps near the Zuñi Mountains. They are also called shiwanna (storm clouds are called shiwanna). About 60 k'atsina are represented by masked dancers at Acoma. (See complete list.) There is an indefinite number of some kinds, but of others there is a fixed

<sup>48</sup> See the myths which tell of these supernaturals

number—two, one, etc. The same situation seems to prevail at Wenimats<sup>1</sup>. A more detailed account of these spirits will be given in the section devoted to the kachina cult.

*The k'obictaiya.*—These are spirits who live in the east, at hak'oaikute' (the sunrise). They also live at haniakocoko, a crater-like place southeast of Acoma. The k'obictaiya are regarded as very powerful and beneficent spirits, but they do not reveal themselves as clearly and as definitely in the minds of the people as do the k'atsina; information concerning the k'obictaiya is both meager and vague. The k'obictaiya have never known sexual intercourse. It came about in this way: The daughter of a former war chief died. Some k'anadyaiya (witches) stole the corpse and restored her to life. They were going to seduce her, but the k'obictaiya came to the rescue. They were going to fight for the possession of the girl, but decided to play a game instead. They played a game with a top (a k'owaico tororo). If the witches won, they could do as they pleased with the girl; if the k'obictaiya won, they would get the girl, but they would have to forego sexual intercourse forever. The k'obictaiya won the girl and have remained continent ever since. Another informant stated that the k'obictaiya were just like the k'atsina before the fight at White House; they did not want to fight the people. After the fight they felt that they could no longer live with the k'atsina, so they moved to the southeast, to the sunrise, hakoik'ute<sup>2</sup>. Some are said to dwell at a craterlike place southeast of Acoma called hanyakocoko. The two head men of the k'obictaiya who are impersonated at the winter solstice, Dziukiri and K'okiri, were said (by one informant) to represent the "morning star and the evening star." So far as I could learn, they are not assigned to any particular function (except during the winter solstice ceremony, when they promote fertility and strengthen weak and sick people, q. v.). Prayer sticks are deposited for the k'obictaiya. Masked men personate them at the winter solstice.<sup>49</sup>

*Iatik*<sup>50</sup>.—Perhaps this supernatural should have been mentioned first. She is very sacred and of the greatest importance.<sup>50</sup> She is called the mother of all the Indians. Her home is Shipap, the place of emergence, in the north. After death a person goes back to his

<sup>49</sup> At San Felipe and at Santo Domingo, the k'obictaiya are represented with little anthropomorphic figurines on the altars of medicine men. No masks are used.

<sup>50</sup> It is impossible to say which of the Acoma supernaturals is most important. I do not believe they are arranged in a definite hierarchy in native conception. The sun, Masewi, and Iatik<sup>50</sup> are each very important. So are the k'atsinas. But each is important in his own way and for different reasons. Comparisons are very difficult. The sun is a symbol of cosmic power, so to speak, but he is not anthropomorphic, he is not of the order of human beings. Masewi is a superhuman man, a champion. The k'atsinas are closely associated with the people and are very important in sustaining life by rain making. Iatik<sup>50</sup> seems to be the symbol of human life itself, its very essence. She is quite remote, however, from the daily activities of her children. She is not represented in drawings nor in costume. She is not dramatized in ceremonies. The medicine men have a fetish which symbolizes her (an ear of corn, q. v.).

mother, to Shipap. A short prayer and a bit of food are offered to Iatik<sup>a</sup> before each meal. Prayer sticks are deposited to her. She seems to watch over human beings, not in any special phase (such as war or food) but with reference to the well-being and continuance of life itself. In certain rituals one speaks of getting the breath of Iatik<sup>a</sup>, the breath of life, from Shipap. A tender feeling is kept for her, as well as respect.

*The moon.*—The moon is said to be one of the spirits. Prayers are offered to her. I learned no more about her. She seems to be relatively unimportant.

*The stars.*—Some stars, I understood, are supernaturals, but I did not ascertain which ones. They are not very important. They seem to be mentioned only in prayers.

*The earth.*—The earth is mentioned in prayers.

*The clouds.*—The clouds are quite important, especially the storm clouds. They are prayed to. Feathers on the tops of masks are said to symbolize clouds. They are conspicuous in paintings on medicine bowls, altar paintings, etc. There are men in curing ceremonies who blow bubbles to symbolize clouds. The clouds are called *henati*, but *shiwanna* is used to refer to the cloud people, the rain makers. In paintings of clouds on the walls of ceremonial chambers clouds are represented as having eyes and mouth.

*Lightning.*—Lightning is sacred. Its association with rain makes it very important. It is associated, also, with hunting. Hunters pray to the lightning when they start out on a hunt. There is a close association between flint and lightning; both exhibit flashes of light. Flints are called lightning stones. The fact that lightning sometimes strikes and kills also allies it to hunting. Lightning seems to be a symbol of power, and flint appears to be a capsule which is capable of containing this power which may be drawn upon. Sometimes people wear a little flint arrowhead on a string tied around the neck; this is to enable the wearer to profit from the power of lightning. Medicine men have big flints which they employ to secure "power." There are two kinds of lightning: Zigzag lightning is called *bo'trowieti*; sheet lightning is called *k'opestotsa*. There is a little plant which is sometimes placed on top of a house to keep the lightning from striking it.

*The four rain makers of the cardinal points.*—In the north lives Ca'kak at K'aweebima (Mount Taylor); he brings the snow. Guitchia, who makes rain, lives in the west at Būnya Kot (Zuni Mountain). At Dau'tyuma in the south lives Mai'yatcuna, who brings the drizzling rain, the *tsūnūnūka*.<sup>51</sup> Cuitira lives in the east at a mountain called K'ūtcana; he brings the fog and mist. These supernaturals are merely mentioned in prayers.

<sup>51</sup> Ordinary rain is called *k'a'tca*.

*Hunting gods.*—We have already seen that the sun is called upon at rabbit hunts, but the hunting deity par excellence is the cougar, or mountain lion. Formerly there was a hunters' society called the Caiyaik. They were medicine men of the hunt. It was their business to supply hunting medicines to hunters and to assist in communal hunts. Their patron spirit was the mountain lion, and they possessed a little stone figure of this animal. (See Caiyaik.)

*Medicine gods.*—(The gods who possessed the power to cure disease will be discussed under The Medicine Cult.)

*San Estevan.*—St. Stephen is the patron saint of Acoma. His day, September 2, is observed at Acoma, with services in the old Spanish church and with a corn dance in the plaza. (See The Fiesta of San Estevan.) He is regarded as having some power and is disposed to help the Acoma people.

*Yoshthi (Dios, God).*—The Christian God is also regarded as a supernatural, and hence has some power; but he does not have as large a following as San Estevan, who has a peculiar obligation to Acoma. He is not regarded, in general, as having very much power, and he is not particularly well disposed to the people. It is said that he punishes some people after death; none of the native deities do this. Sometimes prayer sticks are offered to God, but they are always accompanied by sticks for Iatik<sup>u</sup>.

*Cristo (Christ).*—He is regarded as a supernatural, but not primarily for the Indians. He has very little following.

#### CEREMONIAL CALENDAR<sup>52</sup>

The following is a list of ceremonial observances at Acoma during the year, with the dates (approximately) for each:

December 24. Christmas Eve, ceremony in church.

December 25, 26, 27. Miscellaneous dances.

December 28. Elections announced.

January (?). Installation of war chief. (See this section for details of procedure and the year's program.)

January (?). Scalp dance, k'atseta, for the incoming officers.

June 20–21. Summer solstice, dinya'micoko.

June 24. San Juan's Day, rooster pull.

June 29. San Pedro's Day, rooster pull.

July 12–14. Natyati, the summer masked dance.

July 24. Rooster pull.

July 25. San Diego's Day, corn dance.

August 10. San Lorenzo's Day, corn dance at Acomita.

September 2. San Estevan's Day, fiesta at old Acoma.

September 20 (cir.). Fall masked dance.

December 21. Winter solstice, k'oa'micoko.

<sup>52</sup> See Doctor Parsons's detailed calendar for Zúñi, Notes on Zúñi, pt. 1, pp. 151–182.

And other ceremonies:

G'aiyabai'tsani, the fight with the k'atsinas, comes every five years, usually in the early spring.

The masked dance of the Corn clan comes every five years, usually in the middle of the summer, about the last of July.

Scalp dances were held after a kill (in the old days), or at the direction of the Opi.

Rabbit hunts (q. v.).

Miscellaneous dances (q. v.).

Depositing prayer sticks (q. v.).

In some cases, such as saints' days, the dates of ceremonies are fixed, such as the fiesta of San Estevan, but the dates of other ceremonies can be fixed only approximately, since they vary somewhat. The big summer masked dance, for example, might begin on July 11 or July 12. The cacique sets the date for this, as well as other ceremonies which may vary chronologically. I do not know how he arrives at the date for the summer k'atsina dance; the time for the solstice ceremonies he determines by watching the sun at rising.

Rabbit hunts are held before almost all important occasions. There is one for the war chief in February (shortly after his entrance to office), one before the summer solstice, one before the fiesta of San Estevan, and one before the winter solstice.

The rooster pulls and the miscellaneous dances are of minor importance. Whether they have a rooster pull on San Pedro's Day or not is optional; sometimes they do and sometimes they do not. The dances referred to as miscellaneous are the eagle, Comanche, buffalo, basko, etc. (Basko is frequently rendered "corn dance" in English.)<sup>63</sup> These dances are merely recreational in character. Anyone who wishes to dance may join in. They are not sacred and may be witnessed by the whites or Mexicans. Dances of these kinds always follow Christmas Eve, and a Comanche dance is nearly always held at Acomita on San Lorenzo's Day, but these dances may be and are held at other times. During the winter at old Acoma people frequently get together for dancing, and even during the summer at Acomita they sometimes have a corn dance (basko dance) in one of the houses.

The ceremonial calendar must be viewed, then, as a routine which is both rigid and flexible, sacred and trivial. There are some things which must be done at certain times. There are other matters which may be observed or omitted at varying times. Some ceremonies are of the most sacred nature; others are trivial occasions for enjoyment.

<sup>63</sup> Doctor Parsons suggests that basko may have been derived from the Spanish paskwa, a term applied to Christmas and Easter. Subsequent studies at Keresan villages in the east have corroborated this.



"All important occasions must be preceded by, or accompanied with, the making and depositing of prayer sticks," might well be taken as a valid generalization of ceremonial procedure. They are made before all masked dances, the solstice ceremonies, at birth, and at death, for all important ceremonial occasions are intimately concerned with the supernatural world, and prayer sticks are the most formal and satisfactory means of establishing the desired rapport with the spirits. (A section will be devoted to prayer sticks later on.)

We shall now proceed with descriptions of various ceremonies. By far the most important phase of communal ceremonialism at Acoma is the personation of the k'atsina by masked dancers.<sup>54</sup> And if one will keep in mind fruitfulness of fields, which implies abundance of rain (brought by the k'atsina), and the regular sequence of the seasons (the solstices), he will have the conceptual core of the larger part of Acoma ceremonialism. A detailed account of the kachina (k'atsina) cult, then, will be the best preface to the ceremonies which follow.

#### THE KACHINA CULT

As we have already seen, the k'atsina are spirit rain makers. In appearance they are exactly like the masked dancers. In the old days, when the Acoma people were still living in the north (see Origin-Migration Myth), the k'atsina used to come to the village when the people were lonesome or sad and dance for them; this cheered them greatly. The k'atsina used to bring gifts, too, such as food of all kinds, buckskins, bows and arrows, beads, etc.; they taught the people arts and crafts and hunting. And after the people began to grow their own food the k'atsina would come to the village when the fields were dry and thirsty and dance. Rain always followed. The Indians owe almost everything to the k'atsina.

But after the great fight between the k'atsina and the people (see myth Guititanic for account of this episode) the spirits refused to come to the village any more. However, they told the Indians that they could wear masks and costumes to represent k'atsina and act as if they were k'atsina. If they did this and honored and respected the k'atsina, then they would come and possess the persons of the masked dancers and all would be well—rain would come. That is why the Acoma people have masked dances to-day, and that is why the k'atsina are so revered.

The k'atsina live at a place called Wenimats<sup>1</sup>; it is "somewhere out west, perhaps near the Zuñi Mountains." There they live very much

<sup>54</sup> I say communal to distinguish one order of ceremonies from those of the curing societies, which are, strictly speaking, the property of these secret societies.

as the Indians at Acoma do. They have a chief, or hotceni, named k'imac°. They have fields, they hunt, gamble, and dance much as the Acoma people do. (See the various myths which tell about the k'atsina.) There are some k'atsina women, too. These are usually called k'otcinako, or yellow woman. But some of them have faces of other colors (it is the face alone that has the distinguishing color); there is one with a white face, g'acinako. According to some of these myths, these women are virgins; they never live with the male k'atsina. Still, there is the story of Tsictik'atsame (q. v.) which implies family life at Wenimats<sup>1</sup>; one of the chiefs had a daughter who became the bride of Tsictik'atsame, who was himself a k'atsina.

Not all of the k'atsina, however, live at Wenimats<sup>1</sup>; a goodly number live near Acoma. This, I believe, is due to the very long occupancy of the mesa of old Acoma; every inch of ground near there is very familiar to the people, and some of the sites have become associated with myths and legends. Another consideration is the richness of the kachina cult at Acoma and the elaboration it has undergone since it arrived; abundance of kachinas is probably both cause and effect of these special spirits who live at designated spots.<sup>55</sup>

*The kachina organization.*—With reference to the k'atsina the people of Acoma are divided into two groups—those who believe that the masked dancers are really gods and those who know full well that they are the men and boys of the village with their heads encased in buffalo hide. The first group, of course, is made up of young children. At an early age they see the dancers in the plaza; perhaps one of them, impressive in his mask, costume, paint, and feathers, picks his way through the spectators to give some child a present of fruit, or perhaps a k'atsina oak (baby, or doll, q. v.). They are told that these dancers are great gods from Wenimats<sup>1</sup>; they are taught to regard them with awe.

Then comes the day of awakening; they are initiated into the secrets and mysteries of the k'atsina and the dancers. Boys and girls alike are initiated, but the rôle played by women in the kachina organization is negligible.<sup>56</sup> The women prepare food for the dancers, assist them in their distributions of gifts, etc., but they never wear a mask in a dance even though a k'otcinak'o (a k'atsina woman) be impersonated. The people who have been initiated into the secrets

<sup>55</sup> The fact that Acoma is not far from Zuñi, where the kachina cult is especially luxuriant, illuminates the situation somewhat. Acoma received the mask cult before the Rio Grande villages did (assuming, of course, that it came from the west, which I believe to be the case) and has received more kachinas than her eastern sisters.

<sup>56</sup> Among the eastern Keres the women are kept in theoretical ignorance of the identity of the masked dancers, with the exception of a few women (called sicti, or initiated), who assist the masked dancers during ceremonies.



of the k'atsina are called G'uiraina tcaian<sup>1</sup>.<sup>57</sup> Children affiliate with the kiva of the father.

There is a headman for each estufa (kiva, or k'a'ate).<sup>58</sup> He is appointed by the cacique and serves for life. His duties are in general the administration of the unit of the kachina organization belonging to his estufa; specifically, he is the custodian of the masks, keeping them safely secured between ceremonies; he takes them out and paints them for dances and feeds them and offers them cigarettes; he summons his men for ceremonies and instructs them in matters of preparation, etc.

*Initiation of children into the kachina organization.*—The war chief keeps track of the children to be initiated. Initiations are held at intervals of about five or six years. In the old days initiations were held at the winter solstice; now they are held during the summer. Formerly, children were initiated at ages ranging from 9 to 12 (approximately); now, however, the initiation is usually postponed until the children come back from the schools to stay in the village.

When the war chief thinks the time has come for another initiation he confers with the cacique, who sets a date. Then the war chief goes through the streets (four days before the initiation is to take place) announcing the forthcoming event.

On the fourth day before the ceremony the father of a child to be initiated (or the child's maternal uncle, if the father be dead) looks about for some one to act as his child's sponsor during the initiation. He always chooses a good friend, and usually a clansman. The father makes four wabani (feather bunches, q. v.) each one containing a wi'icbi (corn-husk cigarette which has been lighted and extinguished) and wraps them in a corn husk. This package he carries to the man he has chosen for sponsor and hands it to him, saying "Dium" (brother). The recipient replies, "Dium". The father prays, asking his friend to look out for his child during the initiation, and asks the spirits to grant him a long, useful, and happy life.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> In the Rio Grande villages there are two complementary secret societies, the Koshare and the Quirena. They are definitely organized, have a headman, new members are secretly initiated, etc. They assist at ceremonies. At Acoma the Koshare Society is found, but the Quirena exists in quite a different form. There, instead of being a small secret society with special functions, the Quirena (called G'uiraina at Acoma) is simply the aggregate of all individuals who have been initiated into the secrets of the k'atsina. The features which characterize the Quirena in the east, such as special ceremonial functions, a distinctive costume, a mythological residence, etc., are not found at Acoma. Acoma, it seems, has worked out a compromise between east and west. It has the names "Koshare" and "Quirena," and the form and functions of the Koshare Society, which are eastern features. Then it has the idea of a tribal society whose functions are closely associated with kachina impersonation (viz, the G'uiraina tcaian), which is a Zuñi characteristic. The absence of the moiety principle, too, is a western feature rather than an eastern one. One might suppose a priori that such a situation would be found at Acoma, since its geographic position is about midway between Zuñi and the pueblos of the Rio Grande.

<sup>58</sup> Another informant stated that there were two headmen. The man who told me that there was one headman said that there was an assistant.

<sup>59</sup> The man who acts as sponsor is called neyawaimiti; the children to be whipped are called naiyama-watna tsiwatcomasa.

The sponsor divides the package of wabani and corn meal into two parts. With one he prays for the child; the other he takes to his brother or uncle, telling him that he is sponsoring a child (is "going to raise a child") at initiation, and asks his assistance at that time. (This man is to place a feather in the child's hair immediately after he has been whipped.)

The initiation ceremony is always held in tsitcinic ka'ate, or Mauharots (the "head estufa"). On the day of the ceremony the cacique goes to Mauharots and the Antelope altar is erected. In the evening the cacique and the Antelope men, the war chiefs and their cooks, and some medicine men gather in the head estufa; all the other men of the village go to their respective kivas where they spend the evening singing.

The children are to be whipped by a k'atsina, Tsitsünits ("Big Teeth"). This spirit is personated by kabina tcaiani. In the evening of the initiation he goes to haimatats' k'aate to get his mask and costume. He will be accompanied by four (more or less) g'omaïowic ("scouts," pl. 10, b). They, too, get their masks at haimatats'. They dress and go out on the west side of the mesa; they are to come from Wenimats', you see, which lies in the west.

After Tsitsünits has gone to the west side of the village the war chief goes through the streets summoning the children to the head estufa. The sponsors, who have been waiting in their homes, rush to get their children. Both sponsor and child have been bathed for this occasion, and their heads washed in yucca suds. The sponsor wears a cotton shirt and trousers (somewhat resembling pyjamas), a "banda" or ribbon around his head, and moccasins; a blanket is thrown over his shoulders. The boys to be whipped wear only a breechcloth; the girls wear a thin calico dress. All of the sponsors try to reach the ceremonial chamber first in order to secure good seats. The sponsor carries the child on his back, covered with his blanket. He carries the child down the ladder and then puts him on the earth floor. Then he leads him to the altar, taking the child by the left hand and leading him forward on the east side of the fireplace. The child faces the altar; the sponsor stands behind him. The sponsor puts the wabani in the child's hands and places his own under them. The sponsor prays; when finished, he throws the wabani on the altar. Then they find a seat, leaving the altar and passing to the west of the fireplace. The sponsor takes off his blanket and folds it up for a cushion. The child sits in front of him.

All the while the singers (called madaikotitc, "grape men"), the kuuts' hanote (Antelope men) are singing. The war chiefs will be along the west wall near them; they join in the singing if they wish to. In the other estufas men are singing. No women are present in Mauharots; the girls are sponsored by men.

It is now time for Tsitsünits to arrive; the war chief sends a lieutenant to get him. Tsitsünits and the g'omaïowic approach, "hallooing like k'atsina." They cry "Ho, ho, ho, ho!", or "Ho-o-o-o-o!", or "Hu lu lu lu!" They traverse the circuit of the eight dancing stations (see fig. 1), walking very fast. Then they go up on top of Mauharots. There they halloo and stamp their feet very fast; this is to frighten the children. The entrance to the estufa is covered with a buffalo hide. Two or three of the men who are assisting Tsitsünits lift one side of this cover and thrust their forearms (which are painted white) inside; their hands are filled with fruit or nuts. The sponsors scramble to get these gifts for their children. (Sometimes a sponsor has himself hidden away some gift, which he slyly produces for his ward.) The children are told that these gifts have come to them from the k'atsina. Tsitsünits and his men sing a few songs on top of the chamber.

At the close of the songs on the roof, the cacique rises and goes to the altar. He picks up a small pottery bowl of ashes mixed with water. He carries it toward the fireplace, pauses, and hurls it toward the roof opening.<sup>60</sup> Immediately the buffalo hide is snatched away and Tsitsünits comes rushing down the ladder (his back toward the rungs), followed by the g'o'maïowic. Tsitsünits goes about in a menacing attitude, glaring at the children. He brandishes his whip. The g'o'maïowic run around the chamber frightening the children. "Oh, look at all the children in here! How did you all get in here?" they cry. And "All you children are going to get a whipping!"

Tsitsünits goes to the east end of the tsiwai'matyam (the planks over the resonance chamber, fig. 2) and begins to dance. He dances two songs and then goes over to the east end. Then the sponsor who is nearest the west end rises and places his child on the center of the tsiwai'matyam, facing south. He causes the child to lean forward; the sponsor clasps the child's hands in his. Tsitsünits then strikes the child four times with his soap-weed whip: twice on the back near the shoulder blades, once on the back of the legs between hip and knee, and once on the calves of the legs. The child and his sponsor then exchange places, and Tsitsünits whips the sponsor in the same way. All the while the g'o'maïowic run and jump about the room yelling "Oh, look at the blood! Look at the blood, how it's running down!" etc.

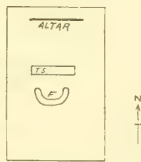


FIGURE 2.—Diagram of Mauharots, the head estufa. Ts=tsiwei'matyam. F=fireplace

<sup>60</sup> I could not learn why this is done. Ashes are used in other connections as a prophylactic against witches.

After the sponsor has been whipped he and his ward leave the *tsiwaimityum* to return to their places. The sponsor's brother comes up and fastens a *waba'ni* (feather bunch) in the child's hair and gives him a new name.<sup>61</sup> Then they go back to their seats. The scouts (the *g'o'maiowac*) come up and give the sponsor some herb medicine. He chews it, spits in his hands and rubs it on the child where he has been whipped, then on his own body.

All of the children are whipped. *Tsitsünits* goes out, followed by the *g'o'maiowac*; they go back to the west (to *Wenimats*<sup>1</sup>), unmask, dress and return to their *estufa*. The *cacique* rises, gives thanks for the new initiates and wishes them well. Everyone is given permission to leave. The sponsors take their children home. Then they and their brothers go to their respective *estufas* to join the other men there in singing songs of, and to, the *k'atsina*. The *cacique* and the Antelope men (*kuuts*<sup>1</sup> *hanotc*) and the war chiefs remain in *Mauharots*, singing. All during the night groups of men from the five *estufas* come to *Mauharots* (*tsatcnic* *ka'atc*) to dance.

The whipped children wear the *waba'ni* (feather) for four days after the ceremony. On the morning of the fifth day the wife of each sponsor goes to the home of their "child" and brings him to her house. There she removes the feather (*waba'ni*) from his hair and washes his head with yucca suds. She bathes him and dresses him in new clothing that has been made for him. Then she gives her "son" (or "daughter") breakfast. After breakfast she gives him some presents, some corn, fruit, nuts, etc. These gifts have come from the *k'atsina*. Then she takes the child home. The "mother" carries the basket of fruit and nuts, but the child must carry the corn himself, in a blanket. He must plant this corn.

The households of the newly initiated children must not eat meat or salt nor have sexual intercourse for four days following the whipping. Most of the other households observe these restrictions too.

Some time after the whipping a maternal uncle takes the child back of the old Mission church. There they find the *cacique* gathered with some Antelope men (*kuuts*<sup>1</sup> *hanotc*) and some *k'atsina*. The *k'atsina* are sitting down with their masks on the ground before them. The secret is out now—the children learn that the masked dancers are really their fathers and uncles. The uncle causes the child to make a prayer stick, and with it to pray to the *k'atsina*. Then he takes the child to the *cacique* and seats him on the ground facing the *cacique*. The *cacique* tells the child that the time has come for him to learn all about the *k'atsina* and the masked dancers. He tells him the story of the great fight at White House (*kacikateut*<sup>7a</sup>) long ago in the north, when almost all of the Indians were killed by

<sup>61</sup> In former times the children had their hair clipped close to the head except for the crown; the *waba'ni* was attached to this. The man who fastens the feather is called *maiyaatcotia* *G'onic*.

the offended spirits. He explains why the k'atsina do not now visit the village in person and why it is necessary for men to impersonate them. The cacique impresses the child with the importance of these ceremonies and the necessity of undiminished respect and reverence for the k'atsina. Finally, the child is bound to secrecy and is warned of some terrible calamity that would befall him should he ever reveal any of the secrets.

Then the cacique takes the child to the head k'atsina, who holds some prayer sticks in his hands. The child's hands are placed under those of the k'atsina, and the cacique places his hands under the child's. The cacique prays at great length. He blesses the child, asks that he may have a long life, that he may be successful in farming and in hunting, that his parents may live long, etc. Then the cacique formally presents the child to the head k'atsina, stating that he is now a member of G'uiraina tcaian<sup>1, 62</sup>

#### CATALOGUE OF THE K'ATSINA

The following is a list of the k'atsina impersonated at Acoma, with a few notes regarding each. Pictures of most of them have been secured.

1. Wai' oca (duck); full company; belongs to Daut'korits estufa, appears in Natyati (the summer dance) and sometimes at the summer solstice; sometimes in the September masked dance; is accompanied by Pai'yatyamo as side dancer.
2. Guacstotc; full company; belongs to Kockasi'ts kiva; appears in Natyati; is accompanied by two Co'nata side dancers.
3. Guabitcani; full company; belongs to Coskats kiva; appears in Natyati; is accompanied by Pai'yatyamo side dancer.
4. He'mic; full company; belongs to Cutrini'ts kiva; appears in Natyati; is accompanied by Gauwactca'ra and two k'oteininako.
5. Mo'ots (Moqui, Hopi); full company; belongs to Haimatats kiva; appears in Natyati; is accompanied by one or two G'o'maiowic.
6. Saiyai'tuwi; full company; belongs to Cutrinit's kiva; appears at winter solstice.
7. K'aiya; full company; belongs to Daut'korits and to Haimatats; appears at winter solstice; sometimes comes at summer solstice.
8. Te'akwiya; full company; Kockasits kiva; appears at winter solstice; sometimes at summer solstice.

<sup>61</sup> With regard to the kachina organization at Acoma, two significant features should be noted: (1) At Acoma there are five units in the kachina organization (there may have been six at one time, since both Mindeleff and Bandler state that there were six kivas); among the eastern Keres there are only two kachina units (except at San Felipe, where there are three, but there are only two kivas; moreover, the feeling is for two groups. The situation at Santa Ana seems to be abnormal, too), the Squash and the Turquoise groups. (2) There is no ceremonial whipping at initiation in the east. In both of these features Acoma resembles Zuni practice rather than that of her eastern cousins.



9. Na'wic; full company; belongs to Kockasits kiva; appears in September masked dance always; appears sometimes at winter solstice or summer solstice; accompanied by Gauwacta'ra and two K'otcininako.

10. Nai'yu; they live southeast of Acoma near a large red rock. They used to come up to Acoma in the middle of the summer. They brought with them a buckskin bag filled with seeds—all kinds of seeds. They dance in the village. They call all of the people to the plaza to play a game with their buckskin seed ball. The headman of the Nai'yu draws a line on the ground; some of the people stand on this line. Others, men and women, stand up on the roofs of houses. Then the head Nai'yu stoops down to the ground, holding the ball between his hands. Then he straightens up quickly, throwing the ball over his left shoulder backward. If it hits some one, that person will have good luck, live to be very old, have good crops, etc. He will also receive some seeds. In return he must pay the Nai'yu with a piece of buckskin. The people who are standing on the ground must not move off the line, else they are disqualified. The Nai'yus when they stoop down try to look up the women's dresses. This causes the women to experience inordinate sexual desires. After the ceremony, the Nai'yus carve representations of female genitalia on the face of cliffs south of Acoma. I have seen and photographed these carvings.

11. G'otitca'nicam<sup>6</sup>; full company; belongs to Coskats kiva; appears at summer solstice; they live at Acoma on the northwest side of the mesa; they clean out the water holes; they are good farmers (green bean vines are placed on the top of the mask when they dance).

12. Nakūte (Red Eyes); full company; belongs to Haimatats kiva; appears at the winter solstice; lives at Wenimats<sup>1</sup>; carries rattle in right hand and bow and arrow in the left. Nakūte used to guard the cornfields at Wenimats<sup>1</sup>. He had a camp there and always had a fire going. He used to roast corn. Smoke would get in his eyes and make the tears come. When they smarted he would rub them. His eyes became red and inflamed; that is why he is called Nakūte. He was an expert corn roaster; other k'atsina used to get him to roast corn for them. But he had a very ugly disposition. When some one would come near his fields, he would throw rocks at him with his sling (yauc Būnin). But if the visitor were not afraid, if he did not run away, Nakūte would then let him come closer.

Nakūte also appears in the mixed dance, G'aiya'.

13. Tcainokanatea; full company; belongs to Daut'korits and to Coskats kivas; they talk an unintelligible language; they are good hunters and feed the K'otcininakos; they appear at the winter solstice.

14. He'iya; full company; belongs to Coskats kiva; lives at Wenimats<sup>1</sup>; carries a rattle in dances; appears in the winter solstice ceremonies; he doesn't walk straight—plays along.

15. Hawak'o; full company; belong to Haimatats estufa; they live at Wenimats<sup>1</sup> and also at Acoma on the south side; they appear very seldom; come out at the winter solstice to kill dogs with clubs (when they become too numerous).

16. Kac'ko (Mountain Sheep); full company; belong to Haimatats, Cutrinits, and Kockasits kivas; they resemble sheep; the G'o'maiowic drive them like sheep; appear at the winter solstice.

17. Stcuta (Crow); considerable number; belong to Daut'korits kiva; represent crows; live at Wenimats<sup>1</sup> and near Acoma; appear at winter solstice.

(This completes the list of k'atsina that are represented in considerable numbers—20 to 30 masks; the masks which follow appear singly, or in twos and threes.)

18. Dapo'po; these are the two brothers who lived at Acoma; belong to Haimatats kiva; they come during the winter solstice; they don't dance, but merely walk around, stopping at the various dancing places. They carry buckskins. When they see a good-looking girl they wave their rattles at her; they want to give her the buckskin to sleep with her. They were good hunters.

19. Heleka; one only; belongs to Kockasits and Cutrinits kivas;<sup>63</sup> he comes only at the winter solstice; he dances with a woman; he carries a cactus whip. While Heleka is busy dancing, some man steals his woman. When Heleka misses her, he hunts her out and whips the man who took her.

20. Tsuctakatsame; one only; lived near Acoma (see myth about this spirit); belongs to Cutrinits estufa; appears during the winter solstice ceremonies with Gacinako ("white-face woman"), his wife from Wenimats<sup>1</sup>.

21. He'ruta; one only; belongs to Haimatats, Kockasits, Cutrinits, and Dautkorits estufas; appears in G'aiya' at winter solstice; he whips the k'atsina if they don't sing right.

22. Kaubat; one only; belongs to Cutrinits and Coskats estufas; appear with Cura'tea in the masked ceremony of the Corn clan, and at G'aiyanai'tsani (the fight with the k'atsina); he is blind and is always accompanied by his mother, a k'otcininako, who leads him by rattling the shoulder blades of a sheep; see myth which tells how he lost his eyes.

23. Kauayackutcutsita; there are two; they belong to Mauharots estufa; are personated by Flint or kabi'na shamans; they appear at the winter solstice only; they carry a little house made of reeds tied together with buckskin.

<sup>63</sup> Only one heleka appears at a time, but the mask may be owned by more than one kiva group.



24. Ipanikaudauskonaiya; mask is kept in Mauharots; impersonated by a flint or a kabi'na medicine man; appears at winter solstice only, accompanied by a woman (K'o'tcininako); he carries a long pole with cactus on it.

25. Masewi; the elder of the twin war gods; mask kept in Mauharots; personated by an o'pi; appears in the k'atsina fight and at the winter solstice.

26. Oyoyewi; the younger twin war god; mask kept in Mauharots; personated by an o'pi; appears in k'atsina fight and at the winter solstice.

27. Pai'yatyamo; belongs to Dautkorits, Kockasits, and Haimatats estufas; appears as a side dancer with wai'oca k'atsina; also in G'aiya' at winter solstice; carries flute; one only appears.

28. G'otcininako; mythical women k'atsina; any estufa may have some; they come in different colors (their faces only being distinguished with different colors): There are red, yellow, green, and white faced women; yellow, however, is the most common. They come with other k'atsina in various dances. (See references to them in notes on the other k'atsina.)

29. Mictcaikoros; belongs to each of the five kivas except Coskats; one or two appear; they come at the summer dance, natyati, and sometimes at the summer solstice; they have white faces with a cross on the forehead; they carry a little pottery bowl of ashes which they throw into the eyes of spectators who come too close to the dancers.

30. Nyenyeka; one only; belongs to Cutrinits; appears in the fight and sometimes at the winter solstice. Nyenyeka was a great rabbit hunter. One morning he went out hunting. He saw a jack rabbit. He was going to hit him with his throwing stick (draibitca) when the rabbit spoke to him. The rabbit said, "Wait! Don't hit me. Come here." Nyenyeka went up to the rabbit and asked him what he wanted. The rabbit called Nyenyeka by name and said, "I am going to make a bet with you. I'm going off a little ways and sit down. You throw your stick at me. If you hit me you win my clothes; if you don't, then I win your stick." Nyenyeka said, "All right." So the jack rabbit went off a short distance and sat still. Nyenyeka threw his stick at him and cut his head off. So he won the rabbit's clothes (he won the right to wear the rabbit's fur). He skinned the rabbit and wore his fur over his head. That is why he wears rabbit fur on his head in the dances to-day. Nyenyeka is one of the k'atsina hotceni (chiefs).

31. A'aik'ani; one only; he is a k'atsina hotceni; mask is kept in Mauharots or in Haimatats (when taken from the former it is worn by a Flint shaman; when from the latter by the head of Haimatats estufa); appears in the fight and in G'aiya' sometimes.

32. Dyaitskotume (dyaits, piñon; kot, mountain; "he of the piñon mountain"); one only; belongs to Haimatats estufa; he lives south-west of Acoma; he is a k'atsina hotceni and carries a yabi; appears in the fight and sometimes in G'aiya, at the winter solstice.

33. G'o'maiowic; an indefinite number; there are red and white G'o'maiowic (i. e., their bodies are either red or white; the faces are the same); the red ones belong to Daut'korits kiva and the white ones to Haimatats; they appear at various times—with Tsitsünits, with mo'ots k'atsina as side dancers; at the fight, etc. They act as scouts or messengers.

34. Sa'rombia; one; each of the five kivas has one; appears sometimes at either the summer or the winter solstice; he carries deer shoulder-blade rattle.

35. Sai'yataca; one; in Daut'korits, Haimatats, and Cutrinits estufas; appears at Natyati and at the winter solstice; he whips the dancers if they don't sing right. He lives at Wenimats<sup>4</sup>; he runs early in the morning—you can hear his bells as he goes by.

36. Tsitsünits; one; found in each kiva except Coskats; appears in the fight and in the mixed dance at the winter solstice and G'aiya' when it is held at other times; he whips the children in Mauharots when they are initiated into the kachina organization.

37. Cura'tca; mask found in each of the five kivas; personated by a young boy in the masked ceremony of the Corn clan (q. v.); also appears in G'aiya'; carries a fire drill. He lives west of Acoma on a mountain.

38. Co'nata;<sup>64</sup> two of these; found in any estufa; are side dancers for Guacstote; also appear at summer solstice (sometimes) or at the winter solstice and in G'aiya. Carries a staff to walk with.

39. Mactcoai; two; found in Haimatats and Cutrinits kivas; lives at Mataitcata, northwest of Acoma; carries hoop (mackute) and javelin and wears sleigh bells; he calls out the shiwanna early in the morning; steals girls (see myth); appears in G'aiya.

40. Gauk'ak'aiya; one; found in Haimatats and Dautkorits; appears in G'aiya.

41 and 42. Dziu'kiri and K'okiri; the two headmen of the k'o-bictaiya; masks kept in Mauharots; worn by flint shamans; appear with the k'o-bictaiya at the winter solstice.

43. Gauwateuk'aiya; this is A'aik'ani's brother; he, too, is a k'atsina hotceni and carries a yabi (little wooden staff carried by officers); mask is kept in Haimatats or in Mauharots; appears only in the fight.

44. K'ak'uipe; there are two; masks kept in Mauharots; appear in fight; they carry medicines which they give to the children so they

<sup>64</sup> Doctor Parsons equates this k'atsina with the Zuñi Shulawitsi. Notes on Isleta, Santa Ana, and Acoma. American Anthropologist, vol. 22, p. 69.

won't be too frightened. He lives on the south side of the Acoma mesa.

45. *Leoleobac'tea*; one; lives west of Acoma; appears at *G'aiya*; during the dance he throws small balls of mud from the end of a hickory switch; if he hits you, you will live a long time.

46. *G'o'yaotca*; one; each *estufa* has a mask; appears sometimes in the *G'aiya*; she (is an old woman) gives deer milk to cross children who fret; sometimes at night she comes to a house and reaches inside with a crook stick and hooks a child's leg.

47. *Ma'tsitsai'yackati'ta*; one; appears in *G'aiya*; each *kiva* has a mask; carries blood to children; lives west of Acoma.

48. *Basityamiti*; one; lives north of Acoma; he comes with the *k'obictaiya* (maybe he *is* a *k'obictaiya*, one informant said, rather dubiously).

49. *Hawi'a*; one; appears very seldom at the winter solstice (one informant, about 35, said that he had never seen *Hawi'a*); he is a *k'atsina* hotceni and lives at *Wenimats*<sup>1</sup>. He has a long blue penis (*he'yina*) which is a "sign to make you believe." One must "see *Hawi'a* before one can see the *k'atsina* close"; he "opens the children."<sup>65</sup>

50. *Tsitukanackaiti*, also called *K'ohaiya* (Bear) *k'atsina*; one; mask kept in *Haimatats*, *Cutrinit*s, and in *Dautkorits*; appears in *G'aiya*; he is a *k'atsina* hotceni and lives at *Wenimats*<sup>1</sup>. Another informant stated that *K'ohaiya k'atsina* once had a race with a bear. He won the race which entitled him to wear the bear's paws on his face; they appear on the mask.

51. *K'ocai'ri k'atsina* (the clown society is called *K'acale*); one; mask kept in *Mauharots*; appears in *G'aiya* at winter solstice; carries bunches of spruce (*hak'ak'*). He lives at *Wenimats*<sup>1</sup>.

52. *K'uuts*<sup>1</sup> (antelope) *k'atsina*; lives at *Wenimats*<sup>1,66</sup>

53. *Dyan*<sup>1</sup> (Deer) *k'atsina*; one or two appear at the winter solstice; they carry spruce.

54. *Gauwactca'ra*; one; he carried a stool for the *G'otcunako* who sit in the plaza during dances and rub a deer leg bone along a notched stick. He comes at the winter solstice and also with *He'mic k'atsina*, as a side dancer. Sometimes he comes with the *Na'wic* in the September dance.

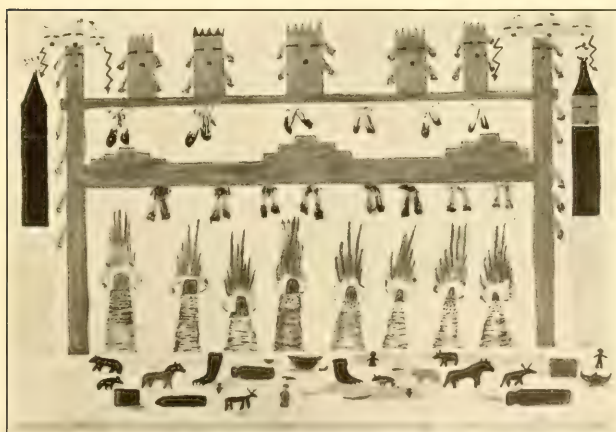
55. *Tsaiyakacdek*<sup>6</sup>; one; mask in *Haimatats*, *Kockasits*, and *Cutrinit*s *kivas*; comes sometimes at the summer dance (*Natyati*) and sometimes at the solstices. He lives below Acoma on the west side. At dances he throws something resembling axle grease at spectators who are too close to the dancers.

<sup>65</sup> I could not understand the informant's remarks concerning *Hawi'ya*. It seems that the blue penis is designed to carry conviction to skeptical minds. "He opens the children" was stated several times, but I could not understand what was meant.

<sup>66</sup> There must be several of these.



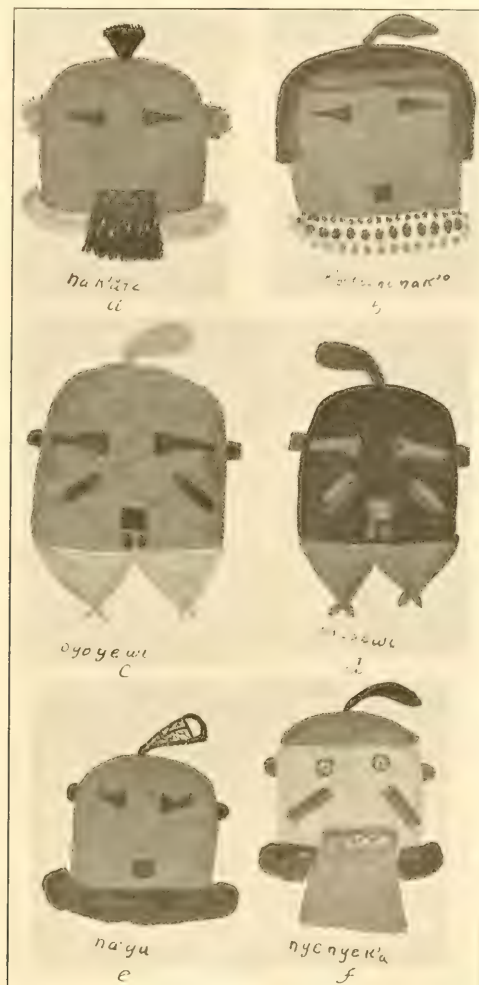
a THE CACIQUE'S ALTAR



b ALTAR OF A MEDICINE SOCIETY



ACOMA KACHINA MASKS



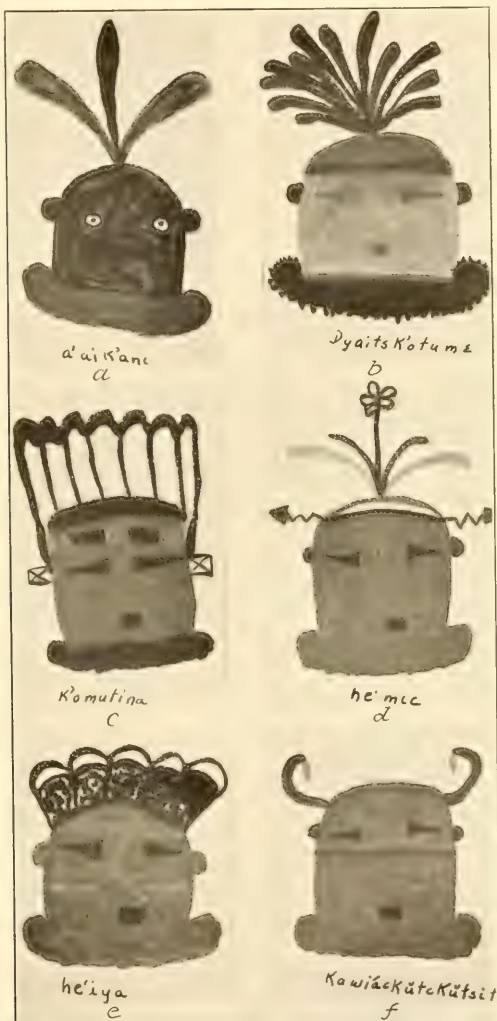
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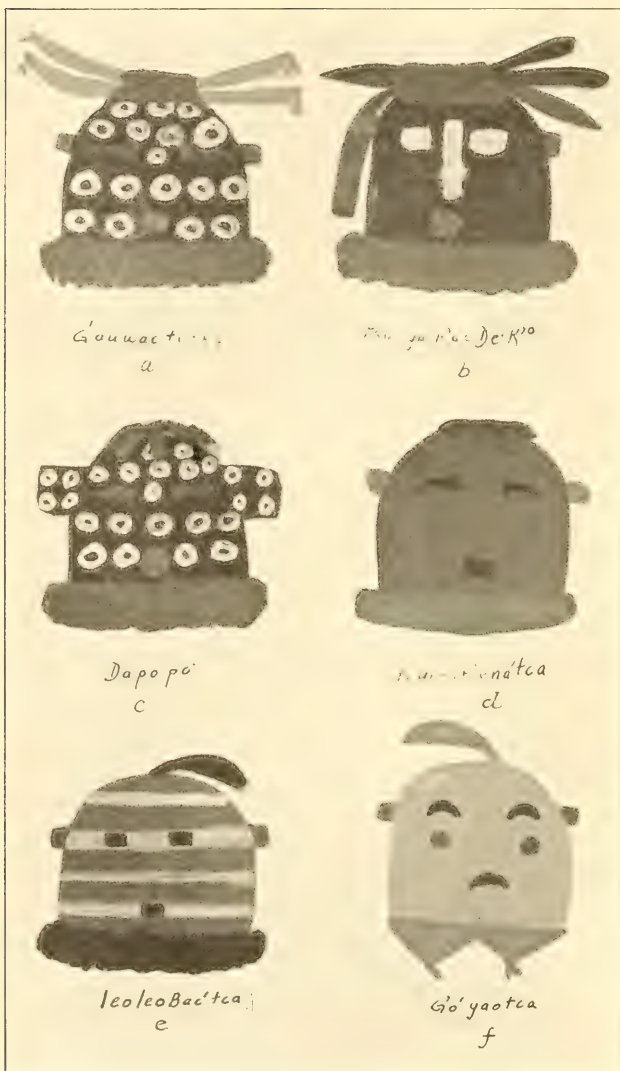


ACOMA KACHINA MASKS

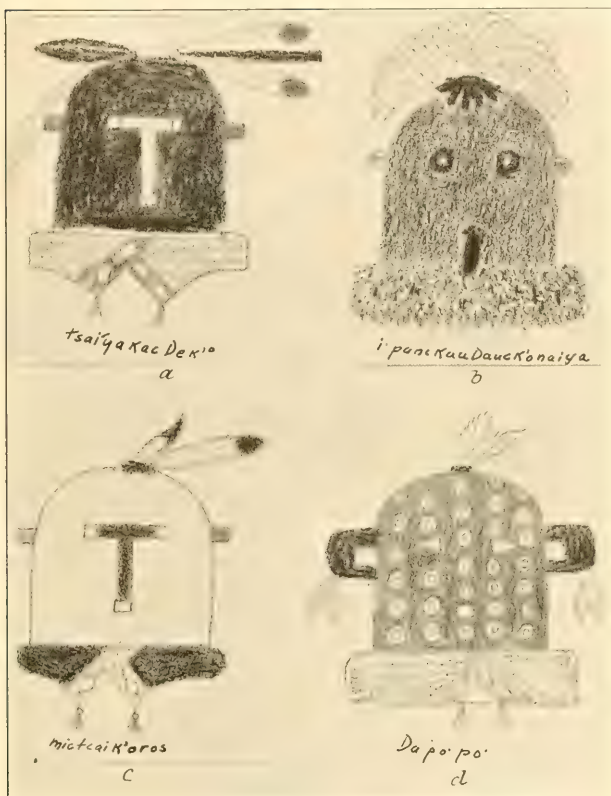




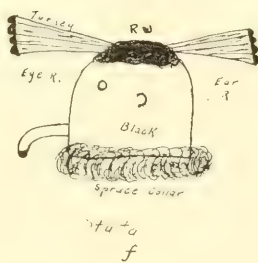
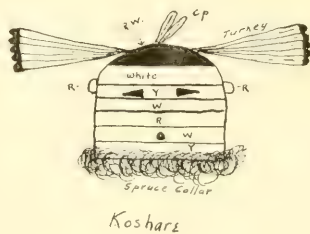
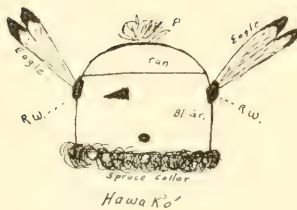
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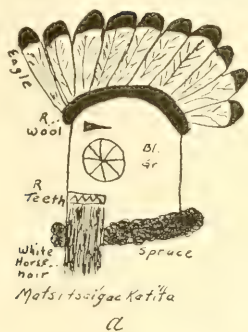
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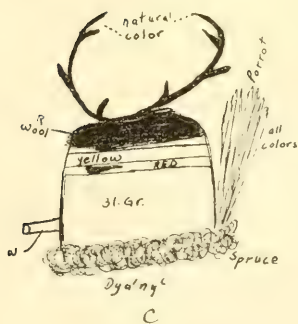
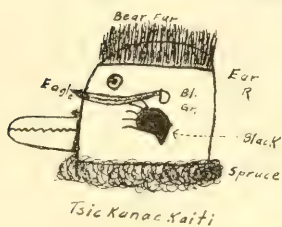
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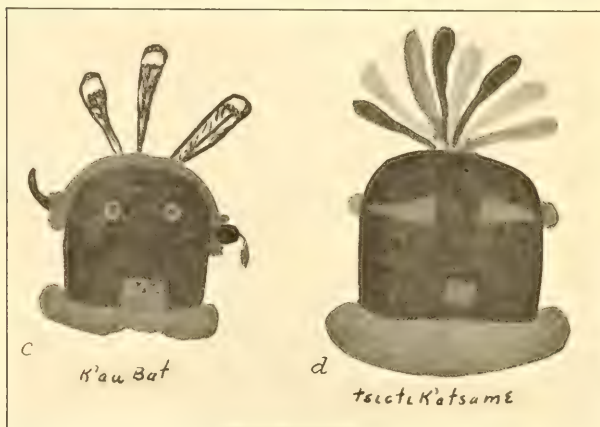
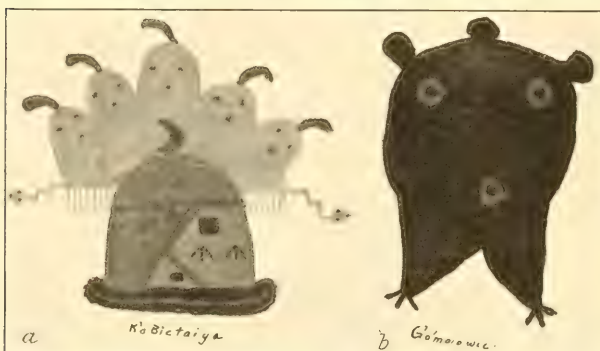
ACOMA KACHINA MASKS



Eyes white ball with black  
band and black center  
snout = black with white  
line.



ACOMA KACHINA MASKS





56. Kasewat; one; mask kept in Mauharots; appears in winter solstice. (See tale concerning Kasewat.)

57. Hictian k'oasut ("flint being with wings"); comes with Kasewat.

58. K'omutina; there are two; they accompany Curatea in the masked ceremony of the Corn clan.

59. K'imac°; there is said to be a mask of K'imac°, the chief of the k'atsinas; it is kept in Dautkorits. K'imac° appears at the winter solstice. (Pls. 2-10.)

*General remarks concerning the masked dancers.*—The summer dance, Natyati (to be described shortly), is perhaps the clearest example of the kachina cult to be found at Acoma; that is, the least contaminated with other elements. There is a great masked ceremony at the winter solstice, but there the central idea is concerned with the sun's course; the k'atsina appear in the mixed dance (G'aiya) in a perfect medley, serving merely as a ceremonial katharsis, an effervescence of ceremonialism. I believe that the "original" purpose of the k'atsinas is expressed in the Natyati, and that later they were used in the winter solstice ceremonial simply because they had them and because the general effect of the occasion was heightened by their use; it made the observation of the sun's change of route spectacular. I believe, also, that the oldest masks are the five which are used by the five kivas in the Natyati (though perhaps there are others just as old), and that many later importations (or creations) were gathered together in the mixed dance, G'aiya', given at the winter solstice. Take the mask Sa'rombia, for example (which is the Zuñi Salimobiya). Although they have this mask at Acoma, it is not associated with any particular idea, legend, or function; they simply have it—each kiva has one—and it appears in the mixed dance. If we assume that it is a recent importation from Zuñi (which I believe to be the case), this will explain why there is no story about him, and it also accounts for his rôle in the mixed dance. Where else were they to put him? I believe that the mixed dance at the winter solstice is evidence (and result) of an efflorescence of the kachina cult.

But perhaps the best argument in support of this view is to be found in comparative evidence. In Zuñi and among the eastern Keres there are both summer rain dances and masked ceremonies at other times and for other purposes. But the function served by Natyati at Acoma is the most uniformly distributed; there is greater diversity in the other aspects of the cult. Hence, one is led to the conclusion that this rain-making function, the core of the Natyati ceremony, is the purest expression of the kachina cult.

Data for the masked dance in September are meager and very unsatisfactory. I believe that the dance is not always given. I take it that it is of the nature of a harvest dance, a thanksgiving to

the k'atsina who have so faithfully provided the rain for the crops during the summer.

The fight (G'aiyabai'tsani) is a k'atsina ceremony in pure form, but it is secondary to the summer dance (Natyati); it is an after-thought, so to speak. It is said that it was instituted after the people had migrated south from White House and had settled at Ako (Acoma). It was done to commemorate the great fight with the k'atsina and to show the young people what had happened. It is simply mythological history dramatized; it does not have that essential core that makes the summer dance the k'atsina ceremony par excellence, viz, the dancing of the k'atsina to bring rain for the crops.

The ceremony of the Corn clan belongs to still another category. It has the appearance of being very old and rather fundamental (Curatca seems to be the equivalent of the Zuñi Shulawitsi).<sup>67</sup> The full import of this ceremony, however, was not learned. I do not know why it is performed by the Corn clan.<sup>68</sup>

#### NATYATI, THE SUMMER DANCE FOR RAIN<sup>69</sup>

It is in this dance that the k'atsina assume their supreme rôle, that of rain making. The ceremony begins about the 10th or 12th of July and lasts four days. The date is set a considerable time in advance by the cacique. Two kivas, selected by the cacique, are to take part; one will dance the first two days, the other the last two. (The kivas alternate in succeeding years.) At the request of the cacique, the war chief visits the heads of the two kivas that are to dance and instructs them to prepare for it. After conferring with each other, the headmen report to the war chief, who carries their message to the cacique; the day is now fixed. The cacique then requests the war chief to announce the ceremony to the pueblo eight days before its execution.

During this 8-day preface the men who are to take part in the dance practice songs and dances. The headmen of the kivas take out the masks, repair them if necessary, paint them, and give them food and a smoke. The women of the village grind corn, bake bread, make pottery, etc., in considerable quantities. The dancers make dolls to give to the children at the dance. Four days before the dance a rabbit hunt is held to get meat for the feast. The dancers drink herb brew in the morning and vomit. Shortly before the dance they make prayer sticks. Usually one or two men go to Albuquerque to buy fruit for the occasion. Great quantities are shipped out—melons, oranges, grapes, peaches, plums, etc.

<sup>67</sup> See Stevenson, M. C., *The Zuñi Indians*, pp. 157-158.

<sup>68</sup> Doctor Parsons suggests that the reason is a conceptual association: Shulawitsi is a corn god, spotted over to represent corn.

<sup>69</sup> Acoma differs widely from the Keresan pueblos of the east with regard to summer rain dances. See Goldfrank's account from Cochiti, pp. 104-106. This is quite similar to practice at Santo Domingo and San Felipe.

On the day before the dance the kiva group that is to dance first eats dinner, after which they fast until noon on the day following. They do not drink water after about 8 o'clock in the evening preceding the dance. They sleep in the estufa that night. Early in the morning the dancers bring gifts to the back of houses just north of the plaza; these are guarded by the *teukacac hotceni* ("little chiefs") until the afternoon, when they are distributed.

At sunrise the dancers leave their estufa, masked. They dance in eight places along a definite circuit. (See fig. 1.) They finish about noon. Then they go back of the church. They take off their masks, take a deep draft of herb brew, and vomit. Then they eat dinner. After dinner they put on their masks again. After practicing a song or two, they again dance in the eight points of the circuit. Then they go back of the church for a brief rest and to practice another song. They come out again and dance in the first four stations; this brings them to the plaza, where the cacique and the war chiefs have been watching them from their seats on the south side.<sup>70</sup> After dancing there, they go back of the houses to get the gifts. They bring them out and place them in the plaza. The war chief goes to the head of the *k'atsina* and tells him that the cacique (who is, it will be remembered, the "father" of the *k'atsina*) is present. The head *k'atsina* dancer returns with the war chief and greets the cacique; all of the dancers follow suit. Then they bring presents to the cacique and his family. They go back to dance in the plaza. All the people are crowding around, for the presents are to be distributed. When they finish dancing, they throw the gifts to the people. Then the dancing is resumed and they pass on to the end of the circuit; then they are finished.

The dancers go to *tsitcinic K'aate*, or *Mauharots*, the "head estufa." They take off their masks and place them on the north side of the room. Then they go to their own estufa; the cacique and the war chiefs are gathered there. *Cutimiti* (the war chief) goes through the streets singing, telling the women to bring food to the estufa for the *k'atsina* (dancers). The *cocineros* (cooks) of the war chiefs receive the food at the entrance of the kiva and pass it down inside for the men.

After supper the dancers go outside the kiva dressed in their blankets. They dance a bit at the foot of the ladder. They are free to go to their homes, but they must return to sleep in their kiva.

Early next morning, without breakfast, the same group of dancers begins to dance again. They dance in the first four places in the circuit, which brings them to the plaza. Presents are to be distributed again. Early that morning women have brought gifts and have hidden them (as on the previous day) back of the houses on the north

<sup>70</sup> Another informant stated that the cacique led the dancers in the plaza.

side of the plaza (there is a narrow alley leading from the plaza to the rear of these houses). When the dancers go back for the presents the women are there to tell the dancers whom to give each present to.<sup>71</sup> The k'atsina dance again, and then proceed to the rest of the dancing stations. More presents are thrown to the people. When they have completed the circuit they have finished their dance. They take off all their costume except their masks and G-strings. The cacique is there, standing on the north side of the eighth dancing station. He is holding a basket of hatcamüni (prayer sticks). He gives them to the head k'atsina. All of the dancers go out onto the south mesa, which is some little distance from the village. There each dancer reclaims the prayer stick that he has made and prays with it. The masks are removed, the feathers taken off and put in folds of their blankets. They dress (in their everyday clothes) and go back to their estufa. The masks are put away in a little side room, hung in a cloth from the ceiling. They may go home now, but they must have no sexual intercourse for eight days after the dance. Nor may they eat salt or meat for four (eight?) days after.

On the two days following the same program is executed by the second kiva group.

At the beginning of our catalog list of k'atsina we gave the names of the k'atsina which appears for each kiva in this dance, together with his "side dancer." The dancers dance in a long line, composed of 20 or 30 men, all wearing the same kind of mask. The man in the center of this line is called maiyo (Spanish, mayor, elder); he leads the singing (the dancers supply their own music with rattle and song). In addition to this line of dancers similarly masked there are usually one or two side dancers. These are masked personages who do not really dance, but go about freely near the dancers. Often they whip spectators who come too close to the dancers. They are called tsanawan<sup>1</sup>, or "mean" ones.

Sometimes the kachale come out at the Natyati, but not always.

#### THE SUMMER SOLSTICE (DIDYA'MICOKO)

About the middle of June the cacique begins to watch the sun rise. He stands at a certain spot in front of the Catholic church and notes the point at which the sun first appears over a great mesa in the east. (The sun moves north toward the summer solstice.) When the sun has almost reached its northernmost point the cacique proclaims that the day of his turning south will fall on a certain day, specifying a time a few days subsequent to his announcement.

<sup>71</sup> Each household has a place where its members are accustomed to sit during the dance.

Everyone makes prayer sticks to be deposited on the morning of the solstice. Each person makes four sticks which are tied together and wrapped in a corn husk. On the morning of the solstice two men and two women take the sticks for all the people to the east edge of the cliff and offer them to the sun and to the k'obictaiya.

The cacique erects (or causes to be set up) his altar in Mauharots. For the most part, I understand, the ceremony at the summer solstice is confined to the head estufa, Mauharots; there is seldom any dancing. The kiva ceremony consists of prayers and songs. It is said, however, that masked dancers sometimes appear at the solstice and dance in the plaza. The k'acale also come out.<sup>72</sup>

THE WINTER SOLSTICE (KOAMICŪKŪ OR KOAMICAKUR TSA,  
"SOUTHEAST CORNER")

The cacique watches the sun, as for the summer solstice. He sets the date for the solstice eight days in advance; everyone in the village is notified. A person from each household goes out into the mountains to get herbs for making brew. This brew is drunk every morning for the first four mornings of the 8-day prelude. The brew causes one to vomit; it cleanses and purifies one. On the fifth morning after the announcement prayer sticks are made by everyone. From this time until the ceremony is over no one may eat salt or meat, and there must be no sexual intercourse. On this morning also the cacique and the Antelope men take their altar to Mauharots, where it is set up. On that night groups from the five kivas go, singly, to Mauharots and dance; the kuuts' hanote (Antelope men) sing.

On the fourth day before the solstice the medicine societies go into their chambers, where they lay out their paraphernalia.<sup>73</sup> Sometimes groups from the kivas come here to dance too.

On the following day (the third before the solstice) the men take their prayer sticks out to their fields and bury them; the women carry theirs to the east edge of the mesa and throw them down. On this day the head men of the five kivas get out the masks of the k'obictaiya; they are painted and refathered for the ceremony. Other preparations are made; new moccasins are made; seeds of all kinds, shrubs, cactus, small trees, etc., are collected for use in the solstice ceremony. Rabbits are caught alive and kept.

<sup>72</sup> Data for the summer solstice were more sketchy and unsatisfactory than for the winter solstice; I am not sure why. Perhaps the summer ceremony is less strictly determined in ritual. Certainly it is not so well attended; at this season most of the people are busy in their fields in the Acomita Valley, whereas nearly everyone is present at the winter ceremony at old Acoma. I believe that the functions of the cacique and the medicine men are faithfully performed at the summer solstice, but that the "extra ceremonial" features are left to the convenience and wishes of the men at large.

<sup>73</sup> The Fire Society uses its own chamber; the Flint Society rents a house for the occasion.



## THE COMING OF THE K'OBICTAIYA

On the day before the k'obictaiya are to come the men who are to personate these spirits make prayer sticks, called *hatcamini hi'asthimu*, or "brave prayer sticks" (they are also called "war" sticks).

Children take part in the k'obictaiya ceremonies; it is especially desirable to have sickly children participate, as it makes them stronger, but all boys must take part four seasons before they may wear masks in the k'atsina dances. (They do not, however, take part in the k'obictaiya ceremony until they have been initiated into the k'atsina organization. Some time elapses, however, between the initiation into the kachina cult and participation in masked dances.) When a father wishes to have his son take part he takes a handful of meal to the headman of his *estufa*, which he gives to him with a prayer, and asks him to select some man to "look out" for his son. The person chosen for this purpose is called *nipapieuusiumanic* ("he who gives him an early rise"). He takes the child into custody and tells him what he will have to do. Very early in the morning, before the k'obictaiya come, these little boys are taken out and hidden in fissures in the rock at the eastern edge of the mesa. They are nude; they wear only a little piece of rabbit fur tied around the penis, and a few feathers are glued to the body. They sit, hidden in the crack of the rock, sitting on a sheep pelt wrapped in a blanket.

On the morning of the final day, very early, the men who are to impersonate the k'obictaiya rise, paint, take their masks, and leave the village. They go down the mesa and travel toward the east. At some distance from the village they pray with their war prayer sticks (*hi'asthimu*). Then they scatter, two by two, singing war songs. They begin to return shortly before sunrise.

The war chief rouses the people before dawn; they must come out to greet the k'obictaiya. Everyone goes to the eastern side of the mesa. About sunrise the k'obictaiya arrive. They come in two files, one led by *Dziukiri*, the other by *k'okiri*, the head men of the k'obictaiya. They are carrying little fox-skin bags of seeds and fuzz from cat-tails, small trees, shrubs, cactus, etc.<sup>65</sup> They go to the east edge of the mesa where the people are gathered. When they come to the fissures where the children are hiding one k'obictaiya will throw a handful of cat-tail fuzz at the spot, reach down and extract a naked boy. They release their live rabbits, appearing to cause them to spring from the ground when they throw the cat-tail seeds. People who are ill or weak come to the k'obictaiya to be treated, to be given strength. The k'obictaiya touches the person, or the part affected, with the tip of his lightning symbol. (Pl. 11, a.) As the sun rises

<sup>65</sup> The k'obictaiya ascend the mesa via the southwest trail, arriving back of the church. Here they pick up the trees, shrubs, etc., which they have hidden here.

they pray to him with corn meal. They plant their shrubs in the cracks of rocks. Seeds (and sometimes gifts of nuts or fruit) are given to the spectators. The seeds are kept with their seed for the spring and planted.

After walking about for a time, the k'obictaiya go to their kivas, where they take off their masks. Then they go to Mauharots, at the invitation of the cacique, where they breakfast on rabbit stew. Then they go back to their estufas. They spend four days and four nights in the village. The masks, which repose on the floor, are fed and given a cigarette three times a day. At night the men put on their masks and go to Mauharots to dance. (They may go to the chamber of either of the curing societies if they wish.) When they leave their estufas to dance they all holler "Hu-u-u-u-u!" (with rising inflection). All the people say, "G'oaiyü Būnya" ("they are going out to dance"). Sometimes the k'obictaiya dance in the plaza, and, as we have seen from our catalogue of k'atsina, many of these supernaturals come to dance at this time. There is a dance called g'aiya, or mixed dance, which is usually held at this time. A great assortment of k'atsina appear in this.

On the morning of the arrival of the k'obictaiya the cacique, accompanied by the war chiefs and some medicine men, goes out to a site on the mesa above which the sun rises. This place is called the Sun's House (Ocate G'am); it marks the southernmost point of the sun's course. The medicine men who go with the cacique carry their flints, eagle plumes, and bear paws. The cacique has a very diminutive suit of clothes, a little shirt, trousers, moccasins, etc., for the sun. A spot is cleared and the suit buried with prayers for the sun.

After the k'obictaiya have spent four days in the pueblo the war chief notifies them that it is time to leave. Early in the morning of the fifth day he comes. The k'obictaiya leave the kivas and go to the east side of the mesa. (The men wear the masks on the top and back of the head; the faces are not covered.) The men are careful not to look back when they leave the kivas, for if one did the spirit which he had impersonated would not leave the village and would disturb him throughout the year. When they get to the edge of the cliff they throw the shrubs, little trees, etc., which they had previously stuck in the cracks of the rocks, over the side. Then they take off their masks. Facing east, they move the masks upward and forward four times, holding the masks with both hands. This is to speed the departure of the spirits. The food which was given the masks during their stay in the kivas is thrown over the cliff for the spirits. Then each man draws four lines on the ground with a flint between his mask and himself; this prevents the spirit of the mask from returning to the village. Then they go back to their estufas



and the masks are put away by the head men. (They are put in a little side room, the door of which is plastered shut.) The men who have impersonated the k'obictaiya may not sleep with their wives for 18 days after the ceremony.

#### THE FIGHT WITH THE K'A'TS'INA

This ceremony has not been held for many years. In former times it was held every five or six years, in the spring. It was referred to as K'a'tsina nau'wa si' i dyu'usa, "K'a'tsina are going to fight us." It is a dramatization of the myth of the fight at White House (q. v.), except that in the ceremony it is the k'a'tsina rather than the people who are killed.<sup>74</sup>

When the time came to hold this ceremony the cacique told the war chief to notify the headmen of the five estufas, and to request their presence at Tsitenc k'a'atc (the head estufa, Mauharots) at a designated time. When they were assembled at Mauharots the cacique told them that it was time to reenact the fight at K'acik'atut<sup>75</sup> (White House) and requested each estufa to get as many young men as possible to serve as k'a'tsina warriors.

Then the headman of each estufa gets all of his men together. He tells them that they are going to have the fight and asks each young man if he is willing to be a k'a'tsina warrior.

The pueblo is to be defended by the Antelope people (Kuutsi ha'note) and the O-pi (the Warrior Society). The Antelope people secure the services of boys and girls whom they have sponsored at k'a'tsina initiations; they will help in preparations for the defense of the village. If one of these boys is going to serve as k'a'tsina warrior, however, the Antelope people may not enlist his support.

After preliminary councils the date for the fight is set. The war chief announces in the pueblo that there will be a k'a'tsina dance in eight days. Of course, the old folks know what is to happen, but all the children think they will receive presents, as at Natyat<sup>1</sup> (the summer dance).

The young men who are to be k'a'tsina warriors practice running and jumping, early in the morning and late in the evening, in preparation for the fight. They drink herb brew and vomit night and morning. Very early in the morning of the fifth day each one goes out to the mountains, barefooted, to get wood for prayer sticks. They cut eight sticks and return to the village, arriving shortly after sunrise. They eat breakfast and return to their estufas. That day is spent in making prayer sticks. While they are doing this one man at a time goes into a side room where the masks are kept. The three headmen are there. A mask is selected for him and placed on the

<sup>74</sup> Compare this with the Zuni; Kyanakwe. This ceremony is not found at any other Keresan pueblo.

other side of the room, and covered with an identifying cloth. No one knows what mask the other is to wear, for one might take advantage of his opportunity during the fight to kill a man he did not like, and no one would know who did it. On the day of the fight, however, brothers or close friends arrange to recognize each other by the style or design of their moccasins, or some other sign, so that they may stay together during the fight to help each other.

On the sixth day each warrior k'a'tsina kills a sheep—his own if he has them, if not, he must buy one. He saves the blood in a clean bowl. The blood from the heart he puts in a gut and seals it up. He will wear this about his neck during the fight. The mutton is saved for the feast on the eighth day. The blood which he has saved in the bowl is mixed with guayave (a corn bread) and tallow and boiled with the sheep's head. This is eaten on the seventh day. The gut of blood is concealed until the day of the fight.

During these days the Opi pray night and morning in the different directions and in the hole in the wall of each estufa. (See sections on estufas.) The Antelope people are making preparations for the defense of the village.

On the evening before the fight the governor (dapop) appoints men to serve as sentinels (guawactu) to see that no one approaches the village during the ceremony. They set out early in the morning, two for K'atsi'm° (the Enchanted Mesa), two go about 5 miles south of Acoma, two north of Acoma, near the spring G'o'mi, and two at Dyait's Ko't (Pinyon Mountain), southwest of Acoma. These men are those who did not wish to serve as k'a'tsina warriors and who are not members of the Antelope clan. They take lunches with them, which they receive from the war chief's cooks. One could not refuse to serve as sentinel without very good reason. On top of the mesa, during the ceremony, some of the officers of the pueblo, the lieutenants, bickales, etc., keep watch with field glasses.

Shortly after midnight of the seventh day all the warrior k'a'tsina leave their homes, taking a lunch with them. They tell their wives and mothers good-by, for they may not return again. They go to their estufas, get their masks and descend the mesa, going west. They go out about 3 miles from the pueblo. They keep their masks concealed. They have new moccasins wrapped up so no one can see them.

Early in the morning of the eighth day two red go'maiowic arrive in the pueblo, crying "Ah-a-a-a Ai'l," the war cry. The war chief meets them. The red scouts warn him that the k'a'tsina will soon come and destroy the village and advise him to prepare defense. Then several friendly k'a'tsina are seen walking about the village. There were two k'akupe who lived at the foot of the mesa to the

south, two gotitca'nicame who lived at the foot of the mesa to the north, and two nyenyeka who lived out west. These k'a'tsina belonged to and were prepared by the estufas, Cutrinir'ts, Coska'ts, and K'ock'asi'ts, respectively (q. v., catalogue of k'a'tsina). The red or friendly scouts (go'maiowic) lived at the foot of the mesa to the southwest at Bün'yakocokome (southwest corner). They belong to Daut'kori'ts estufa. Then Masewi and his brother were there. (They were impersonated by Flint medicine men.)

The O'pi and the Antelope people were gathered in Mauharots together with the war chiefs and their cooks. Masewi and his brother go around to all the houses carrying a flint in the right hand and a bow in the left. These they press against the two walls at each corner to give them strength. The k'akupe did the same, but used a cane in the left hand instead of a bow. The other k'a'tsina go about the village giving the children herbs to swallow so they will not be too frightened.

Soon the white scouts (go'maiowic) arrive from Wenimats<sup>1</sup> armed with bows and arrows. They find the war chief and the red scouts in the plaza. They tell the war chief that the k'a'tsina will soon come bringing presents as usual. They call the red scouts liars for saying that the k'a'tsina are going to fight. They argue a while. The red scouts offer the whites cigarettes, but the latter refuse. They do not wish to have anyone come near them, and when the red scouts try to take their bows from them they struggle violently. After a brief scuffle the white scouts shake themselves free and run away, back to Wenimats<sup>1</sup>.

There is great excitement in the village. Masewi and his brother and the k'akupe continue to strengthen the houses and the others administer their antiterror medicine. Before long the white scouts return, still with the same report. The red scouts begin to lose patience, and urge the war chief to fight. The white scouts are invited into tsitcinic k'a'ate, but they refuse. They refuse cigarettes and food. They quarrel for some time and then depart a second time. This time, however, they take food peace offerings with them to Wenimats<sup>1</sup>.

By this time there are some men erecting a barricade near the pond, west of the village, to defend themselves when the k'a'tsina come. The barricade (ai'tcin') is made of upright poles of birch (?) and hides. It is about 14 feet wide and about 12 feet high. There were six men whose duty it was to keep the materials for this barricade, and to erect it on occasion. They were called aiticini'tca. They served for life and were succeeded by their sons. During the day of the fight they stay at tsitcinic k'a'ate with the Antelope people and the war chiefs, when they are not busy with the barricade.

For the third time the white scouts (go'-maiowic) enter the pueblo. The red scouts meet them halfway up the mesa and overhear their conversation. Then they run on ahead to the plaza, and announce to the war chief, in alarm, that the white scouts are making threats, that all the people in the village are to be killed, or taken captive to Wenimats<sup>1</sup>, etc. When the white scouts arrive in the plaza the red scouts fall upon them and disarm them. The white scouts become very angry, and for the first time threaten everyone. Then they start to run away. The red scouts give chase and take their moccasins away from them. The white scouts throw rocks and make threats as they retreat to Wenimats<sup>1</sup>.

Then the people in the village prepare for the fight in earnest. The Antelope people paint themselves pink all over their bodies; their faces are painted with ya'-katca (reddish brown) with steamu'n (black, sparkling) put on over the red under the eyes. They wear long breechcloths. Each has a cpai'ak' (soft eagle feather) in his hair. The women have their faces, hands, and arms painted yellow with corn pollen. They wear mantas, buckskin leggings, and moccasins. The o'pi paint their faces black above the mouth and white below (like Masewi). They wear buckskin shirts over their regular shirts; a hai'acon (feather) hangs from their hair in the back; eagle down (wapon') covers their heads and eyebrows; buckskin skirts (ho'tsini) tied at the top with a woman's belt, red buckskin leggings above their moccasins that reach almost to the knee, legs painted white from leggings to skirt. The Antelope people carry ya'-ni (wooden cane); the o'pi are armed with flints and knives.

When the white scouts return to the west for the third time the warrior k'a'-tsina prepare to attack the pueblo. They separate, going by twos, so that only friends or brothers will see each other don his mask. They first pray with their prayer sticks. Then they put on their masks and new moccasins; they wrap the old ones in the mask sheet and tie them to their belts. They start running toward the west, then, yelling. When they have come together in a group they turn about and start for Acoma, running. Some distance west of Acoma there was a mesa which they had to cross. At one point there was a deep narrow chasm over which the k'a'-tsina had to leap, one at a time, as the passage was quite narrow. One k'a'-tsina was stationed on the east side of this fissure to see that they crossed in order. (Once, however, two warriors collided just as they were about to make the jump. Both fell down the deep chasm and were killed. The others could not stop to help them; the bodies lay there until nightfall. Their bodies were never returned to their homes but were buried secretly.) As the warriors near the pueblo they wrench small trees and shrubs from the ground and brandish them fiercely, yelling all the while.

When the warriors reach the mesa the cacique and some men go down to meet them. They take the big clubs away from the warriors and give them smaller, less dangerous ones. The cacique and the Antelope men hold the warriors back with their *ya'bi* while *Tsitsinüts* and *Dyaitsko'tume* go to the top of the mesa to the barricade. They place their forearms on the *ai'tcin*<sup>1</sup> and their heads on their arms and cry. Then they pray.<sup>75</sup>

After *Tsitsinüts* and *Dyaitsko'tume* have had time to pray, one of the Antelope men cries "*Cauo!*" (Let's go!), and they rush up the mesa, followed by the clamorous *k'a'ʼtsina*. The Antelope men join the people south of the pond. They hold the *k'a'ʼtsina* back with their *ya'bi* until all have gathered, when one of the Antelope men again cries "*Cauo!*" Then they all run back of the screen (the *ai'tcin*<sup>1</sup>). The warrior *k'a'ʼtsina* then run up to the barricade, one at a time, pray, and then strike it with their clubs four times. The cacique stands by to see that none strikes it more than four times. Should one do this, the cacique will order two of the warriors to seize him and beat him with their clubs.

When all of the *k'a'ʼtsina* have struck the screen the *aicinititca* (the men who tend the barricade), assisted by the *o'pi*, take the barricade to the next station, where it is erected, and the same procedure is followed. At the third station the *o'pi* cut the throats of some of the *k'a'ʼtsina*. (Four days before the fight each warrior *k'a'ʼtsina* goes to one of the *o'pi* taking a *waba'n*<sup>1</sup> (feather, q. v.), with which he prays, and arranges with him to cut his throat, carefully designating the time and place, and perhaps giving him a sign of recognition. This is to insure having one's throat cut by a friend.)

Each time the *ai'tcin*<sup>1</sup> is moved the warriors are held back with *ya'bi* until it is erected in place. When the *o'pi* cuts the gut of blood at the *k'a'ʼtsina*'s throat the blood runs out onto the ground, where it remains. This is a sacrifice to the earth. If a *k'a'ʼtsina* has more than one gut of blood he will have his throat cut again. They lie face downward on the ground after their throats are cut, and pray. *Masewi* and his brother come around to the slain *k'a'ʼtsina* and with their flints and bows touch their heads, shoulders, backs, and legs. This resurrects them. They come to life slowly and finally stand up. Gradually they regain their former fury, and grabbing up a club dash into the fight once more. Sometimes though the *k'a'ʼtsina* does not recover, but continues to lie inert on the ground where he fell. In such a case the other warriors will drag him up to the screen (*ai'tcin*<sup>1</sup>) and lean him against it. Only *k'a'ʼtsina* are killed in the fight; the Antelope men and the *o'pi* are not killed.

<sup>75</sup> *Tsitsinüts*, it will be remembered, was in the fight at *Kacikatcut*<sup>74</sup>. He tried to pacify the *k'a'ʼtsina* before the fight; he did not wish them to destroy the village. Now he and *Dyaitsko'tume* ("he of the Piñon Mountain," a mountain west of Acoma) try to restrain the warriors; they do not wish to fight the pueblo.



At the fourth station many throats are cut. It is now about 4 o'clock in the afternoon (the fight having begun about 3). And so on through the fifth and sixth stations. At the seventh station the o'pi seize the white scouts who have been encouraging the warriors all this time, and castrate them. (They wore their guts of blood concealed in their breechcloths.) Masewi and his brother run up with their flints and bows and apply them to the disfigured k'a'-'tsina, but they continue to sit, rocking back and forth, in great pain.

When the fighting is finished at the seventh place, boys arrive from the house of the Antelope clan with baskets of prayer sticks which have been made by the Antelope people. Each basket contains a ball of cotton with beads inside. The o'pi and the men who tend the barricade carry their own prayer sticks with them. The o'pi have taken the clubs away from the k'a'-'tsina. Each person has four prayer sticks tied in a corn husk with corn meal. The Antelope men go to the baskets and get their prayer sticks and give them to the warrior k'a'-'tsina, placing them in their hands and holding their own underneath, praying. They also divide the cotton ball of beads among them. A big smoke fire is built on the west of the mesa, to recall the sentinels. The o'pi and the barricade men give their prayer sticks to the warrior, or to the friendly k'a'-'tsina. The Antelope women try to give their sticks to their husbands. Now the k'a'-'tsina, both friendly and hostile, depart, the friendly ones going north, south, and east to their respective homes, the warriors descending the trail back of the church, accompanied by the red and white scouts. The Antelope people go to their house; the o'pi to Maubarots. The barricade men dismantle the screen (the ai'tcin'), return any skins they may have borrowed to their owners, and take the poles to their homes. The Antelope men undress at their house, remove the paint from their bodies, and lay their ya'bi in a pile. A day or so later some boys take these ya'bi to the foot of the mesa and throw them into a cleft in the rocks or bury them.

When the k'a'-'tsina arrive at the bottom of the mesa they unmask and go out west where they eat and rest. They return to the pueblo sometime after dark, go to their estufas, put their masks away, and go home.

Everyone who takes part in this ceremony may not sleep with his (or her) mate for eight days before the fight and for eight days after. No participant may eat meat or salt for four days before, except women who are nursing children. Everyone may eat meat and salt on the day of the fight.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> It is believed that bad luck or some great misfortune would befall anyone who violated this food ordinance. Someone would be killed or have some bones broken in the fight, perhaps; but on the day of the conflict they eat meat to give them strength.



The whole village is sad for several days after the fight. The blood of the k'atsina lies drying in the plaza. There are no games. The men may return to work in their fields.<sup>77</sup>

#### CURA'TCA LIGHTS THE FIRES

This is the ceremony of the Corn clan. It is held every five years, about the last of July.<sup>78</sup>

When the time approaches the head man of the Corn clan (the nawai) summons all Corn people (ya-k'a hanotc) to their house, which is situated just east of k'ock'asits k'aate (kiva). They set the date eight days in advance. They inform the war chief and he notifies the pueblo that Cura'tca will visit the pueblo in eight days.

During the first four days there are the usual preparations for a ceremony—making herb brew and vomiting night and morning, getting wood for prayer sticks, grinding meal, etc. The Corn men and Corn women get the boys and girls, respectively, that they have sponsored at initiations into the k'atsina organization to help them. They convene nightly in their house to practice songs and dancing. After four days they begin to make prayer sticks and waba'n'. None of the Corn people may eat meat or salt from that time until the day of the ceremony, and all must abstain from sexual intercourse. On the seventh day they paint their masks and prepare their costumes. On this day some of the Corn men go rabbit hunting.

At midnight of the seventh day some of the boys that have been sponsored by Corn clan people at k'atsina whipping set out from the pueblo to go to neighboring mountains and mesas, where they build fires early on the following morning. Each couple is equipped with a fire drill (a'tiutco'm'). Two boys go to each of the following mountains: K'awecpima (about 12 miles north of Acoma), Ca'k'aiya (about 12 miles west), Dyai'nk'o't (about 8 miles southwest), and Steamun'a ko't (about 10 miles southeast). They have had a good dinner. They may not drink water until they have finished building the fires and have returned to the camp of the personators of the k'a'tsina.

There are seven k'a'tsina impersonated: One Cura'tca, who is represented by a boy about 10 years old. He is entirely naked, except for his mask; he does not even wear the customary breechcloth. Two Cuma'acka, who wear skirts and carry bows and arrows in a lion skin quiver (o'ictiwacdan). Two K'o'mubina, and K'aubata

<sup>77</sup> This ceremony is rather puzzling. It is said to be a dramatization of the fight at the mythical White House, but in that fight the people were killed. In this ceremony only k'atsina are killed; and why is it that the k'atsina warriors strike the barricade and not the people? Doctor Parsons has suggested that this ceremony, the Zuñi kyanakwe ceremony, and the Hopi version (described in a manuscript by Stephen), might be a pueblo rendering of a Spanish dance, Los Moros, which is a dramatization of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

<sup>78</sup> Compare this ceremony with the Zuñi shulawitsi; Stevenson, *The Zuñi Indians*. I understand that several years have passed since the last ceremony.

and his mother complete the list. K'aubat<sup>a</sup>, who is blind, carries an antelope head. He wears a buckskin shirt and leggings. His mother is dressed like a go'tcininako; this rôle is always taken by a man. The people who are to impersonate these k'a'tsina are chosen in a council of the Corn clan at the time the date is set, or shortly afterwards. These rôles belong to no special persons. K'aubat<sup>a</sup>'s mother carries a bundle of shoulder blades of deer, which she rattles as she walks so that her son may follow. (See story which tells how K'aubat<sup>a</sup> lost his eyes.)

Meanwhile other Corn clan people have been busy in the pueblo. Early in the morning before sunrise, while the dancers are away at the spring, some Corn people place a pile of wood that they have previously gathered at each dancing station and also in front of the Corn clan house.

The dancers eat at midnight. From then until after the ceremony no one may eat or drink, except small children under about 8 years of age. After their supper the dancers set out for k'oaba, a spring, some distance west of Acoma. They carry their masks with them. They are accompanied by the head man of the clan, and perhaps some other old men, and some Corn women. About halfway to the spring, they stop and make a camp, where they leave the women and their masks. (The rabbits that have been killed are brought to this camp.) Then they go on to the spring.

At sunrise the two boys who have gone north to K'awec'dima build a fire on the mountain top. Then they proceed toward McCarty, westward, building about six fires along the way. When they build their last fire on top of the mesa at McCarty, then all the other fire builders make their fires, and start toward Acoma, building fires along the way. The dancers at the spring build a fire when they see the one at McCarty. They pray at the spring, leave their prayer sticks, and return to the camp. Cura'tca fills his little jar with water and lights his firebrand before leaving the spring. He carries a pottery canteen (epo'na), hung from his neck, down the back, by a piece of soapweed. He has a firebrand which he has made by stuffing a roll of cedar bark with soft bark shreds. He lights this before leaving the spring; it continues to glow for a long time afterwards. He also carries a piece of charred wood, which he picks up.

It is about 1 o'clock in the afternoon when the k'atsina impersonators return to the camp where the women are waiting with their masks and the rabbits. They put on their masks and set out for Acoma. Cura'tca carries the rabbits hanging on his back. Arriving at the foot of the mesa on the west, they dance a bit, and then ascend the trail southwest of the church and dance at the rear of the church. Then they go to the first dancing station, where they dance, each pair

of dancers having its own song. Cura'tca does not dance, but lights the pile of wood at each station. They proceed to all of the dancing stations in this manner, and then on to the pile of wood in front of the Corn clan house. When they have danced here, some Corn clan women come out and take the jar of water, the rabbits, and the charred wood from Cura'tca and carry them into the house of the Corn clan. Then they all go inside, unmask, bathe, and have a feast.

The nawai' of the Corn clan (the headman) calls the war chief to the Corn clan house and gives him the jar of water. The war chief takes it to the cacique, who orders him to take it to every house in the pueblo, giving each household a few drops. If there is any water left after this is done, a few drops are put into the water reservoirs on the mesa. If any remains then, the cacique sprinkles some, with prayers, to the cardinal points. Then, if any still remains, the cacique puts it in his household jar. The charcoal is distributed by the Corn clan women to each household in the pueblo, a small bit being placed in each fireplace.<sup>79</sup>

#### THE O'PI, OR WARRIORS' SOCIETY

There used to be a society of warriors at Acoma. This group was composed of men who had killed an enemy. The killing, however, must be accomplished according to definite prescription. The contest would be hand to hand. The Acoma warrior would mortally wound his opponent, who would fall.<sup>80</sup> Then the victor would take his scalp; he would place his thumb on the crown of the head for a measure and cut around the thumb. The Acoma warrior, having removed the scalp, would chew the flesh and swallow a bit of it.<sup>81</sup> Then he sings with the scalp to the four cardinal points. When he has finished singing he goes to a large red ant hill and draws the scalp across it four times to the cardinal points. Then he picks the scalp up and flings it to his comrade, saying "dyum<sup>u</sup>" (brother). His comrade catches the scalp; this makes him an o'pi, too. When the other warriors come up they strip all clothing from the two men and throw them on the ant hill. The ants sting them severely. This makes them strong and capable of enduring great pain. When they come back to the pueblo a scalp dance is held.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> My informant was not sure of the meaning of the ceremony. He thought it emphasized (and dramatized) the importance of fire—"all over the whole world." The importance of water, too, is symbolized. But why the Corn clan performs this ceremony rather than some other unit and why those particular k'a'atsina are represented he could not say.

<sup>80</sup> One informant stated that the foe in falling had to touch the Acoma warrior, otherwise he could not become an o'pi. This was denied by a second informant.

<sup>81</sup> The second informant said that one did not chew the scalp.

<sup>82</sup> The scalp dance will be described in connection with the k'a'ale.

## THE K'ACALE

This society is the equivalent of the Rio Grande koshare. It is a secret organization with clown and war functions. They are associated with the sun and with Paiyatyamo.<sup>83</sup> Along the Rio Grande (among the eastern Keres) this society is closely associated with the Flint curing society; sometimes there is a close correspondence of membership, but at Acoma these two societies are quite separate. It is interesting to note, however, that at times of initiation the K'acale use the chambers of the Flint and Fire societies. The K'acale appear at various dances, such as the September masked dance, at the summer solstice sometimes, at natyati, etc. (The war chief decides sometimes whether the K'acale shall come or not.) Their dress is like that of their eastern counterparts, body painted white with black horizontal bands; black rings around eyes and mouth; corn-husk headdress; black breechcloth; barefoot. They dance around and in and out among the dancers. During natyati they lay a line of ashes between the k'atsina dancers and the spectators; if anyone should cross this line the K'acale seize him and take him to Mauharots where they make him dance K'acale. They often amuse the people, too, saying and doing comical things.

The relation between the K'acale and the o'pi will become manifest in the following account of their collaboration with the o'pi in the scalp dances. The K'acale headman tells the society that they belong to the Masewi, and that they must help the o'pi. For a time, during this ceremony, the K'acale are in complete control of the pueblo.<sup>84</sup>

The K'acale society is virtually extinct at Acoma. There remain only one or two of the old members.<sup>85</sup> Nowadays, when the K'acale come, other men impersonate them. They are not real K'acale—they have not been initiated; they do not know their secrets; they merely act like K'acale.

The following is an account of the last scalp dance at Acoma and of the last time new members were initiated into the K'acale society.

<sup>83</sup> Paiyatyamo, too, is associated with the sun.

<sup>84</sup> Certain features stand out quite clearly in a study of the koshare, their clown, war functions, and their skatological rites. Nevertheless I feel that a thorough understanding of this society has not yet been attained. I do not understand how such a combination of features could have been made. The K'acale are fools at times and at others the most important officials in the pueblo. They amuse and terrify people and disgust them, too, with their filthy rites, and they are associated with the medicine societies, too, in a way. Koshare are to be seen on medicine bowls sometimes. (There are some in the American Museum of Natural History.) It is said also that a witch may assume the guise of a koshare, which seems to indicate that the koshare are powerful in black magic. There is no doubt but that they do possess, or are able to manipulate, supernatural power to a considerable degree. Is the koshare a conglomerate, his several qualities being associated through historical accident, or is he the product of a peculiar psychological situation? I feel the need of a more intimate understanding of these personages, and I feel that it is at this point that a deeper understanding of pueblo religion (and "psychology") could be most profitably pursued.

<sup>85</sup> Why did the K'acale society die out while two curing societies remain with considerable strength, and the kachina cult seems even to be growing? Was it because the o'pi were forced into extinction? Did this remove the reason for their existence? This is a suggestive clue.

It is recounted by a man who was made K'acale at that time, about 40 years ago.

At this time there were just a few o'pi left, and they were old men. There were no more wars, so the society was doomed to extinction; they could get no new members. But the old o'pi decided to have one more scalp dance before they died, so they took the scalps that they had preserved out to Dyaits ko't (Piñon Mountain), southwest of Acoma. On the east slope they built a Navaho hogan and placed the scalps inside. This was in the fall, about the last of October or the 1st of November. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon a man was seen running toward Acoma with great speed, crying "Ah-h-h-h-h Ai!" the war cry. The boys in the sheep camps were frightened and began driving their flocks toward the pueblo for protection. The village was thrown into turmoil. All the o'pi and other men armed themselves quickly and hurried away from Acoma toward Dyaits ko't. When they arrived at the hogan they fired several volleys into it. Then two o'pi went in and got the scalps. The warriors rested about the hogan while one of the war chiefs returned to Acoma with the news.

The messenger arrives in the pueblo and goes to the head war chief's house where the cacique and the principales are gathered. When Cutimīti gets the news he goes out and walks through the streets publishing it to the people. He tells the story in detail, recounting each incident of the fight and how they were finally victorious. He tells the people to prepare food to be sent out to the warriors. The women prepare lunches which they bring to the war chief's house, where his cooks receive them. Then some men take the food to Piñon Mountain.

That night in their camp the warriors sing. The next morning they return to the camp with the scalps. The two o'pi who had "renewed" the scalps—i. e., made the killing—were the "head" o'pi for the occasion. (There was another o'pi who was headman as long as he lived.) The warriors wore a headdress of spruce. Their faces were painted with ya'katca, with steamu'n under the eyes and above the mouth, and with i'pict<sup>us</sup> (white) below. They sing the Anakaci'a when they march back into the village with the scalps. They ascended the southwest trail, arriving on the mesa behind the church. The o'pi carried cedar brushes with some hairs from the scalp on them. The women met the warriors. The scalps were carried on a pole. The girls took the cedar brushes with the scalp hairs and waved them. Going around to the door of the church, the sacristano baptized the scalps. This was to "adopt" them into the pueblo. The procession then passed through the seventh dancing station to the eastern edge of the mesa, then west through the first street (the one farthest north) to the chamber of the Fire-society, where they turned



south to the middle street; then east to the main plaza where they plant the scalp pole in the center.

The scalps are left in the plaza for four days and four nights. Each night they dance in the plaza for four nights. They do not sleep, except to doze a few minutes between dancing. At the end of the fourth day the scalps are taken to the house of the o'pi where they are kept. (See fig. 1 for location of o'pi house.) The scalps are now adopted into the pueblo.

Preparations are now begun for the scalp dance nakats'niyanieteta Dyu'. One of the head o'pi goes to one of the headmen of the k'acale taking four waba'n<sup>1</sup> with cigarettes in a corn husk with corn meal. He prays and requests the headman to have enough k'acale for the dance. The other head o'pi goes to the other head k'acale with a similar prayer and request. There were not enough k'acale at that time, so it was necessary to recruit new members. They sought out sons of former k'acale whom they compelled to go to the estufa to be initiated.

There were two groups of k'acale, one having headquarters in Mauharots, the other in the Fire Society house. In addition to the headman of each group there were two k'acale called curt'pai'yatyam<sup>o</sup> and Cpa't<sup>1</sup> pai'yatyam<sup>o</sup>.<sup>56</sup> The other k'acale were called ocatc pai'yatyamo (sun youth). In the dances under the supervision of the k'acale the five estufas divided, Haimatats<sup>1</sup> and Ko'ckasi'ts dancing with Mauharots; Coska'ts, Cutrinits, and Daut'kori'ts with the k'acale in the house of the Fire society.

The boys were taken into the estufas. (Narrator of this account was taken to Mauharots.) There were many men there and one woman, a medicine woman belonging to the Flint society. She was k'acale, too. When all were assembled the head k'acale rose and made a little speech. He told them that the k'acale belonged to the Masewi, and that they were to help the o'pi at dances. Then the woman approached the candidates with some ashes; the k'acale headman brought some ya'k'atca (reddish-brown paint). He wet his finger, dipped it in the ya'k'atca and applied some to the crown of the head, the breast, the palm of each hand, and the sole of each foot of each candidate. Then he applied ashes in the same way. The woman tore strips of corn husk, which she crimped, and hung one from each temple of the initiated boys. They wore these for many days. Then they all went home, with instructions to stand in readiness for further orders.

About a week later some of the boys were called into Mauharots; the others were summoned to the house of the Fire society. It was

<sup>56</sup> Curt<sup>1</sup> is a small unidentified bird. Cpa't<sup>1</sup> is a mocking bird. The head war chief and this k'acale are called cu't<sup>1</sup> because they have access to any ceremony or household in the village, resembling the bird by this name. Pai'yatyamo means "youth."



announced that they were going to dance the *ahi'na* as they now had a sufficient number of *k'acale*. Then they go out, *Mauharots* and its two *estufas* going first, and dance the *ahi'na* in the plaza. At the end of the song an *o'pi* announces that in eight days they will have a scalp dance. The *k'acale* and *o'pi* from the chamber of the Fire society attended by the men from *Coska'ts*, *Cutrin'i'ts*, and *Daut'kori'ts* then dance in the plaza. From this time until after the dance the *k'acale* are in full control in the village.

On the first evening *cuti pai'yatyam<sup>a</sup>*, one of the head *k'acale*, goes out to get the *o'pi* to bring them to the *estufa*; *cpati pai'yatyam<sup>a</sup>* brings one woman. (The procedure is the same for each *estufa*. *Cuti pai'yatyam<sup>a</sup>* from *Mauharots* gets his women from the east end of the village; the *cpati pai'yatyam<sup>a</sup>* from the other group secures his women from the west end.) She sits at the *k'acale's* place in the southeast corner. There is no altar. The men sit in the northwest corner, the *o'pi* on the west side. They sing and dance. Then the men sit down while one woman (on the second night two women are brought to the *estufa*, on the third night, three, and so on until the eighth night) stands north of the *tsiwai'mtyam* and dances the *aci'a* while a man stands in front of the fireplace and instructs her. When she has finished, a *k'acale* conducts her to her seat, and, when the evening is over, to her home. No one may smoke during these eight days unless given cigarettes by the *k'acale* or the *o'pi*. Consequently, every evening the heavy smokers of the pueblo come to the *estufa* for tobacco. This is a rule imposed by *Masewi*.

On the second day the *k'acale* hire women to make sweet corn meal. It is ground on the third day and returned to the *estufa* on the fourth. In the afternoon of that day they go into a side room adjoining the *estufa*. There they set up their altar. They have one *ho'nani* (corn ear, q. v.), a bowl for medicine, and several jars of water. They make a sand painting on the floor.

Shortly before sundown they paint and dress themselves in some grotesque manner and go out of the *estufa*. They climb up on the highest house near by and yell. Then they go about the village by twos, amusing the people, and notifying the men to come to the *estufa* that evening.

When the *k'acale* have returned to the *estufa* they go into the side room and paint themselves all over with *i'piety<sup>a</sup>* (white) with black horizontal bands. Then they prepare the mush. They put filth and human excreta in it, stir it up, and later give it to the people in the next room to drink.

In the next few days the *k'acale* get together the costumes for the *o'pi* to wear in the dance, and for the women, the *k'otcininak'o*. On the eighth evening, the last one preceding the dance, each group

of k'acale has eight women in its estufa, practicing; one song is sung for each dance.

The next morning, before daylight, the k'acale come out from their estufas and sing on a housetop. They are not painted yet. Then they go back into the estufas. When they come out again, just before sunrise, they are painted white with horizontal black stripes; the ocate pai'yatyamo wear old clothes in some grotesque fashion. They call all the men and o'pi to the estufas and the two groups of eight women that are to dance. On this morning they tie two turkey feathers on the left side of the head of all the participants. These are worn the two days of the dance. On the evening of the second day the k'acale remove them and take them out at night, with corn meal, and pray.

At sunrise the first K'acale group comes out from Mauharots. The men of the accompanying estufas comprise the singers; one woman and one o'pi dance. The woman goes ahead, dancing in and out among the singers, the o'pi following behind, dancing. As they arrive at the plaza the k'o'tcininak'o goes out into the middle and dances alone. This dance is also called by its Mexican name, "Montezuma dance." The relatives of the o'pi throw presents to the dancers. When k'o'tcininak'o has finished dancing they all return to Mauharots, and the other group comes out and repeats the same dance. Each estufa group dances eight times, once for each of its k'o'tcininak'o on each of the two days of the dance. When the women have finished on the second day, the father's sister of each one takes her to her (father's sister's) house and bathes her and washes her head. On the eleventh day, the day after the dance, the K'acale go to their estufas, where they await women from their fathers' clans, who take them to their houses and bathe them and wash their heads.<sup>87</sup>

At the close of the dance the K'acale dismantle their altar and sweep up and throw away their sand painting.

#### THE CAIYAIK, OR HUNTERS' SOCIETY

There used to be a society at Acoma called Caiyaik. It was a secret society; the members were called tciaian<sup>1</sup> (which is the term used for the members of the curing societies). Their business was to supply medicines to hunters to insure their success. They drew upon supernatural power, of course. The mountain lion was their patron beast god, but it is thought (by informants now living) that they prayed to other spirits as well. Just what spirits were offered prayer is not known, although it seems quite certain that they prayed to

<sup>87</sup> See Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons's article in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 20, pp. 162-186. The dance she saw at Acoma when new officers were installed was undoubtedly the "Montezuma," or sculp dance. See, also, her *The Sculp Ceremonial of Zuñi*.

the sun. Little was learned concerning their paraphernalia and ritual. There seems to be no doubt, however, that they possessed a stone figure of a mountain lion (as do hunters' societies elsewhere). The Caiyalk, in addition to supplying individual hunters with medicines (and fetishes—little mountain lions, perhaps), were in charge of communal hunts, such as rabbit hunts; that is, they were the ones who made the necessary arrangements with the supernatural world, the beasts, etc. The war chief of the pueblo directs the hunt.

*The rabbit hunt.*—Nowadays the war chief officiates at the rabbit hunts. He announces the time in the pueblo. All the people go out. They go to some chosen place. The war chief prepares to build a fire. First, he gathers some grass, rabbit manure, sticks, etc., which he puts in a little pile. Then he draws a meal line around it and four lines across it, intersecting at the center (lines from each of the cardinal points and midway between them). A little corn meal is put in the center, too. Then some fresh flowers are gathered and placed on the meal lines and in the center. Then the war chief lights the fire. When the smoke begins to rise the war chief prays: "Sun hunter, I wish you to help me to-day. Cause lots of cottontails and jack rabbits to come together here." The rabbits are supposed to come then. The people go about with clubs (wobaits) and slings (yaucbunin) to kill them. It is said that before a person strikes a rabbit the sun will strike it and make it "kind crazy." All the hunters throw corn meal on the fire before they kill rabbits.

When the hunt is over and the people have returned to their homes, the war chief goes around to all the houses and asks for rabbits. If they have killed many, they give him some. When the war chief comes to a house and finds that they have brought home no rabbits, he says to the boys "ba'teo wetstia" ("you must vomit"; i. e., drink herb brew in the morning and vomit). Corn meal is put in the rabbit's mouth after he is brought home, and a pinch of meal is thrown in the fire.

#### THE FIESTA OF SAN ESTEVAN

San Estevan, the first martyr, is the patron saint of Acoma; his "day" is September 2. A big fiesta is held at this time in his honor. Almost all of the Acoma people from Acomita and McCartys go up to old Acoma on the 1st of September. Many whites, Mexicans, and other Indians from Isleta, Laguna, Zuñi, Navaho, etc., come to spend the day.

Early in the morning of the 2d, just at sunrise, the great bells in the old Spanish church are tolled. The village, which during the summer months is practically deserted, is swarming with people, bustling about getting ready for the ceremonies. The war chiefs are at work on the little house which is to shelter the saint when he is removed

from the church. It is a small structure about 12 by 18 feet, made of poles and covered over with green cottonwood boughs. Bunches of green corn are laid alongside the walls at the entrance. The inside walls are hung with the nicest Navaho rugs to be found. A table is in the rear, ready to receive the saint. Benches are arranged along the walls. The entrance is wide open.

Many people (Indians only, though I believe I did see a Mexican once) sell fruit, melons, ice cream, etc., near the plaza during the day. They set up their little stands early in the forenoon.

The church is opened and made ready for the services. The priest arrives about 9.30, but visits with friends for a time before preparing for Mass. This is the only time during the year that Mass is held at old Acoma. The church is very large. There are no seats; people stand or kneel.

Church services begin about 10 o'clock. Most of the people attend, although some of the old people do not come. I have seen some of the old people come in some time before the services began, go up to the altar and kneel and pray, and then go out. Whether they were shy about attending the services, or whether they preferred to worship in their own way, or whether they were simply shirking, I could not say.

The priest, assisted by some Indian boys, conducts Mass. Then he makes a speech in Spanish, which is translated by the governor. He makes announcements, perhaps, and tells the people again why they are honoring San Estevan, and that they should lead good lives, etc.

Then the saint is taken out of the church. The governor and his lieutenants and the fiscales come in and take the saint from his place at the altar and carry him on a litter out of the church; all the people fall in behind. When the saint reaches the door a drummer beats a small drum (using two drum sticks; one is always used in the regular Indian ceremonies). When the saint is carried outdoors, several men fire rifles into the air.<sup>88</sup> Then the saint is carried all through the village, up one street and down another. As the procession passes points of the mesa, boys fire revolvers into the air. When the circuit of the village is completed the saint is brought to the little bough structure and deposited on the table in the rear. Candles are lighted and placed near by. Women bring in great quantities of bread, melons, and bowls of meat (rabbit or mutton) stew, for the saint. Some old men, the war chiefs, etc., sit on the benches in the house with the saint.

<sup>88</sup> I do not know why these shots are fired. One informant did not know; another said that it was to drive away the bad (witches).

It is now about noon. The dancers are getting ready. The priest remains in the church after the saint leaves to talk to anyone who wishes to see him and to marry couples who have waited for this occasion. Sometimes a couple that has been "married"—i. e., lived as man and wife—come at this time to have their union receive the sanction of the Catholic Church. Sometimes the dancers come out and dance once before noon.

After dinner the dance begins. There is great hospitality shown at this fiesta. Ordinarily, strangers are received at old Acoma with suspicion, distrust, and surliness—in addition to charging all visitors \$1 per head for the privilege of inspecting the pueblo, but at the feast of St. Stephen, Acoma is hostess to everyone. Indians from other villages and Navahos are housed and fed. Even white people are treated with some kindness and hospitality. Several people who had never before shown any inclination to be kind to me invited me to have dinner with them during the fiesta.

There are two groups of dancers, each coming from its own kiva. They file into the plaza, dancing; men and women alternate in the line. A group of men, usually old men, follow, singing. One man carries a great drum which is beaten very loudly. At the head of the line of dancers is a man carrying a long pole which is "dressed just like the dancers." It is called *ocate paiyatymo* (sun youth). At the top of the pole is a bunch of colored parrot feathers like the headdress of the men dancers. Then there is usually a bulb of wood (resembling in size and shape an "Indian club") painted green with a band of white and black. Then comes a ceremonial sash, made of cotton and embroidered with colored yarn, which is also worn by the dancers. A fox skin hangs down from the point where the sash is fastened (just as a fox skin hangs down from the waist of the men dancers, in the back). The man who carries this standard moves about in the plaza during the dance, sometimes at one end of the line of dancers, sometimes in front of them at the middle.

The costume of the dancers is quite like that of all fiesta dancers in the eastern pueblos.<sup>89</sup> The men wear parrot feathers in their hair at the crown of the head. Their hair, which is freshly washed, hangs down their back. They are nude to the waist. Their bodies are painted (sometimes one group will be painted blue green and the other a sort of reddish brown). They wear the usual dance kilt, or skirt, with the cloud and weather symbols on the side. They wear bells around their legs below the knee, or at the ankle. Sometimes they tie hanks of colored yarn around the leg below the knee. They wear moccasins topped with skunk fur. They carry a gourd rattle in the right hand and a bunch of spruce twigs in the left.

<sup>89</sup> There is an excellent photograph of fiesta dancers in Kidder's *Southwestern Archaeology*, p. 40.



The women wear a "manta" (a black woolen dress, without sleeves and fastening over the right shoulder only). Their feet and legs are bare. A wooden tablita or head board is worn over the head. They carry spruce in each hand.

The dance lasts all afternoon. First one group dances, then another. Between dances they rest and practice songs. After the first dance all of the dancers file into the little house where the saint is and pray to him, one man and one woman kneeling before him at a time. Along toward the close of the afternoon the two kiva groups come out at the same time and dance together. Various dance figures are executed throughout the afternoon. There is no individual performance; it is entirely a group affair. Indeed there is no leader so far as anyone can see, but all of the dancers keep step, turn, etc., at the precise moment and in perfect coordination.

At the close of the dance all of the dancers gather near the house of the saint. Before they stop dancing the war chief begins to pray. He prays in a droning, singsong voice. Then all of the dancers stop and kneel. The war chief prays and thanks the people for dancing for the saint. Then the saint is carried back to the church, followed by the dancers and some people.

That evening, after supper, people visit with each other. Usually one large house is cleared, and they have a "corn dance." There is no costume; men and women just dance to singing and a gourd rattle. Sometimes they have a "Mexican dance"; i. e., three Mexicans, one with a guitar, another with an accordion, and the third with a fiddle, play American jazz and a variety of Mexican selections. The young men and girls dance together.<sup>90</sup>

The fiesta dance at Acoma is not as well done as at the Keresan villages in the east. The costumes are not pure; there is a mixture of Indian and white. Some men wear union suits and American shoes, socks, and garters. Some even wear shirts and trousers, but some of the men, especially the older men, insist upon purity of costume. The dancing itself is inferior to that of their eastern cousins; it lacks finish. I think this is to be attributed, in part at least, to the fact that the eastern pueblos are stimulated by comparisons with each other. They visit each other at fiesta times, and compare notes; and, of course, each village is anxious to appear well in the dancing. Acoma, on the other hand, is quite isolated. She has only Laguna to compete with, and she is even worse. The young people at Acoma are not particularly interested in putting on a finished dance; that means a lot of work. About all they want is to have a good time, and

<sup>90</sup> Some of the old folks disapprove of these dances very much; it is another step away from the old ways.



the old men are not greatly concerned either, for the saint's feast is not really an important event. It can not compare with a k'atsina ceremony. Consequently the art is declining.

#### CHRISTMAS EVE AND CHRISTMAS WEEK

On Christmas Eve people (those who care to do so) bring small clay figures of horses, cattle, sheep, corn, etc., into the church in baskets or bowls. They place them on the floor and pray to God and to San Estevan. A cross is placed in the bowl for God. This is to encourage a generous multiplication of beasts and crops during the year to come. These figures are kept in the church four days, after which they are taken out and deposited in fields, at the base of cedar bushes, or in cracks in rocks.

After midnight, on Christmas Eve, many people come to the church to pray. They pray to God, Jesus Christ, and to their patron, San Estevan. At sunrise they dance.

During the four days that follow there is much dancing in the church. They dance buffalo, eagle, Comanche dances, etc. No masks are worn. These dances are not esoteric, and are not connected with the k'atsina. They are danced merely for pleasure.

#### ROOSTER PULLS <sup>91</sup>

On the morning of a chicken pull one Flint and one Fire shaman go to the house of the war chief to make medicine. The rooster is given this medicine to drink. They pray to the rooster. Then some of this medicine is put into the white clay with which the men paint their hands. Two men from the group are chosen to be the first to grab the fowl. The war chief makes four waba'n<sup>i</sup> (feather bunch), each accompanied by a wi'icb<sup>i</sup> (reed cigarette), which are wrapped in a corn husk. He gives a package of this kind to each of the two first men. They pray with the waba'n<sup>i</sup>. The rooster is suspended from a crosspiece between two poles, erected in the plaza.<sup>92</sup> Before they start, the men paint their hands in the plaza, using the white clay mixed with medicine. All the men run under the crosspiece several times before the two men, who have already been chosen, seize the rooster and tear him down. Then everyone pursues the man with the rooster. They grab it and fight with it. In the end he is torn to pieces: It is said that rooster blood is "good for rain."<sup>93</sup>

<sup>91</sup> These are always held on some saint's day. Chickens were introduced into the pueblos by the Spaniards.

<sup>92</sup> Sometimes, after the first pull in the plaza, a rooster is buried in the sand at the foot of the mesa. Men on horses ride by until some one snatches him out of the sand. Then they fight with him.

<sup>93</sup> It is interesting to note how this alien custom is interpreted in terms of the native philosophy of rain making.

## THE MEDICINE CULT

There are four medicine societies at Acoma, viz, the Flint (Hictian'), Fire (H'a'k'an'), Kabina,<sup>94</sup> and Shiwanna ("Thundercloud") Societies.<sup>95</sup> There are also snake medicine men, but they do not constitute a society; they are simply individuals who treat snake bites. Neither the Shiwanna nor the snake medicine men are of much consequence. They are quite unimportant so far as sickness is concerned, and they exert even less influence in the ceremonial and political life of the pueblo. The chief purpose of the Shiwanna Society is to treat persons who have been shocked by lightning and to set broken bones. They also treat persons who have "a bad smell from the stomach" (halitosis?). It is the three societies, the Fire, Flint, and Kabina, that are really important. They cure ailments due to the machinations of witches and purge the village of these evil spirits. They also exert a very great influence in the politico-religious life of the people.

These societies are secret organizations whose chief purpose is to combat witches. They are composed of men and women, and children who are old enough to be intrusted with secrets. The women, however, merely assist the men at ceremonies; they do not cure. A headman (naidia, father) presides over the society; he summons them when necessary, supervises the ceremonies, etc. The Fire Society has a chamber in which its meetings are held (fig. 1).<sup>96</sup> The Flint Society usually holds its ceremonies in the head estufa, Mauharots, unless it is being occupied by the cacique, when it "rents a house somewhere else" (almost any large room would do). Kabina, as we have noted before, kept his paraphernalia in an "east side room" (hak'aiya) adjoining Mauharots.

*Disease, its cause and cure.*—Everyone at Acoma knows, of course, that if you violate some of the simple but important rules of hygiene you will become sick; you should not eat too many green peaches. They have a number of herb medicines which they employ in treating minor ailments or complaints, and I have no doubt but that some of them possess healing properties of real merit. But if an ailment becomes serious, does not respond readily to these simple treatments, it is evident that the person in question has been stricken by a witch. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a medicine man or a society.

<sup>94</sup> Informants at Acoma did not know what kabina means. An informant at Santo Domingo said that it meant, or was applied to, a person who "ate too much." The kabina society became extinct at Acoma during the winter of 1926-27. There was only one man left in the summer of 1926. Since his death his functions have been taken over by the Flint Society; I understood that the head of the Flint Society initiated the war chief at his installation in 1927.

<sup>95</sup> An informant about 50 years old told me that "there used to be" bear, eagle, giant, lizard (me'yu), ant, and cikame medicine societies at Acoma. I do not know what this statement is worth; certainly none of these societies has existed there within the past few generations.

<sup>96</sup> The chamber of the Fire Society was referred to as a k'nate, which is the term for the kiva (or estufa) of the kachina organization. In structure, so far as I could learn, it is similar to the regular kiva. Kivas in the eastern Keresan villages are called tei'kya.

There are many witches in the world, evil spirits whose sole purpose is to injure people, to make them sick.<sup>97</sup> A witch may appear in a number of guises. He may come as almost any kind of animal or bird or he may appear as a person. Sometimes persons in the pueblo itself prove to be witches. There is no sign by which one may recognize a witch in the body of a dog, or an owl, or a person. This fact makes witches even more insidious and dangerous. One can detect a witch only by associating some person or animal with some malady. For the layman this association amounts to little more than mere suspicion (sometimes abetted by jealousy or dislike in the case of persons accused of witchcraft). But the medicine men are infallible. When by means of their instruments and rituals they have secured power from the animal medicine men they can see and know everything.

Witches cause disease in two ways. They shoot such things as thorns, sticks, pebbles, broken glass, rags, yarn, or snakes into some one's body, or they steal a person's heart and make off with it.<sup>98</sup> In either case, of course, the patient becomes very ill and will die unless the objects are removed or the heart returned.

A person who is ill may secure treatment from a medicine society (or a single doctor) if he so desires. A sick person is not compelled to submit to treatment, but the medicine men are obligated to treat any person applying to them for aid.

Whether one doctor or an entire society is summoned depends upon the wishes of the patient (and his immediate senior kin) and upon the nature of the ailment. If the ailment is relatively slight, one doctor only may be called; if the illness is quite serious an entire society would probably be summoned.

If one medicine man is to be called, the father of the patient makes a prayer stick and prays for the health of his child. Then he places the stick in the hands of the sick one, who prays. Then the father takes the prayer stick to the doctor who has been chosen and asks him to come.

The doctor visits the patient, bringing with him two eagle plumes and a gourd rattle, and some buckskin bags of medicine. He sings, prays, and smokes. He examines the patient to determine the location of the objects which have been injected by the witch. He

<sup>97</sup> There is a feeling among the Indians, however, that witches do not, or can not, injure white people. There is no reason why the Indians should prefer white physicians to their own, they say; each one treats his own ailments—the white doctor for white diseases, the Indian for Indian; and witch diseases are peculiar to Indians and can be treated only by native medicine men.

<sup>98</sup> The first method seems to be more common than the second. I received one account of witchcraft at Acoma that described another method of causing illness. There was an epidemic of whooping cough in the pueblo. Persons walking about the village late at night heard a man walking around the houses. He was beating a drum, making a gasping sound which resembled coughing and gasping. He was a witch who was responsible for the sickness in the pueblo. Perhaps this case may represent another category in the etiology of disease which might be formulated as follows: A witch by simulating the symptoms of a disease may spread sickness among the people. This is, of course, a species of sympathetic magic.

removes them by sucking them out, or in some cases he withdraws them with his eagle plumes. He also "whips disease away" with the plumes. He will treat the patient for four days and nights, if necessary, coming several times during the day and evening to see him. If at the end of that time the patient's condition is not much improved it is quite likely that another doctor, or an entire society, will be summoned. The doctor is paid for his services in corn meal, flour, or other commodities of value.

*Curing by a society.*—A patient may desire to have an entire society treat him. If he is critically ill the entire society usually comes; if the patient wishes to join the society upon recovery the whole group always comes. It happens, however, that a whole society might come with all its paraphernalia and treat a patient who had not expressed his intention of joining.<sup>99</sup>

If the patient expresses a desire to join a curing society he tells his father, naming the society of his choice. The father and other relatives of the patient then make some wabani (feather bunches, q. v.). The father takes one and prays with it, asking that his child may recover from his illness. Then he places the feather bunch that he has just used in the hands of the sick child, who prays. Then the father takes the wabani to the headman (naicpia) of the society and asks him to cure his child. The headman calls his doctors together, distributes the wabani among them, and tells them about the sick child. They agree upon a time to visit the patient (they go at once if he is critically ill), after which they go out with their feather bunches and pray for their success.

At the time appointed the society comes to the house of the sick person, bringing their paraphernalia with them. A room has been cleared of furniture and placed at their disposal. They set up their altar and lay out their paraphernalia.<sup>1</sup> Each doctor has a ho'nani (corn ear fetish, q. v.) which is laid out in front of the altar. (Pl. 1, b.) Then there are medicine bowls, small stone figures of animals, the beast

<sup>99</sup> There is some confusion in the accounts of two informants on this point. One stated that the doctors would not dress, or rather undress, and paint themselves if the patient did not wish to join. Another stated that the ceremony by the group was the same whether the patient wished to join or not. However, there is this difference between the two situations: If the patient does not wish to join, the society is summoned with corn meal; if he does wish to join, the family and relatives of the patient make wabani, which are taken to the headman.

<sup>1</sup> I received two pictures of this altar from two informants. The other picture is included in the section Paraphernalia and Ritual (q. v.). These two pictures are quite different in design and structure. It is possible, of course, that neither informant was guilty of misrepresentation. They might have been describing different altars, although each stated that the one he had drawn represented the altars of both the Fire and the Flint societies. (Kabina had a different kind of altar; it was described in the account of the initiation of the war chief.) If, however, either informant is at fault, I am inclined to believe that it is the one who drew the most elaborate picture. At Acoma this altar is called yabaicini. Among the eastern Keres yabaicini refers to the sand painting which the medicine societies outline on the floor at cures. At Santo Domingo and at San Felipe a wooden slat altar is not used in curing ceremonies. They have one, which they call aitein, which is used at solstice ceremonies (and perhaps at retreats).

gods,<sup>2</sup> bear paws, large flints, a bowl of water and a gourd dipper, a refuse bowl, a rock crystal (quartz ?), etc. The medicine men are nude, except for a breechcloth. They have a black band painted across the face covering the eyes. They have their long hair tied up in front with a corn husk. Two short turkey feathers are worn at each temple.

The patient is brought in and placed on a blanket on the floor.<sup>3</sup> The father or mother and perhaps one or two relatives may be there, but the general public is not admitted.

The head medicine man begins to mix the medicine (wawa). He takes a gourd dipperful of water from the water jar which he pours into the medicine bowl (waititcani), singing the while a song to the north.<sup>4</sup> Then another dipperful with a song to the west, and so on through south and east. Then he fills the bowl. Perhaps he sings another song or two. Then he takes from his collection of buckskin bags some herb medicines which he sprinkles in the medicine bowl.<sup>5</sup> Then the other medicine men put in their medicines. If there are any women tciani they put their medicines in last.

Then diagnosis and cure are begun. The headman picks up the small rock crystal which lies before the altar and peers through it at the patient. This crystal (ma'caiyoyo) enables the medicine man to see the objects which have been injected into the patient's body. He can see witches, too. In fact, a doctor can see anything anywhere with the aid of this lens; even if he be blind ordinarily, he can see during curing ceremonies with the aid of this crystal.<sup>6</sup> When naicdia (the headman of the society) has finished his examination each doctor in turn uses the crystal to inspect the patient.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The medicine men do not themselves possess "power" to oppose witches and to cure ailments caused by them. They receive the power necessary from certain animal spirits who are the "real" medicine men. These are the bear, who ranks first, the mountain lion (who probably comes next), the eagle, badger, snake, and wolf. One animal is associated with each cardinal point, but my informant was not sure of the point to which each belonged.

<sup>3</sup> If the patient is a boy he is brought in naked. Girls wear only a cotton dress; the body must be free for examination.

<sup>4</sup> Four colors correspond to the cardinal points: North is yellow, west blue, south red, and east white.

<sup>5</sup> The medicine men gather their herb medicines on Mount Taylor, which lies 20 or 25 miles to the north of Acoma, and whose summit is approximately 4,000 feet above the elevation of Acoma. The doctors walk all the way; it takes them several days to go, gather herbs, and return. At the summit they deposit prayer sticks in the depression which was once the mouth of the volcano. Several days are spent after the medicine men return to Acoma in grinding their medicines and putting them away for future use. Some of these medicines are dispensed at this time to households for their own use.

<sup>6</sup> The following incident is rather interesting: An old medicine man had a son who had been away to school and who had returned a "progressive"; he did not fall in line readily with his father's way of life. So he ran away. No one knew where he had gone, but it was rumored that he had gone to California. The old man wanted his son to come back. He told others that he would bring him back all right, he "had power"; he could find him and make him return. Some of the younger folk who were also progressives and in sympathy with the runaway "kidded the old man along" (mildly), and asked him why he didn't get out his ma'caiyoyo and find his son that way.

<sup>7</sup> Each medicine man makes his own diagnosis, and there is no consultation among them afterwards; each man does as he thinks best. Also each doctor puts his own herbs into the medicine bowl according to his own notions and without considering the kinds already put in by his colleagues.



All of the doctors save two go behind the altar, sit down, and begin to sing. The two remaining in front dance in front of the altar and about the patient. They hold an eagle wing feather in each hand. They move these about the patient with cutting and slashing motions (away from the patient); they are "whipping the disease away." Then they lay their eagle feathers by the altar. They go to the sick person and massage him here and there. If they succeed in finding some foreign object in his body they suck it out. They go over to the refuse bowl and spit it out in the bowl ("you can see it when it comes out of their mouth, and hear it when it falls in the bowl").<sup>8</sup> They gargle their throats, wash their hands, and go back of the altar. Two other doctors come out and repeat the process. All of the medicine men cure in this way; the headman is last. The women doctors (if there are any) merely sing; they never perform any cures.

When the curing is finished the headman gives the patient medicine from the medicine bowl.<sup>9</sup> It is administered externally or internally or both. The remaining medicine is given to the members of the patient's household, who drink it.

This concludes the ceremony. The doctors go home, leaving two of their number to watch the patient. The altar, with its attendant paraphernalia, remains in place for four days, after which it is removed to the society house. The patient is attended by the doctors in turn until he recovers—or dies. The attending doctors pray and sing a great deal. If the patient recovers he will be pledged to the society effecting the cure, although he may not be initiated for a year or two thereafter. The society will receive no compensation upon the recovery of the patient, but will receive a considerable quantity of corn meal, flour, bread, etc., when he is formally initiated.

During the four days of curing the doctors may not eat salt or meat. Also, during this period, and for four days thereafter, they may not sleep with their wives, nor bathe nor wash their heads.<sup>10</sup>

*Securing new members.*—As we have just seen, a person may join a medicine society after having been cured by it. This is the most approved way of becoming a medicine man. Theoretically, a person may become a member of a curing society without having been ill; he could request to be initiated, and if accepted, he would be made a medicine man. This method, however, is almost unheard of. Then there is a third way of recruiting new members, viz, by "trapping" persons and compelling them to join against their will.

<sup>8</sup> They spit out stones, thorns, rags, yarn, and sometimes a snake, a live one.

<sup>9</sup> The medicine bowls have four terraced sides. They are black and white. Bears, snakes, lions, lightning, and cloud symbols are painted on the bowls.

<sup>10</sup> Compare with Stevenson's accounts of curing ceremonies; e. g., the ceremony of the Giant Society, pp. 97-101, *The Sia*.



There are several ways in which a person may be trapped by a medicine man. If a medicine man asks a youth (or man) for a cigarette (usually when with a group of men) and the youth gives him one after having lighted it, the medicine man will take a puff, touch the youth, and say, "You are my son." Then the youth may be compelled to join the society of the man who trapped him. Youths are, therefore, careful not to hand a medicine man a cigarette that they have been smoking; if a doctor asks for a smoke they give him a cigarette unlighted.

During the initiation ceremonies of the Fire Society lines of ashes are drawn in the street near their house. If anyone should step over one of these lines a medicine man (who will be on the roof watching) will chase him. The person who has stepped across the ashes will run to his house as fast as he can. If the doctor catches him before he reaches the ladder which leans against his house, the victim must join the society. If, however, the person who has violated this prescription of the medicine society succeeds in catching hold of the rungs of his house ladder, he is safe.

Also, during the initiation ceremonies of the Fire Society, for a specified period of time, no one may build a fire out of doors, or carry live coals outside. If anyone breaks this rule he will be compelled to join the society.<sup>11</sup>

Trapping persons and forcing them to join a society is far less desirable than securing new members of their own free will. But of late years it has become increasingly necessary for the medicine societies to recruit their ranks in this way; fewer people are joining voluntarily. One might think that a person who had been forced to become a medicine man would rebel and fail to give them spiritual allegiance after his initiation. This may be true in some cases. I knew of a young man who had spent some years at Haskell Institute, who was quite intelligent and spoke English very well, who was trapped by a medicine society. He had been a lukewarm liberal before his initiation. After he became a full-fledged medicine man, however, he became just like his colleagues; he was just as conscientious in the performance of his work as anyone else. And, it was said, he became possessed of considerable "power."

*Initiation of new members.*—A society usually does not have an initiation ceremony until it has at least two persons to join. (This means that a person might wait two or three years for an initiation.) When a society decides to initiate the headman tells the war chief, and he informs the cacique. A date is set (by the medicine society, with the advice and consent of the cacique and war chief), usually two weeks in advance. This gives everyone time to prepare for the

<sup>11</sup> It was said that this rule was employed by the Flint Society as well, but I am not sure that it is true.

event; the relatives of the initiates grind corn, make flour, bread, etc., which will be given to the medicine men.

The ceremonies of initiation are concluded with a public exhibition held in the chamber of the society. Four days before this night the novices will be taken to the house of the society. There they are kept for four days and nights. No one except medicine men know what goes on during this time. Nonmedicine men seem to think, however, that the candidates are subjected to very trying and even painful ordeals. It is thought that they are given some filthy, nasty, or otherwise unpleasant medicine to drink. But, unfortunately, these conjectures must remain conjectures until data can be secured from the medicine men themselves. It is not to be doubted, though, I believe, that the candidates are instructed in many things, such as prayers, songs, medicines, paraphernalia, and feats of magic, for young doctors often display great skill and proficiency soon after their initiation.

After the four days and nights of seclusion the society holds a public ceremony in their chamber. It commences after supper, just after dark. Anyone may attend. Those who are especially eager (such as friends and relatives of the candidates) come early, as the chamber will hold only 30 or 40 persons. When they come in they find the altar of the society set up, with the customary paraphernalia (the corn-ear fetishes, honani, the medicine bowls, flints, bear paws, stone figures of the animal spirits, etc.) laid on the floor in front. The medicine men are dressed as for a curing ceremony: naked save for a breechcloth, faces painted with the horizontal black band, their hair tied up with a corn husk, two turkey feathers at each temple, etc. On the four walls are painted an eagle, a bear, cloud and rain symbols, a water snake, a koshare, etc. (q. v.). Each doctor carries a rattle in the right hand and two eagle plumes in the left (the boy candidates have them too, but the girls are empty handed). (Pls. 11, 12.)

All of the doctors except two sit behind the altar and sing. The two remaining in front dance. When they have finished they take their places behind the altar and two others dance. All of the doctors dance, by twos; the headman and the candidates dance last. When they have finished the candidate goes about the chamber demonstrating his newly acquired powers. He goes to the pictures on the walls and gathers from them, between his two palms, seeds of various kinds, which he distributes to the people present. Then he goes around the chamber "curing" people. Having selected some person, he will withdraw from the body a pebble, stick, or string, with his eagle plumes. Or, he may massage some part of his body and then suck some object out.

When the candidates have finished the headman prays and the ceremony ends. The candidates are kept in the society chamber that night and returned to their homes in the morning.

*Fire and sword jugglery of the Fire Society.*—After the 4-day period in their chamber the Fire Society has an outdoor fire ceremony.<sup>12</sup> The war chief orders people throughout the village to bring firewood to the house of the Fire Society. The medicine men dig a shallow pit in front of their house. Lines of ashes are drawn around the pit and the front of the house. No one may cross these lines; if someone does, and is caught, he will be initiated into the society. The women members of the society bring four large black pots out of the house and place them near a wall in front of the chamber. The pots are partly filled with water. About noon a fire is built in the pit; a considerable quantity of wood is thrown on. The women build a fire under the pots. Then they all go into the chamber (except one or two, who keep watch on the roof).

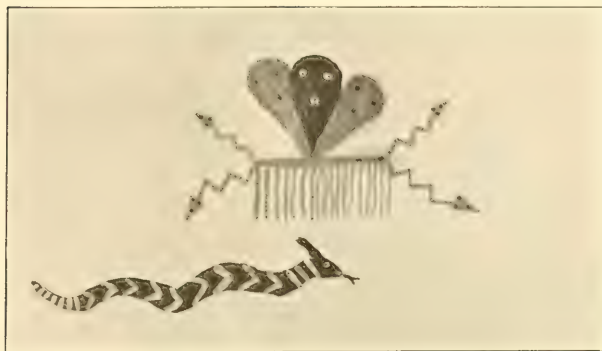
After a time they come out. The men are naked (except for a breechcloth) and barefooted. They are painted with ashes. Their long hair is tied up on top of the head. Two short turkey feathers are worn at each temple. They carry a gourd rattle in the right hand and two eagle wing feathers in the left. Leather wristlets are worn on the left forearm. The female members wear a calico dress. Their arms, feet, and legs are bare.

The women bring four baskets of corn meal out of the chamber. The meal is put in the four pots of boiling water. They stir the boiling mush. It is thick. They stir it with their bare hands. They take it out in balls and throw it to people who are gathered about on housetops.

When all the mush has been thrown to the people all the medicine men (and women) go to the pit. It is full of ashes and glowing coals. They dance around the pit, counterclockwise, while they sing four songs. Then the medicine men give their rattles to the medicine women. They tuck their eagle plumes into their wristlets. The fifth song is begun. Naicbia (the headman) stoops down by the pit and stirs the ashes and live coals with his bare hands. Then he jumps into the hot bed of coals (jumping from west to east). All of the doctors follow suit (the women do not, however).

When all of the doctors have jumped into the fire a medicine woman throws a basket of shelled corn into the pit. The doctors then seize the boy who is being initiated and throw him into the pit on top of the shelled corn. He alights on his back. The doctors all stoop over him and quickly stir everything together—the ashes, live coals, shelled corn, and the screaming boy. Then they take him

<sup>12</sup> Acoma resembles Zuñi at this point more than Rio Grande pueblos. Fire and sword jugglery is prominent at Zuñi, but not found at either Santo Domingo or San Felipe.



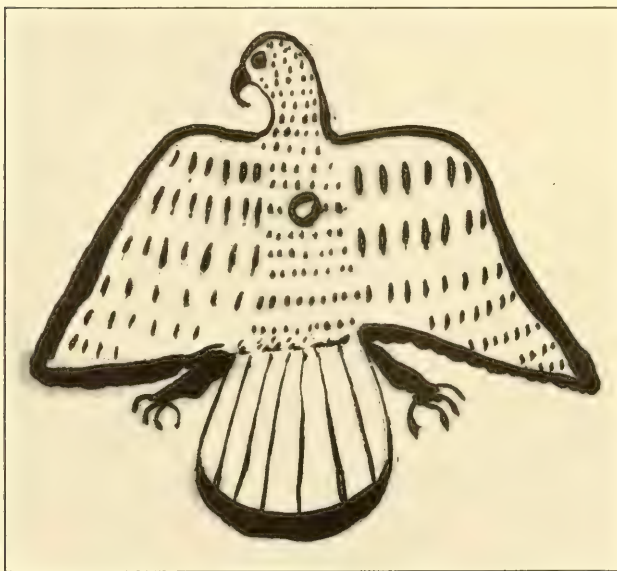
a. Cloud, rain, and lightning symbols, with horned snake



b. Representation of a Koshare standing on the moon, holding corn in each hand. The four marks on either side mean that rain will fall for four days before and after each moon



a. Bear "medicine man" with eagle plumes and rattle. Painted on wall of chamber when a boy is made a medicine man



b. Eagle painted on wall of chamber at time of initiation into a medicine society

out and make him stand. All of the candidates are thrown into the pit in like fashion. If there are any girl candidates they are thrown in too, but after the boys, when it will not be so hot.

When all of the candidates have been taken from the pit the head man withdraws the ashes, coals, and shelled corn from the pit with his hands and scatters them about on the ground. Then the doctors go into their chamber. As the head man is ascending the ladder he announces to the people that they will have a sword-swallowing ceremony in eight days. When the doctors have gone in the people gather about the pit and pick up the parched corn.

About seven days later some of the doctors go out to the mountains and get some small spruce (or other) trees. They leave the tops untouched, but whittle the butt down, making it quite small and very smooth (they are going to swallow this). This wooden sword which they swallow is called *oado-ts*. They have some made of flat boards, into which designs have been cut. They are painted. The women dance with carved and painted boards in their hands. They are called *amakaiyum*<sup>a</sup> (they are catalogued in museums, usually, as "dance wands").

On the eighth day they dress for the dance. The men wear a close-fitting skull cap with small downy feathers glued on it. Their shirts are blue, red, or yellow. They wear new moccasins, with leggings that reach to the knee (there are usually silver buttons in the front of the leggings, in a line from top to bottom). They wear a white dancing kilt. A fox skin hangs from the waist in the back. Their legs are painted white. They wear two turkey feathers at each temple and a white downy eagle feather at the crown. There is considerable variety among the men's costumes, except for the dancing kilts, which are all alike. The women members wear mantas (white woven cotton mantas with terraces, etc., embroidered on the ends), white moccasins, and leggings. They wear varicolored ribbons in their hair instead of feathers. The faces of both men and women are painted with *ya'katca* (reddish brown) from the mouth upward. They have some black (*steamu'n*) beneath the eyes. They are painted with *ipictya* (white clay) beneath the mouth.

The next morning they come out at sunrise, dressed for the dance.<sup>13</sup> They dance toward the east. This takes them to the big plaza. The men go first; the women follow. One man carries a large drum. When they reach the plaza they form a line from east to west, facing north. The men keep dancing. Then one man, carrying an *oado-ts*, and one woman step forward and dance to the middle of the plaza. They dance higher and faster. Then the man moistens his *oado-ts*

<sup>13</sup> If they prepare their costumes on the eighth day, they dance on the ninth. If the dance is to be on the eighth day, they prepare on the seventh.



(sword) with saliva (or, it may be smeared with honey). Then he thrusts the stick down his throat. He dances with it for a time, thus. The woman merely accompanies him, dancing with her amakaiyum<sup>a</sup>. Sometimes he swallows two swords at once. This couple is replaced by another, and another, until all have danced with the sticks down their throats. The candidates who are being initiated also swallow the swords.

When all have finished they return to their chamber, where they rest for a while. Then they return to the plaza, where they dance and swallow swords as before. They dance thus four times during the forenoon. They usually vary their costume a trifle, such as changing a blue shirt for a yellow one, etc. They have lunch in their chamber. After a short rest they go back to the plaza to dance again. They dance four times during the afternoon. Many people are there all day watching them.

This concludes their ceremonies.

*The communal curing.*—Communal curing ceremonies are usually held in the spring, shortly before the people leave old Acoma for their farms. Whether one is held or not depends upon the cacique; he will order one if he thinks it expedient.<sup>14</sup> If the cacique decides that it is necessary, he sends for the war chief. When the war chief arrives the cacique greets him, taking both his hands, and seats him. Then the cacique prays and offers (cigarette, wi'icibi) smoke to the cardinal points, and to wenimats<sup>1</sup>. When he has finished the cacique tells the war chief that a communal curing ceremony should be held to cure everyone who has a cold or who is sick and to purge the whole village of evil spirits (witches, k'anadyaiya).

The war chief departs, but soon returns with his lieutenants and the cooks. They busy themselves making wabani (feather bunches, q. v.), one for each medicine man. They make two balls of cotton, each containing a quantity of beads, corn meal, pollen, ya-k'atea, steamu'n (paints), etc., in the center. The war chief sends his cooks out to tell the headmen of the curing societies to await a visit from the war chiefs.

When they have finished making the waban<sup>1</sup> and the itsatyun<sup>a</sup> (the cotton balls), the head war chief (cutimīti) takes some of the wabani and one of the balls of cotton to the house of one of the head medicine men. Cpatimīti, the first lieutenant war chief, visits the other head medicine man, also with wabani and itsatyun<sup>a</sup>.

When the war chief arrives at the house of one of the head medicine men he calls out "K'aiya!" (a greeting). The medicine man responds "Ha'ai!" "May I come in?" the war chief asks. "Yes!" "Will

<sup>14</sup> Sometimes a general curing is held; sometimes not. If an epidemic should strike the pueblo at any time (other than spring), the cacique would probably order a general curing.

you receive me friendly?" the war chief again asks. "Yes! Come in." The war chief enters and says "Guatzil!" ("Hello"). "Dawai eh!" replies the medicine man. The medicine man brings a stool for the war chief and seats him. Then he makes a corn-husk cigarette for the war chief. When the war chief has laid down his cigarette the medicine man asks, "Now, father, what do you want with me?" The war chief tells him that the cacique has decided that a communal curing ceremony is necessary and that he wishes the medicine societies to make the necessary preparations. The war chief then places the wabani and the itsatyun<sup>a</sup> in the medicine man's hands, and, placing his own under those of the doctor, prays. Then he leaves.

The headman calls his men together and tells them to prepare for a curing ceremony. Each medicine man places his hands under the basket containing the wabani and the itsatyun<sup>a</sup> and prays. Then naicdia (the headman) divides these articles among the doctors. Each goes out and prays, burying the articles afterwards. Later a joint meeting is held by the two societies in one of the chambers.<sup>15</sup> They decide upon a date for the ceremony. The war chief informs the cacique. The cacique instructs the war chief to publish the news to the people.<sup>16</sup> The ceremony will be held four days after the announcement is made.

On the day the announcement is made the "little chiefs" (the teukacae hotceni; the war chief's aides) bring the unmarried girls to the war chief's house, where they shell corn. Then the little chiefs take this corn about through the village, leaving it at various houses to be ground. The women return the corn meal to the house of the war chief. Then the little chiefs take the meal to various houses to be made into guayaves (little loaves of bread). They also take wood from the woodpile of the war chief to the houses to cook the bread. The women return with the guayaves on the third day. The war chief gives them some for their trouble. (The war chief has kept back half of the corn meal and flour to give to the medicine men.) The little chiefs go about the village asking for meat for the feast (which is to take place on the night of the curing). On the third day the people of the village divide themselves (approximately) into three divisions, each one to supply the medicine men with one of the day's meals. On the fourth day the women are busy preparing food to be given the medicine men that evening.

The medicine men vomit with herb brew every morning for four mornings preceding the cure. On the day before the ceremony they retire to their houses. They set up their altars. They paint the walls of their chambers with pictures of bears, eagles, mountain lions, snakes, and, perhaps, some k'atsina or koshare.

<sup>15</sup> It will be remembered that kanina joined the Flint Society in cures.

<sup>16</sup> This news is published by the war chief, who walks through the streets of the pueblo instead of calling from a housetop, as is done at other pueblos.

At about 8 o'clock on the evening of the ceremony the war chief goes through the village summoning the people to the curing chambers. Everyone has bathed for the occasion. The pueblo is divided into two groups; one goes to the chamber of the Fire Society, the other to the Flint Society's house (the Flint Society uses the head estufa, Mauharots, unless it is otherwise occupied). Some of the people do not go to the curing chambers (there would not be room for them all); so they remain in their houses, keeping them brightly lighted all night.

The people throng into the curing chambers, men, women, and children. The men wear only a breechcloth. They wear a blanket when they enter, but they remove it and fold it up to sit on. The women wear a simple dress. (There is a side room for the women with young babies.) Two medicine men stand at the foot of the ladder. They lead the people to seats with their eagle plumes. Some people come early in order to get the best seats, which are the places against the wall. (This allows them to lean back and rest; the others have to sit bolt upright throughout the night.)

As the people enter the chamber (fig. 3) the medicine men are sitting behind their altar, singing. (All of their paraphernalia is laid out in front of the altar.) They have their hair tied up in front with a corn husk. Two turkey feathers are worn at each temple. They wear a small breechcloth, supported by a woven belt (such as are worn around the waist by women). They have vertical white stripes painted on their bodies. The women members paint their faces with ya'k'atca (reddish brown) with a bit of steamu'n (black) over it.

Seated near the west end of the altar are two cloud men (henatititc; henati is cloud). They were appointed by the headman of the society at the time the date for the ceremony was set. Their business is to make cigarettes during the ceremony. They come early and set to work. As they finish a cigarette they lay it down in front of them until someone calls for it. When, during the ceremony, a doctor has finished dancing or curing, one of the cloud men lights a cigarette and hands it to him. If anyone in the chamber wants to smoke during the ceremony he must ask one of the cloud men for a cigarette.

When the chamber is filled a medicine woman brings in a jar of water and a gourd dipper. The head man begins to fill the medicine bowls. Six gourdfuls are dipped for the cardinal points (including zenith and nadir). Then the bowl is filled. The other medicine bowl is filled in the same way. Then the doctors put herb medicines into the bowls, taking them from their little buckskin bags. The headman puts his medicine in first.

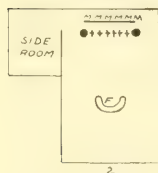


FIGURE 3.—Diagram of curing chamber. M = medicine men. ++ = their jarriko. ● ● = medicine bowls. F = fireplace.

During this time there is much singing by the doctors who sit behind the altar. Prayers, too, are said, chiefly by the headman. These prayers are offered to almost all of the supernaturals, such as the sun, the earth, etc., but chiefly to the animal medicine men: the bear, mountain lion, badger, eagle, and snake.<sup>17</sup> They ask these spirits to help them.

When the medicines have been prepared the headman rises and addresses the gathering. He tells the people to be brave and to do their best, that they must suffer for the good of the whole world, etc. He assures them that the medicine men are doing their best. The doctors resume their singing. Naicdia (the headman) goes to the medicine bowls. He stirs each one with a large flint (the largest one in the collection; it is also called naicdia, or father). Then he dips his eagle plumes into the medicine and sprinkles one doctor on each end of the line seated behind the altar. Then the headman goes back of the altar and sits down.

The two doctors who have been sprinkled begin to gesticulate and grunt "Ah' Ah'." Then they come out in front. They hop about in front of the altar "squatting like an eagle."<sup>18</sup> A medicine woman brings some ashes from the fireplace (which is called k'ohaiya, or bear) and places them on the floor before the altar. Then the two doctors in front begin to sing. They dip their eagle plumes in the ashes and go about the chamber "whipping the disease away."<sup>19</sup> Sometimes a doctor extracts some foreign object from a person's body with his plumes.

The two doctors now lay their eagle plumes by the altar. They daub themselves all over with ashes. They peer into one of the medicine bowls, placing a hand just beneath the eyes (the palm is at right angles to the face). When they look into the medicine bowl they "can see witches." Then they look about the room. They are looking for some one to cure. When a doctor has selected some one, he goes to him and begins to massage some part of his body. He removes some object—a stick, thorn, stone, or some rags. He may remove it with his hands, or he may suck it out. When an object is removed with the hands or with the eagle plumes it is usually caused to vanish. This is accomplished by holding one hand up, well above the head, and the other down below the waist. Then the positions

<sup>17</sup> One informant stated in this connection that the medicine men called upon the "four great rivers that flow to the south." I could not learn the significance of this reference from him, and other informants had not heard of it.

<sup>18</sup> During curing ceremonies the doctors frequently imitate the cries or movements of the animal medicine men, particularly the bear, eagle, and mountain lion.

<sup>19</sup> Ashes are used as a prophylactic against witches. The "whipping" motions with the plumes are sharp, cutting movements, the arms moving like the blades of a huge scissors. Motions away from patients are also made.

of the hands are swiftly reversed. The palms of the hands slap smartly as they pass each other. This causes the object to pass out of the chamber (theoretically each corner of the chamber is open) and on "out of the world." When an object is sucked from the body the doctor spits it out in his hand. He shows it to his patient and to the people near by. Then he rolls it in the pile of ashes before the altar and deposits it in the refuse bowl, or, instead of dipping it in ashes, he may burn it in one of the tallow lights that burn at the fireplace, and then put it in the refuse bowl. While going about the chamber curing people, the two doctors grunt like a bear.

When they have finished they wash their hands, gargle their throats, and spit in the refuse bowl. They take up their eagle plumes again and sprinkle two doctors (the end men) seated behind the altar. Then they go to their seats behind the altar while the second couple comes out and repeats the performance of the first two. All of the doctors take their turn at curing.

During the ceremony the war chief and his lieutenants, who always guard medicine men during curing ceremonies, come down from the roof where they have been guarding the entrance and are cured by the doctors.

When all of the doctors have had their turn at curing *naicdia* (the headman) comes out in front of the altar. He picks up the rock crystal, the *ma'caiyoyo*, dips it into the medicine (*wawa*), and looks through it. Then he kneels and holds it before the eyes of the doctors, saying "Doa hi hi!" (here, look!). Each medicine man looks through the translucent rock. They are looking for witches.<sup>20</sup> Then all of the doctors come out from behind the altar. The headman rubs the eyes of each one as he comes out, with the *ma'caiyoyo* dipped in *wawa* (medicine). Then *naicdia* lays the rock down and goes back of the altar. The doctors run and jump about the room. "Maybe they're mad (angry)." They cure people. They may grab a person and take him to the fireplace and rub him with a bear paw. They may dip the *ma'caiyoyo* in the medicine bowl again and rub their eyes with it again.

Then some medicine men prepare to leave the chamber. They are going out to cure people who have remained in the houses and to rid the pueblo of any witches who might be lurking about. They draw the skin of a bear's foreleg on their left forearm. They carry a large flint knife in the right hand. One group of doctors (the two society groups, it must be remembered, are curing at this time, each in its own house) goes about the village, curing people in the houses. The other group goes to the foot of the mesa where livestock has been secured in corrals. They "whip disease away" from the horses,

<sup>20</sup> Witches are quite likely to gather around a curing chamber during a ceremony. They want to injure the medicine men.



cattle, and sheep, with their eagle plumes. When the group returns from the houses to the curing chamber the doctors vomit forth various objects which they have sucked out. When the doctors have all returned the headman rubs their eyes again with the *ma'caiyoyo*, and if they see any witches they go out again. Sometimes they fight with witches which they find lurking about the houses. The doctors return to the chamber, after a fight with witches, smeared with "blood and black."

It is now time to get the winock (heart).<sup>21</sup> Naicbia rubs the eyes of three or four medicine men, and they go out to get the "heart." They wear their bear paws and carry flint knives. They go arm in arm. A war chief accompanies them.

After a time they return. A medicine man representing a bear and called *k'ohaiya* (bear) comes in first. He crawls on his hands and knees, grunting like a bear. He carries the winock (heart) between the bear paw in his left hand and the flint in his right. Two other medicine men representing mountain lions stay up on top of the chamber a while, fighting; then they come into the chamber. *K'ohaiya* (the "bear" medicine man) crawls along the floor, going toward the altar. The head medicine man grabs the heart away from him. The other doctors then seize him quickly and hold him, for he fights violently. The mountain lions fight, too. The headman and one or two others sprinkle them with medicine from their eagle plumes. Gradually they become quiet; they lie down on the floor as if completely exhausted.<sup>22</sup>

Naicbia now takes the heart to the altar. He kneels, facing the people, and begins to untie the strings which bind the winock (heart). Each string he scorches at a tallow light and then deposits it in the refuse bowl. He unwraps the rags. Inside are many kernels of corn. He lays aside defective grains.<sup>23</sup> He tells the people that they should be very thankful to receive the heart from their mother, *Iatik*<sup>a</sup>.

A medicine woman brings the headman a basket for the shelled corn. Again the corn is examined, the defective grains being placed by the medicine bowls. Then he goes about the room distributing the corn to the people. Each person receives one grain. He goes to the west side first, then south, then east. He goes into the side room where the women with small children are. He gives each woman a grain for herself and one for each child. If the child is too small to swallow his kernel the mother chews it for the child and spits it into his mouth.

<sup>21</sup> Among the eastern Keres the winock represents the heart of a patient which has been stolen by a witch. In the present instance this heart is said to have been made at *Cipap*<sup>a</sup> by *Iatik*<sup>a</sup>, the mother of the Indians. It is a ball of rags, with a quantity of shelled corn in the center.

<sup>22</sup> The "lion" medicine men try to escape. They are restrained, for, it is said, if they got away they would become real mountain lions.

<sup>23</sup> It is said that one person will die in the village for each defective grain.



When everyone has received his kernel the war chief is called in and given the basket. He keeps a kernel of corn for himself; the rest he takes around the village and distributes it to the persons who have remained in their houses.

When the war chiefs return the headman asks two doctors to come out from behind the altar. The medicine (wawa) is going to be administered now. Each doctor picks up a medicine bowl. They pray. Then they go about the chamber, giving each person a draught of medicine in a shell. The war chiefs are given some first. Some people get two doses. Then they go back to the altar. They fill their mouths with the wawa (medicine) and blow it all over the people. Then the medicine men and medicine women are given medicine to drink, and more is blown from the mouth over them. The medicine bowls are put back in their places. The headman addresses the people. He thanks the medicine men for their work and thanks the people for their help. He hopes that everything will be all right, etc.

Everyone leaves now except the medicine men. It is almost dawn, the ceremony having lasted all night. The wives of the medicine men gather up the paraphernalia of their husbands, which they take to their homes. The objects which have been sucked from the people are taken out, together with a lunch for the spirits, and thrown over a cliff.<sup>24</sup> The medicine men sleep in their chamber for four nights thereafter.

*Feats of magic of the medicine men.*—We have already noted a number of magical performances of the medicine men, such as are found in their curing and initiation ceremonies, but they have many others. Not infrequently the medicine men will perform some magical feat to convince some skeptic of their genuine prowess. A young man who was fairly well educated, quite progressive, and who frankly and openly "did not believe in the tcaiani (medicine men)" told me of two episodes as follows:

One night there was a curing ceremony in progress. This young man (I shall call him Juan) was sitting near the doctors; he wanted to see how they accomplished their miracles. The medicine men well knew that he was skeptical. So one of them told him to follow him as he went out of the chamber. They went out to the eastern edge of the mesa. It was a bright moonlit night, and there was snow on the ground. It was almost as bright as day. The doctor stopped at the edge of the mesa. At this point a finger of rock rises from the flats 400 feet below to the level of the mesa. It is about 40 feet from the main mesa. Juan said that the medicine man backed away from the edge of the mesa a bit and then started running toward the pinnacle of rock. Just before he reached the edge of the mesa he put his flint

<sup>24</sup> This food, according to my notes, is offered to the witches, but something causes me to doubt this at the present writing.

down to the ground. A shower of sparks flew forth. The medicine man left the ground, soared through the air, and alighted on the pinnacle of rock 40 feet away (the intervening chasm was over 300 feet deep). Then, in like manner, the doctor jumped back to the mesa.

Episode 2. Then the doctor told Juan that they were going to descend the trail which is near this point. I have inspected these points closely. The trail is very difficult to negotiate, even for the Indians, and at this time it was covered with snow. The medicine man told Juan that it would be too dangerous for him (Juan) to go down by himself, so he told Juan to climb on his back. Juan jumped on the doctor's back (the doctor was quite a small man). "Put your arms around my neck," the doctor told him, "and don't open your eyes. If you open your eyes, we'll both fall." Juan did as he was told. "I had no more than got myself fixed on his back and closed my eyes," Juan said, "when the medicine man said, 'All right; open your eyes.' I opened my eyes and we were down at the foot of the mesa."

Another informant told me that once he was attending a curing ceremony. A medicine man had been curing a patient; he had been sucking things from his body. When he tried to vomit them out he could not do it. He tried and tried. "You could see he was in great pain. He broke out all over in a sweat, and he began to writhe in agony." One of the other medicine men came over to help him. He laid the sick doctor over on his back. Then he picked up a big flint knife and cut him open (cutting a median line down his thorax and abdomen). "When he cut him open you could see his heart and stomach and everything." The doctor looked inside the body and took out a big ball of cactus thorns, which he threw into the refuse bowl. Then the doctor closed the great incision. He rubbed the flint over it, clapped his hands, and blew on it, and it was just like it was before; you would not know that he had been cut open. Finally the doctor who had swallowed the thorns got up and staggered over to the altar.

The following story is also of interest: There was an epidemic of whooping cough. At night they heard a man walking through the village beating a drum; it sounded just like a person coughing. It was a witch who was making people sick. So the medicine societies held a meeting. They set up their altar and laid out their paraphernalia. With the aid of their *ma'caiyoyo* (the rock crystal which gives second sight) they located the witch. So some medicine men armed themselves with their bear paws and flint knives and set out to capture him, while all the people waited. They went out west of Acoma, about 3 miles. There they found a horse fully saddled and

bridled. It was a horse named "Bessie" which was kept at the Indian school at Albuquerque. They caught a man (the witch) near by and brought him back to the chamber. The people inside heard the medicine men struggling with him on the roof of the chamber. Then they saw the feet and legs of the witch man being pushed down into the room. When he had been pushed in as far as his waist he suddenly turned into a rat which dropped to the floor and scurried about the room. The medicine men caught the rat and killed him and threw him in the fireplace. Then they told the people the name of the witch.<sup>25</sup> It was a young man from Acoma who at that time was at the Indian school at Albuquerque.

The next day about noon the government farmer at Acoma received a phone message from Albuquerque stating that the boy who had been named a witch the night before at Acoma had killed himself by jumping from the third floor of his dormitory. When his body was brought home it was not buried in the churchyard because he was a witch.

It is said that some medicine men can produce green corn, bushes with fresh berries on them, etc., in the dead of winter.

*Medicine men and the kachina cult.*—We have already noted a number of functions performed by the medicine men in connection with the masked dancer organization, viz, at the initiation, their assistance at dances, etc. Also, there are a number of masks that may be worn only by medicine men, such as aaikan<sup>1</sup> (see list of masks). Among the eastern Keres a medicine society always goes into retreat (i. e., retires to its chamber for four days and nights to pray and perform certain rituals) before a masked dance for rain. It is said that this was done at Acoma at one time but is no longer observed. But then the Acoma scheme is quite different from that in vogue on the Rio Grande. In the east several masked dances are held during the summer for rain, each dance lasting one day only. At Acoma there is only one rain dance, and it lasts four days. The medicine societies do not own any masks, however, nor do they use any in either curing or initiation ceremonies.<sup>26</sup>

*Other ceremonial functions of medicine men.*—We have already noted the functions of the medicine men at the solstices, and their impersonation of the two headmen of the k'obictaiya; also the rôle of kabina tcaiani at the initiation of the war chiefs. The part played by them at elections has also been discussed. Their rôle in connection with birth and death will be treated in our discussion of the life of a typical individual.

<sup>25</sup> The name of the witch is never divulged until the animal whose form the witch has assumed is killed. If it were told before, the witch could get away.

<sup>26</sup> At Santo Domingo and San Felipe medicine societies use masks in initiation ceremonies but not for curing. The Giant Society at Cochiti has one mask that is used at cures.

*Summary comment.*<sup>27</sup>—The medicine societies are very important at Acoma, as indeed they are at other Keresan villages. The kachina cult and the medicine cult loom up as the two most important phases of ceremonialism. It is difficult to say which is the more important. The kachina cult is more ostentatious, more spectacular, but the medicine cult is older and more deeply rooted in the life of the people. Their range of activities is much wider and their influence, so far as social control is concerned, is unsurpassed.

### PARAPHERNALIA AND RITUAL

Prayers are said often at Acoma. As we have already seen, the war chief rouses the people at dawn to pray to the rising sun, at intervals throughout the year. They sprinkle a pinch of corn meal as they pray. Some of the old men, especially officers, carry a buckskin bag of corn meal with them. The war chiefs carry a small leather pouch of meal slung over one shoulder with a strap. Prayers are frequently said with corn meal; sometimes a person will pause at the opening in the wall of a kiva adjoining a street and deposit a pinch of meal in it, with a prayer, as he passes. It is a custom to offer a bit of food at meal time to *latik*<sup>28</sup>, to *naiya h'ats*<sup>1</sup> (mother earth), and to the *k'atsina*, with a prayer, before eating. The morsel is then thrown into the fireplace.

### ROCK SHRINES (*OKATSIM*)<sup>28</sup>

There are many small columns or piles of rocks, varying in height from 12 inches to 2½ feet, near Acoma and Acomita. There are many at old Acoma on the mesa south of the village; at Acomita they are located on the mesa south of the houses. There are others in other localities also. These are said to be erected to the *Shiwan*na or *k'atsina*. When one puts a rock on one of these columns he first holds it up, spits on it, and then lays it down "so no bad luck will happen."

When one has gone on a long trip and is about to return it is proper for him to pick up a rock or stick, spit on it, and throw it backward, so no evil luck will follow him.

### PRAYER STICKS (*HA.TCAMUN*)<sup>1</sup>

These instruments are, as we have seen throughout the ceremonies, very important; no important occasion passes without them.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> See White, Leslie A., *Medicine Societies of the Keresan Pueblos*, in *Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists*.

<sup>28</sup> See Doctor Parsons's *War God Shrines of Laguna and Zuñi*, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 20, No. 4, October-December, 1918.

<sup>29</sup> Except ceremonies of the curing societies.

Prayer sticks are of varying sizes and are carved in a great number of ways. They are usually made of willow, although spruce (or cedar), and possibly oak, is sometimes used. (I found one stick that was made of what seemed to be the stalk of the soapweed plant.) The accompanying diagrams illustrate the size, shape, and design of some of the prayer sticks.<sup>30</sup>

Prayer sticks are always cut from living trees or bushes; dead wood would be useless. The prayer sticks are felt to be animate; some of them have eyes and mouth painted on one end, usually upon a facet which has been cut to represent a face. They also have sex, the males having green faces and the females faces of yellow. They are deposited by twos or by fours. Sticks for Masewi and Oyoyewi (the twin war gods) are painted red, "because blood is red"; some are carved to represent an arrow or club. Prayer sticks in the shape of a shepherd's crook or cane (g'onac) are offered to the k'atsina, who use them to walk with, it is said.

#### DESCRIPTIONS OF PRAYER STICKS

A. (Collection No. B17.) Willow. Blue paint on peeled end, with possibly some yellow on the very tip. Undoubtedly had feathers tied to butt end. Length, 14 cm.

B. (Collection No. A7.) Willow. No paint visible. Note that on this stick the feathers are tied in the groove farthest from the peeled end; on stick A they are tied in the groove nearest the peeled end. Length, 18 cm.

C. (Collection No. A8.) Willow. There seems to have been yellow paint between the grooves, and a paint midway between them and the beveled tip, but this is doubtful. Definite traces of blue paint are found on the beveled surface. Note plant fiber tied around butt end. Length, 15 cm.

D, E, F, and G were found in a small niche on the face of a high mesa about 4 miles south of Acoma, about 200 feet from the bottom and 150 feet from the top of the mesa. There were no other sticks in the vicinity. Informant said that they were probably deposited there by a war chief, one stick being deposited at the time of installation each year. When four sticks had been deposited in one place, another site was chosen. The sticks were made, he thought, by the war chief, with instructions from the cacique. This is largely conjecture on the informant's part, for one not a war chief would not know much about such matters. But it is quite certain, I believe, that these sticks were made and deposited by some officer. Moreover, they show different degrees of weathering, which indicates that they were deposited at different times. D, E, and G are of spruce (ha'k'ak'); F is also, I believe, but I am not sure. Note that they all have faces (the beveled facets). Note, also, that each bears a lightning symbol, running down from the grooves, point downward. D has two lightning marks. E and G were said to represent spruce trees. When the clouds come down from the mountains the tips of these tree sticks catch them and hold them, causing rain. D was said to represent a woman (k'otcininak'o) bearing a jar of water on her head. No interpretation was given for F. These sticks are markedly different from any others I have seen at Acoma (some 200), and noticeably

<sup>30</sup> I collected about 40 prayer sticks at old Acoma and at some canyons southeast of the pueblo. I also saw several hundred sticks on a ledge at old Acoma. They had been thrown over the cliff and were plainly visible but out of reach. I also secured drawings of sticks from an informant.

different from those in the American Museum of Natural History. Lengths: D, 19 cm.; E, 36 cm.; F, 26 cm.; G, 22 cm. (Pl. 13.)

H, I, J, and K (collection Nos. B3, B7, B1, and B9) were said to have been offered to Masewi. They are painted red "because blood is red." H and J are double arrows; they may strike both ways. I is a club (*drai'its*). K is a weapon, a sort of arrow and club combined. Sticks such as these are offered to Masewi to secure strength to fight, to vanquish a foe, or to protect himself. I do not know whether feathers were attached or not. Lengths: H, 8 cm.; I, 9 cm.; J, 11 cm.; K, 8 cm. (Pl. 14.)

L (Collection No. A6.) Willow. Blue paint from the grooves to about the mid-point between them and the end; the upper half is yellowish in color, but I can not determine whether it is the natural color of the wood or paint (stain). Length, 20 cm.

M. (Collection No. A10.) Kind of wood undetermined. Blue paint over entire peeled surface. This stick is shown because of the short point on the peeled (head) end; it contrasts with A, which is pointed from the grooves to the end. Both L and M had feathers tied to the butt. Length, 18.5 cm.

N and O. Crook only; peeled. No paint visible. Height, 15 cm. Both O and P, according to informant, are called *g'o'nac* (cane). In the dances some *k'a'tsina* carry canes. It was said that these sticks were offered when one was going to take a long trip and needed strength. Doctor Parsons was told at Jemez that this crook was "to pull down the rain." (See *The Pueblo of Jemez*, p. 102.) (Pl. 14.)

P. Bark entirely removed. Painted reddish-brown (*ya'k'atca*). Height, 15 cm.

Q, R, and S. Q is a stick split in half. The black line down the middle is a "road." R is a kick stick. S, a loop of cat-tail stems. They are placed in the order shown, in an arroyo in the early spring, by the war chief. The water runs down the road, washes the kick stick into the *mack'ute* (loop), which carries the kick stick down into the fields. This keeps the fields moist all summer. Q and R have eyes and mouth. (I found Q. R and S were painted by an informant.)

T. Bow and arrow and shield. Painted red. Offered to Masewi. From drawing; none were found. (Pl. 15.)

The prayer sticks are made by the persons who deposit them. One person does not see another make his stick (although sometimes a whole group of sticks is placed in one or two baskets and later distributed to dancers, as in the *natyati*). One is alone, also, when he deposits the stick, with a prayer. At old Acoma most of the prayer sticks are thrown over the cliff at various points, although some are buried at the foot of the mesa by some great rocks (at the foot of the sand trail). Sticks are also deposited in canyons or clefts in mesas at some distance from Acoma. No one touches a stick after it has been used.

When I asked an informant why his people prayed with prayer sticks he replied " 'Cause that's the way they do," which is, without doubt, the reason. It seems, however, that the prayer sticks are felt to serve as vehicles of prayer. The feathers which are tied to them are light, and they "float like clouds" to *Wenimats'*. They also seem to be regarded as gifts to the *k'atsina*. "They like to get these *hatcamuni* from us."



I took 35 prayer sticks and classified them according to design, paintings, etc. I found about 17 different types. There were three or four sticks in each of a few types, but only one in many others. The classification was based upon the following factors: Kind of wood, shape of the "head" (i. e., the peeled end, whether pointed, beveled, or cut square across, the number and position of the grooves, the position of feathers, color—red, yellow, or green. There were 10 sticks, each of which was different in its combination of the above elements from any other stick. I tried to have these sticks classified by informants, but the results were very unsatisfactory; not

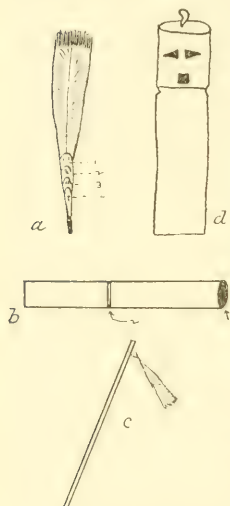


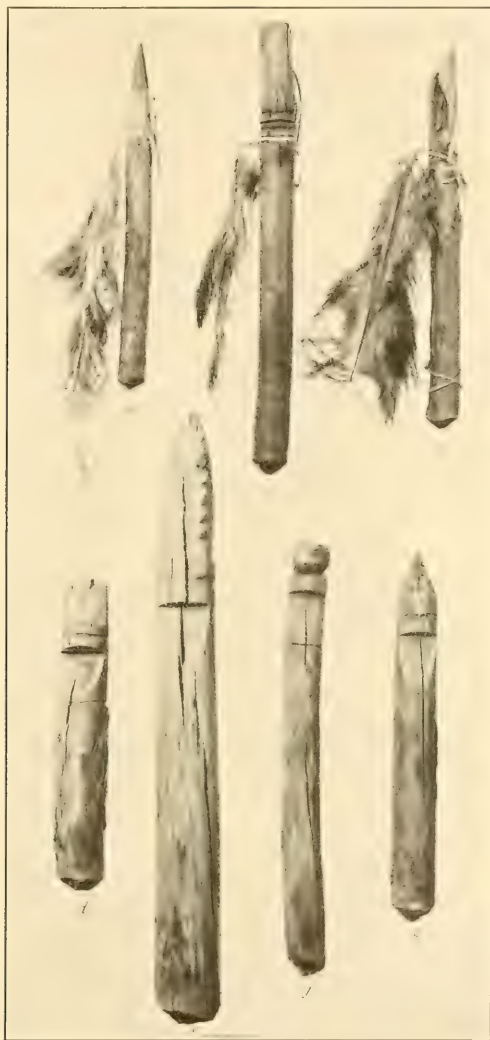
FIGURE 4.—Ceremonial objects

only did the informants disagree, but the same informant betrayed deplorable discrepancies in repeated classifications (at intervals of time). There are, I believe, three factors which determine the precise design of a prayer stick: (a) The person or group making it—i. e., whether it be the cacique or the war chief, or dancers from Haimatats or Dautkorits estufas; (b) the occasion—e. g., a solstice, at natyati, etc.; (c) the spirit to whom the stick is offered—Iatik<sup>u</sup>, Masewi or the k'atsina. Each one of these three groups of factors contains a great many elements. There are many groups in the village, many supernaturals, and a great variety of occasions for honoring them. The combinations and permutations made possible by all of these factors (each represented by a stylistic device) must be very numerous indeed. If 17 types are found in 35 sticks, how many would be found in 300 sticks? The difficulty encountered in

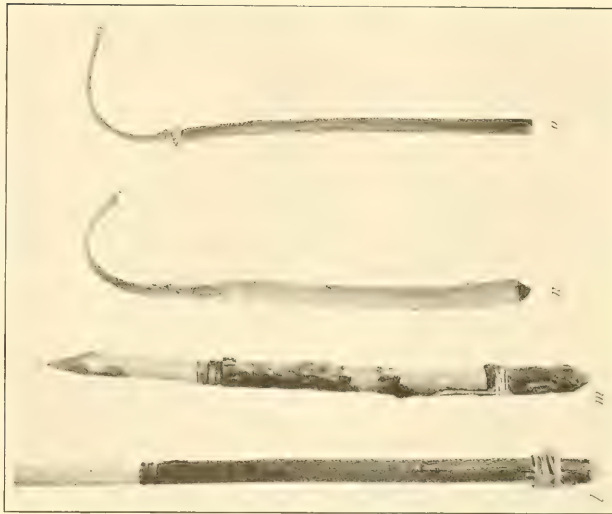
having informants classify prayer sticks

is due largely, I believe, to the high esoteric character of these items of paraphernalia; one group probably does not know anything about the stick used by another. The most one could expect from a single person would be a complete list of sticks that he himself would use on all occasions and for all spirits.

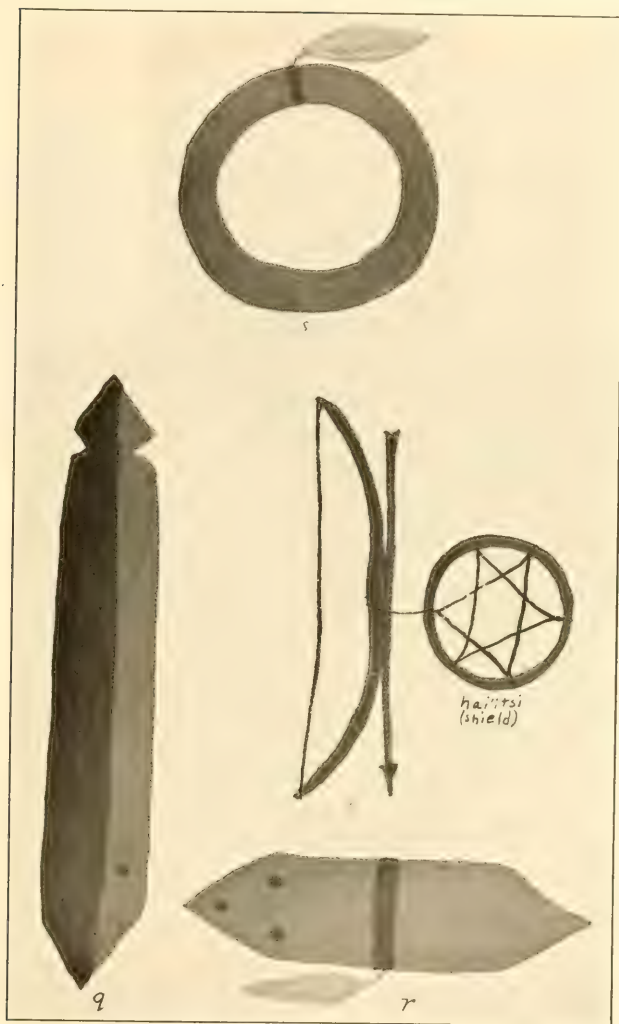
Prayer sticks, either in the shape of a cross or a single stick with the cross painted on the head end, are offered to the Catholic God. They are painted with eyes and mouth, and feathers are tied to them as to other prayer sticks. Years ago, it is said, God (called Yoc'thi, from Spanish Dios?) said to Iatik<sup>u</sup>, the mother of the Indians, "If



ACOMA PRAYER STICKS



ACOMA PRAYER STICKS



ACOMA PRAYER STICKS



SAND PAINTING FOR CHILD-NAMING CEREMONY

your people will pray to me I will help them." Iatik<sup>a</sup> did not object; but whenever a stick is offered to God, one for Iatik<sup>a</sup> is always included.

The waban<sup>1</sup> is shown in the accompanying diagram. (Fig. 4, *a*.) They are used in much the same way that prayer sticks are.

A wi'icbi, or ceremonial cigarette, is shown in Figure 4, *b*.

A ya'bi is a staff, or cane, about 3 feet long, with a waban<sup>1</sup> tied to one or both ends. A yabi is a symbol of office, and contains "power." (Fig. 4, *c*.)

A kachina doll is shown in Figure 4, *d*.

#### THE HO'NAN<sup>1</sup>

This is the chief fetish of a medicine man. It is a corn ear, a perfect one, completely kernalled to the tip. It is wrapped with native cotton. The base is inserted in a sheath of buckskin. It is placed in an upright position in front of the altar during ceremonies. The top is encircled with strings of beads and decked with varicolored parrot feathers. It is very similar to the mili described by Mrs. Stevenson in *The Zuñi Indians* (pp. 418-420). Ho'nan<sup>1</sup> is the Hopi word for badger.<sup>31</sup> In the Keresan pueblos of the Rio Grande this fetish is called i'arik<sup>o</sup> (i'atik<sup>u</sup>). Why the word ho'nan<sup>1</sup> is used at Acoma I can not say. The badger is an important medicine animal because he digs roots out of the ground.

#### THE ALTARS

These have already been mentioned in connection with ceremonies and have been illustrated with drawings. As we indicated, there is some doubt regarding the construction of the altar of the Fire and the Flint Societies, raised by the discrepancies of different drawings of them.<sup>32</sup> (Fig. 5.) I am left with an uncomfortable suspicion of the altar attributed to the Antelope clan (the cacique's altar). I was not able to secure drawings of this altar from another informant.

Wood from a tree that has been struck by lightning is the best for the manufacture of altars. It is best to secure this wood from Mount Taylor. A 55-year-old informant told me that the altars used when he was a boy have been replaced with new ones, as the old ones were almost worn to fragments. The new ones are much larger, he said, and are more neatly and skillfully made, since American tools were used instead of aboriginal ones in their manufacture. It is said that when an altar becomes too old for use it is taken out and hidden in some canyon or on a mountain. I was shown a

<sup>31</sup> Fewkes, J. W., in *Handbook of American Indians*, pt. 1, p. 562.

<sup>32</sup> See the other drawing of a curing society's altar on p. 130.



mesa some distance south of Acoma, where, it is said, an old altar is hidden.

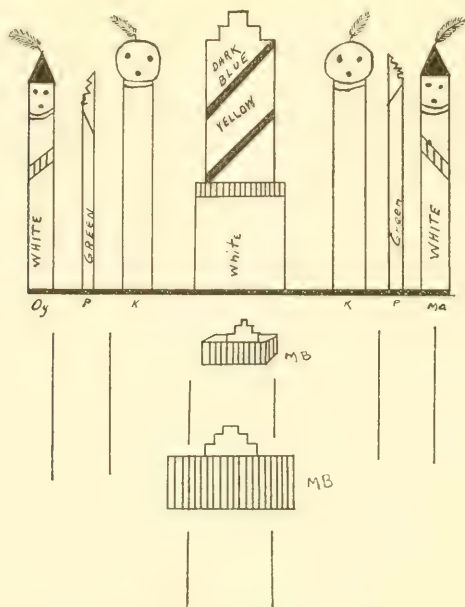


FIGURE 5.—Altar of a curing society. The figure on the right (Ma) is Masewi; his face is red. Figure on left (Oy) is Oyoyewi; his face is canary yellow. The two round faced figures (K) are K'o'tcininako; their bodies are mahogany in color, their faces whitish. The two notched uprights (P) are prayersticks; above the diagonal line near the top, the sticks are painted yellow. The large terraced upright in the center is called "Prayerstick Chief." In the foreground are two medicine bowls (MB). The parallel lines on either side of the terraced bowls are lines of meal

### MASKS

All masks were made of buffalo hide, except those of the gomauiowie, which were made of deerskin.<sup>33</sup> Cowhide now replaces buffalo hide in the making of new masks. Feathers, and sometimes flowers, are worn on the tops of the masks. The collar is usually of spruce twigs, although a fox skin is freely employed, and feathers rather rarely. In some cases designs or symbols on masks are explained, such as, for example, the face markings of Paiyatyamo; the diagonal path across the face of the k'obictaiya is said to be the road that they took

<sup>33</sup> "Are masks ever made of cloth?" I asked. "No; they used to do that at Laguna," was the contemptuous reply.

when they went from Shipap (the place of emergence) to h'ak'oaik'ntc<sup>u</sup> (the sunrise).

Before a dance the masks are taken from their storeroom and refurbished for the ceremony. Feathers and flowers are put on, and they are freshly painted. The paints used are prepared as follows:

*Blue green*.—Made from a rock secured in the mountains west of Acoma. It is called mo'ock' (I presume it is a copper ore). First, the rock is ground into a fine dust; then it is boiled in pitch. When it gets thick it is allowed to cool. It is then made into balls. In this condition it is put away for use. When painting a mask one puts some of this substance into his mouth with eagle feathers. He chews it for some time and then blows it onto the mask (the breath is expelled with it, giving the effect of a spray). Cow's milk is then blown from the mouth onto the mask to make the paint bright and shiny.

*Black*.—Chimney soot is mixed with the white of an egg and applied with a stick, such as is used to paint pottery. For the eyes, the soot is mixed with the yolk of the egg.

*Yellow*.—A yellowish rock is ground fine, and the dust mixed with water. The sediment is thrown away after being allowed to settle twice. The third accumulation of sediment is kept. It is mixed with the yolk of an egg and is applied with a pottery paint brush.

*Red*.—A red clay (i'pe<sup>i</sup> k'uk'aníc) is used. It is applied with the pottery paint brush.

*Blue*.—This is purchased at the trader's store.

A coating of white paint is put on the mask, covering it completely, before the designs are painted on.

#### KACHINA DOLLS (K'ATSINA O'AK)

These are made of wood, painted, and decorated with feathers and flowers. They are given to children by masked dancers during ceremonies. The children treat them with great care and respect. (Fig. 4, *d*.)

#### ROCK CARVINGS

Southeast of Acoma there are some cliffs whose faces contain many carvings. (Fig. 6.) There are pictures or representations of the sun, of k'atsina, lightning, geometric designs (significance unknown), of female genitalia (see account of the k'atsina naiyu), a few deer, a human hand, etc. South of Acoma there is a great rock with a slender pinnacle rising to a height of almost 300 feet (estimated). On the side of this column there is a great picture of the sun, carved in the rock and painted. There are also some carved paintings of k'obictaiya.

## RITUAL PATTERNS

It might be well to summarize at this point some of the ritual patterns which we have met during our accounts of ceremonies:

Fasting and continence; salt and meat and sexual intercourse are taboo during sacred ceremonies.

Vomiting before breakfast, using an herb brew as an emetic, is considered salutary and purifying.

The counterclockwise circuit of the four directions (each with its color): North, yellow; west, blue; south, red; east, white.

The number four is the conventional ceremonial number.

Whipping is appropriate at the initiation of children and war chiefs; the o'pi (warriors) are subjected to some physical pain.

Smoking is done ceremonially. Corn-husk cigarettes are used. At official calls, during curing ceremonies, etc., cigarettes are used.

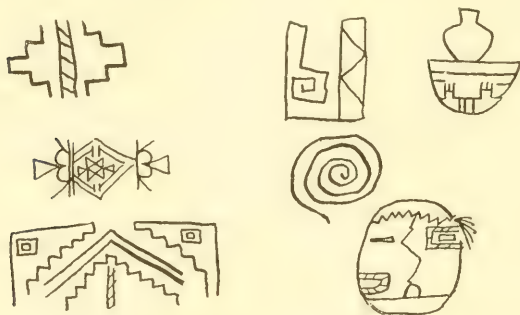


FIGURE 6.—Pictographs and petroglyphs near Acoma. Note the K'atsina in lower right

Medicine men trap persons with them. The masks are offered cigarettes during their stay in the kivas. Cigarettes are placed in wabani for the spirits.

Food is given the masks in the estufas. It is also thrown over cliffs for spirits. All important ceremonies are attended with feasting.

## LIFE CYCLE OF AN INDIVIDUAL

## BIRTH

During pregnancy a woman modifies her ordinary conduct somewhat. She should not stand in a doorway; this would retard delivery. She should not go out walking very much. She is not supposed to eat fruit. She must not work too much. One should never show

her thorns (reason not given). One should never "talk bad" in her presence.<sup>34</sup>

A midwife assists at childbirth.

When the child is born the father makes a wabani, which he takes to a medicine man with a long prayer; he asks him to come to his house to take the baby out to see the sun and to give him a name.

Early in the morning (about 2 a. m.) of the fourth day after the birth of the child the medicine man solicited by the father comes with his wife to the house of the child.<sup>35</sup> The parents have cleared a space in one of their rooms for him. He begins to make his sand painting and to lay out his paraphernalia. The design of the sand painting is illustrated in Plate 16. A horned toad might be used instead of a turtle. Two or three ho'nan<sup>i</sup> are placed on the turtle. A medicine bowl is placed on the turtle's head. Some flints, miscellaneous fetishes (depending somewhat upon the medicine man's supply), and perhaps a bear paw are placed on the sand painting on either side of the turtle's head. A basket of prayer sticks is placed near the turtle's head.

While the medicine man is making his sand mosaic and arranging his paraphernalia his wife is bathing the mother and baby. When the medicine man has finished with his altar he sits near the turtle's head and begins to sing, keeping time with a gourd rattle. He sings for some time. When his wife has finished bathing mother and child she sits on the floor near the head of the turtle, with the baby in her lap. The mother sits near by. As the medicine man sings he dips his eagle plumes into the medicine bowl from time to time and sprinkles the baby.

Shortly before sunrise the medicine man asks the parents if they have prepared wabani for prayers. The mother and father fetch the wabani. They bring them back and, standing on either side of the turtle's head, they pray. When they have finished they lay their wabani in the basket of prayer sticks. Then the medicine man asks the parents if they have selected a name for their child. If they have not done so, the medicine man selects one himself.

Just before sunrise they all rise and go outdoors. The wife of the medicine man carries the baby, following her husband to the east edge of the mesa. The parents stop a few paces outside their door. The medicine man carries with him the basket of prayer sticks, a ho'nan<sup>i</sup>, a flint, his eagle feathers, and a bear's paw (if he has one). The medicine man sits on the edge of the cliff, praying to the sun. When the sun appears over the great mesa in the east the wife of the

<sup>34</sup> For further notions regarding pregnancy see Parsons's Notes on Acoma and Laguna, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 20, pp. 162-186.

<sup>35</sup> This ceremony seems to be lacking among the eastern Keres.

medicine man holds the baby out toward him.<sup>36</sup> The medicine man prays. When he finishes he throws the basket of prayer sticks over the edge. Then he rises and approaches the baby. He gathers in his arms all the air he can hold and blows it toward the baby; he gathers air from the four directions, north, west, south, and east. As he blows the air toward him, he speaks the child's name. He is giving the child breath of life.

The medicine man and his wife return to the house with the baby. As they approach the door the medicine man calls out "K'aiya!" (hello!). The father answers "Hai yeh!" the mother "Heh O!" Then the medicine man says, "Baby (mentioning the child's name), this is his home; here he comes; he is going to live here. May he have long life and all kinds of crops, fruits, game, beads, with him. He is coming in." The parents reply, "Let him come in!" Then the medicine man steps aside and allows his wife, carrying the child, to enter first. The mother stands just inside the door to receive the baby in her arms. The family gathers around. The medicine man takes up the bowl of medicine and pours a little bit into the baby's mouth. Then he gives some to the mother and father and to the relatives. Finally he gives some to his wife to drink and takes some himself. Food is now brought in for the medicine man and his wife and put down in front of the turtle's head. The doctor wafts steam from the food over the altar four times with his eagle plumes. He may take a morsel of food and deposit it near the bowl of medicine. Then they all sit down, a short distance from the sand painting, and eat. After breakfast, the medicine man sweeps up his painting, gathers up his paraphernalia, and goes home with his wife.

Before taking his departure, however, the medicine man prays over the baby's cradle and sprinkles it with medicine. The mother has selected an ear of corn which she will tie on the cradle board (at the left side of the baby). This corn is also prayed over and sprinkled. When the doctor has gone the father or mother will shell some of this corn and put it in a little buckskin bag and tie it on the left of the baby board. The remainder of the ear will be kept until planting time, when it will be planted. A small flint is tied to the cradle board, near the bag of corn. When the child leaves the cradle this flint is often hung from a string around his neck. In former times a father often took a young son to one of the o'pi who would make a small leather wristlet for the left wrist. This was to protect the wrist from the recoil of the bowstring and also to give the child "power." If the child is slow in learning to talk, his parents will

<sup>36</sup> In the origin myth, Iatiki, the mother of the Indians, placed all her children in a row, facing east. Their eyes had not yet opened. The sun had not yet made its appearance. While they were facing east she caused the sun to rise. The eyes of the first children opened. That is why the children of Acoma are presented to the sun to-day at birth.

put some shelled corn in a mocking bird's nest and leave it there for a few days. Then they take it out, grind it, and put it into the child's mouth, slightly moistened.

The baby boards are made of wood taken, preferably, from trees that have been struck by lightning. During the winter solstices these cradle boards are frequently taken to the medicine men (who are curing in their chambers) to have them "cured" (i. e., exorcised) and charged with "power."

#### CHILDHOOD <sup>37</sup>

Children are well-behaved and respectful; they are much more reserved and subdued than American children of to-day. At a fairly early age they assist their elders in their occupations. Nowadays they begin school at an early age—about 6 or 8. They attend either the Acomita or McCartys day school, or the Indian school at Albuquerque or the Catholic school at Santa Fe.

A few generations ago the children were initiated into the kachina organization at about 8 years of age. Nowadays children are not usually initiated until after their return from school; it is felt that the children should not possess these secrets while away from the pueblo—they might tell some one.

After school days are over the children are quite well grown and are ready to take their places as full-fledged members of the community.

#### MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Monogamy is the rule at Acoma. The Catholic faith being professed, divorce is, theoretically, impossible. Many couples are married in the old mission church at old Acoma by the priest (Franciscan). These marriages usually take place on September 2, at the feast of St. Stephen, Acoma's patron saint. But frequently a man and woman live together as man and wife without any formal ceremony. Although divorce is not recognized, there are several cases of "separation," after which one or both parties may live with some one else. Very few adults sleep alone. I have heard rumors of a certain man who is said to have murdered one or two wives to get rid of them, but these stories are not well founded and are certainly very rare. Domestic violence is extremely rare.

There are many illegitimate children. Many girls become mothers before they marry (or live with a man); sometimes they have two children before marriage. Sometimes, indeed, they never marry but rear large families. I know of one family of several children whose mother never married. It is said that all of the mother's children are by the same man, however. He has a wife, though, with whom

<sup>37</sup> Additional data on birth and child rearing are to be found in Parsons's Notes on Acoma and Laguna, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 20, pp. 162-186.



he lives, and children by her, too. Quite often, after a girl becomes a mother she marries, very frequently the father of the child (if known). Among the unmarried, both boys and girls, there is a great deal of sexual intercourse. But, it is said, a woman usually remains faithful to her husband after marriage.

Neither illegitimacy nor extraconjugal sexual relationships are considered sins or even immoral. That boys and girls will exercise sexual functions before marriage is taken for granted. The "unmarried mother" is not looked upon with pity or with condemnation. Her status is practically equivalent to that of a widow with a child. Marrying a girl with an illegitimate child involves an economic consideration sometimes, but not a moral one; some men entertain a disinclination to support the child of another man. But this does not figure strongly in the pueblos, where the husbands very frequently go to live with their wives in their houses, and where the women contribute so much to the support of the families. In case a woman with children never marries, she does not become destitute by any means. She continues to live with her mother (or perhaps sister) and contributes much to the support of her children through her labors in the garden and in pottery making.

Men and women select their own mates, as a rule. Of course parents sometimes voice their wishes, but the children are free to disregard them if they choose. As is the case with matches among whites, it is very difficult sometimes to determine which party makes the first advances, the boy or the girl. But at Acoma, after the couple have become quite friendly (or sexually intimate) the girl is as likely to urge marriage as the boy.<sup>35</sup>

Regarding marriage with non-Acoma persons, I received the impression quite decidedly that marriage outside the pueblo is not to be encouraged, even with other pueblos, and marriage with whites or Mexicans is disapproved of.

There is no fixed custom (nowadays, at least) regulating the residence of wife and husband after marriage. The husband may go to live at the house of his wife, or vice versa. Or a new house may be built.

Nearly every family has at least one child. Practically all adults seem to be very fond of children, especially very small children. Very often men, especially old men, take care of children when they are about the house or village.

<sup>35</sup> I knew one young man who used to have sexual intercourse with a girl. She wanted him to marry her, and asked him to do so. He did not wish to marry her. One night the girl's father caught them in bed together. He agreed to cause no trouble when the young man consented to marry the daughter. But before morning, the young man slipped out of the house, packed his grip and left the village. The girl's father went to the governor and wanted to collect \$250 damages from the boy. But this could not be assessed in his absence. Within six months the girl married someone else, the boy returned, and no trouble followed.

## SICKNESS AND ELECTION TO OFFICE

Adult life for the men and women is filled with their domestic and field activities. As ceremonies come and go they take their part, or perhaps only attend as spectators. A severe sickness, however, might well mark an event in the life of anyone. A medicine society might be called in, and the patient might join it upon recovery. This would be a very important event.

Any adult man is eligible to hold office (unless barred because of his liberal tendencies). A minor office, of course, does not materially change the course of one's life. A major office, such as the war captaincy or the governorship, however, marks an epoch in one's life, as will be realized from our discussion of these offices.

The values which the average person cherishes as he passes middle age seem to be a long life, many children, a clear conscience—a feeling of having done his duty toward men and gods. Wealth, beyond a comfortable living, seems to be little sought after. It is true that some feeling of contempt is attached to poverty; it means that the people are lazy or "bad." But in the scale of virtues wealth certainly does not head the list.<sup>39</sup>

DEATH <sup>40</sup>

The face of the deceased is painted with ya'katca (reddish brown) by some medicine men. The father makes four prayer sticks, painted black, which he puts in the right hand of the deceased. Then he makes four more which he puts in a pottery bowl, together with four made by the mother. Shortly after death the body is interred in the yard in front of the old Spanish church at old Acoma; this is consecrated ground. The body is buried dressed in the best clothes owned by the deceased. No tools or weapons are buried with the body. After the grave has been filled a pottery bowl of water is broken over it by a relative to give the deceased "his last drink." Sometimes a few flowers are planted on the grave, but they soon die.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> I heard that some of the people at Acoma (mostly men, of course, but one or two women) have two or three thousand dollars in the bank at Albuquerque. This is, of course, very rare; very few, indeed, have bank accounts. Wealth exists largely in sheep, cattle, horses, corn, houses, etc. The average family handles little cash during a year. Supplies are bought at the trading post at Cuero (where the Indians are very often cheated or imposed upon) and are charged. Accounts are balanced with sales of wool and pottery.

<sup>40</sup> Additional data on death and burial are contained in Parsons's Notes on Acoma and Laguna, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 20, pp. 162-186.

<sup>41</sup> All of the Acomas who have died for many generations have been buried in this churchyard. It is quite small. Whenever a new grave is dug now at least one or two old ones are disturbed, and many bones are exhumed; these are thrown back into the new grave. A few bones and many fragments of pottery lie about on the surface of the graveyard. The relation to the Catholic Church is interesting in connection with burials. All of the burials are in the churchyard, but the medicine men function rather than the priest. In one instance that I know of the Catholic priest performed the burial ceremony (the father of the deceased was a "progressive"). The girl was not buried in the churchyard for this reason. Persons who have been witches are not buried here either.

The heart (soul) of the deceased goes back to Shipap. (It will be remembered that there is a little hole in the floor of Mauharots, where, it is said, the soul goes after death.) Nothing specific is known of the existence of an individual after death; he simply goes back to the place of emergence, to Iatik<sup>42</sup>, the mother of them all.

Four days after the death a medicine man, solicited with corn meal by the father of the deceased, takes the burnt stick which has been placed where the deceased lay, the prayer sticks made by the father and the mother, and a "lunch," and goes to the grave, where he prays. Then he goes down the sand trail to the foot of the mesa, and then to the north. He goes out to some mesa or canyon, where he deposits his burden. The sticks are for Iatik<sup>42</sup>.

### MISCELLANY

#### HIDDEN BALL (AIOAKUTYEY)

There were four hollow tubes. They were about 8 inches long and 2 inches in diameter. One was painted black in the middle; this was called tsoyo. Another was painted black on one end; this was called teli. A third was painted black on both ends; it was called k'aci. The third had two black marks in the middle (name not learned). A pebble ball is hidden in one of these tubes.

The game may be played by a great number of people, who are divided into two groups opposing each other. Each group is represented by one man. They decide who shall play first by letting a corn husk that has been blackened on one side flutter to the ground. While it is falling one man guesses which side will fall uppermost. If he wins he will be the first to hide the pebble. The object of the game is, of course, to hide the ball in one of the tubes so that the opponents can not locate it. If the person who is guessing touches the tube containing the pebble on the first guess he must pay his opponent ten straws (each of the two men has 100 straw tallies). If he touches the tube containing the pebble on the second guess he must pay six straws. If he guesses it on the third guess he takes the tubes and hides the pebble himself; but he wins no straws. If he guesses wrong the first three guesses he must forfeit five straws. The one who loses all of his straws first loses the game.

While these two men are playing the others stand by and sing and dance "like k'a-'tsina." Men from each group make bets with men from the opposing group. Considerable property changes hands sometimes at this game.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> It is interesting to note that neither Iatik<sup>42</sup> nor any other native spirit punishes anyone after death. Those who recognize the Catholic God as a spirit, however, say that he is quite likely to punish people after death.

<sup>43</sup> Culin in his *Games of the North American Indians*, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 351, speaks of hidden ball at Acoma. He calls it *aiyawakotal*.

*Other games.*—There were kick-stick races between groups of boys or men.<sup>44</sup>

Culin also mentions a game played with cane dice.<sup>45</sup>

A game called bishi is cited by Culin from Acoma. It is said that it was invented by Kaubat, who played against the sun and lost his eyes.<sup>46</sup>

#### SALT GATHERING

When they were living at Kacikatcut<sup>3a</sup> (White House) in the north there was a woman named Mina Koya. She was the Salt Woman. She quarreled with the people. They quarreled with her because she was so dirty. So she left and went to the south. She stopped at various places on the way, but kept on going southwest. Finally she stopped where the Zuñi salt lake is now. She stopped there to rest and turned into the salt lake.<sup>47</sup>

The people at Acoma used to send out expeditions to the Zuñi salt lake to get salt. Only men from the Pumpkin and Parrot clans went. One or more of the war chiefs went with them, however. When they got to the salt lake they bathed. They made prayer sticks and prayed. The headmen of the clans had a ho'nani. Wearing only a breechcloth, the men went into the lake to gather the salt. No one laughed during the time they were at work; it was a very solemn occasion. When they came back to Acoma with the salt every house had the sign of its clan painted on the wall by the door. The Parrot and Pumpkin men distributed salt to each house.<sup>48</sup>

#### A LOVE CHARM

If a young man wants to make a girl who has remained indifferent to his demonstrations of affection fall in love with him, he executes the following formula:

The young man finds a spider web which has been spun over the mouth of a hole in the ground. This he removes carefully and preserves. In payment for the web he gives the spider a ball of cotton which contains in its center some ya'katca (a reddish-brown rock), some pollen (the beings that creep on the earth, such as ants, are supposed to feed on pollen), some rabbit meat, or deer meat if it can be secured, and perhaps some beads. This is deposited with a prayer to the spider.

Then the young man proceeds to the house of the girl whom he wishes to win. Without being seen by anyone, he places the web

<sup>44</sup> See Culin, p. 668.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 119-121.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>47</sup> See other accounts of the Salt Woman; this is very fragmentary and incomplete. See Boas's *Myths and Tales from Laguna*.

<sup>48</sup> Compare account of salt gathering described by Doctor Parsons in *Laguna Genealogies*, p. 225.

in some place where the girl is sure to touch it. Then he goes home. That night he sings the songs that Diakatcoa sang when, in the form of a butterfly, he lured the kotcininakos from their home. These songs are esoteric and must be secured from some one who knows them. All of these songs he sings on this night.

The next day (or very soon thereafter) the girl will readily yield to his wooing.

#### SUMMARY COMMENT

In a piecemeal description of Acoma culture it would be easy to lose sight of a very fundamental feature, namely, integration. Notwithstanding the many and diverse elements to be found in the cultural totality, there is a great degree of interpenetration of function and coincidence of form; pueblo culture is close-knit. It might be well, then, briefly to envisage Acoma culture as a whole as an organic unity.

I like to view Acoma social organization as consisting of two strata, or as existing upon two levels. These are the kinship (and clan) level and the socio-ceremonial level. And I usually think of the former as a substratum upon which the elaborate ceremonial structure is reared. Of course, these two strata are not sharply divided by any means; they confuction at many points and there is a constant flow of influence (of a personal or kinship nature) between them.

First, then, we have the kinship level, on which the clan constitutes a very definite form of organization. Its chief function is the regulation of marriage. But, as we have seen, many ceremonial elements are conditioned or determined by clan consideration. It is on this level, too, that a great current of forces flows which influence pueblo affairs to a very great extent. These are the attractions and repulsions between person and person; the loves, hates, fears, jealousies, suspicions of the people. The alignment of individuals within the two parties, the progressives and the conservatives, is determined largely by kin and clan ties.<sup>49</sup> One might take all this for granted, of course. But too often, I believe, in a study of the anatomy of a culture one fails to take due account of these subinstitutional forces which vitalize it to such a great degree.

On the second level we have ceremonies which are, for the most part, of a supernatural nature. Most of the ceremonies seek to derive favor or to avert evil from supernatural beings; they are magical attempts to gratify wishes. But in addition to this purpose, ceremonial life is fed and nourished by purely esthetic and social motives; many ceremonies are beautiful, impressive, and pleasant social occasions.

<sup>49</sup> I knew of an instance in which a young man married the daughter of a very conservative family. He had been a liberal before his marriage but became an "old-time" conservative afterwards.

On this ceremonial level we can distinguish several organizations of interest, although each one is connected with another at some point. These organizations center around rain and fertility, medicine and disease, war, and hunting. But the organs for serving one purpose frequently assist another; medicine men assist in the kachina dances (and initiate new members); they also initiate the war chiefs, and the war chiefs guard the medicine men at their cures; the Hunters' Society officiated at ceremonial hunts; the k'obictaiya treated weak and sick persons at the winter solstice, etc. There is a quality of sphericity about the organization; any point is connected or concerned (more or less directly) with all others.

*The position of Acoma in the southwest.*<sup>20</sup>—Although differing at many points from the Keresan pueblos of the Rio Grande, Acoma resembles them very much more than she does the Hopi or the Zuñi of the west, or the Tewa villages of the east; Acoma is definitely Keresan in culture. Geographically, Acoma is almost midway between the eastern and the western pueblos and is decidedly peripheral to the Keresan area. One might expect to find this position reflected in Acoma culture, and one does, indeed, find a mingling of the east and the west at Acoma.

The six-kiva system at Acoma (only five now) is like Zuñi. The moiety feature which is prominent in the ceremonial organization of the eastern pueblos is absent at Acoma, as at Zuñi. The kachina cult shows more affinities to Zuñi than to the eastern pueblos. In addition to the presence of certain individual kachinas, the masked ceremonies of the k'atsina fight, and of Cura'tca, suggest the Zuñi kyanakwe ceremony and shulawitsi ritual, respectively.

Differences in political organization between Acoma and the eastern Keres are: In the east there are two war chiefs; at Acoma there is one and two lieutenants. The cacique at Acoma is always a member of the Antelope clan and is not a medicine man (although this is not prohibited). In the east the cacique is not chosen with reference to clan, but he is usually (and in one or two instances must be) a medicine man. The 10 "little chiefs" and the three cooks at Acoma are unique.

Acoma medicine societies closely resemble the eastern Keresan ones. It is characteristic in the east, however, for the Flint Society to be closely associated with the koshare (sometimes amounting to compulsory coincidences in membership), and a similar bond between the Ci-k'ame Society and the Quirena. At Acoma the koshare are extinct and so is the Ci-k'ame Society. And the Quirena Society is identical with the kachina organization. These are striking differences.

<sup>20</sup> White, Leslie A., Summary Report on Field Work at Acoma, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 30, pp. 559-568.



Another item of interest here concerns paraphernalia. At Acoma a wooden slat altar is used at cures. It is called yabaicini. Among the eastern Keres the slat altar is used at the solstice ceremonies (and presumably at retreats), but not at cures. Moreover, it is called ai'tein; in the east yabaicini refers to the meal painting and layout of fetishes used at cures. Possible explanations of these (and other) differences must be reserved for other studies.

Acoma culture, then, in a word, is marginal Keresan, with evidences of strong western influence.

## MYTHS AND TALES

### EMERGENCE AND MIGRATION

They came out of the earth, from Iatik<sup>u</sup>, the mother. They came out through a hole in the north called Shipap. They crawled out like grasshoppers; their bodies were naked and soft. It was all dark; the sun had not yet risen. All of the little people had their eyes closed; they hadn't opened them yet. Iatik<sup>u</sup> lined them all up in a row, facing east. Then she had the sun come up. When it came up and shone on the babies' eyes they opened. They crawled around. In eight days they were bigger and stronger. They walk around now. There was a lake at Shipap. There was an island in the center of the lake, and there was a building on the island. Iatik<sup>u</sup> left her people when they got big enough to take care of themselves and went to live in this building. Before she went she told the people how to get food to eat. She also told them about the k'a'tsina who lived out west at Wenimats<sup>1</sup>. She told them that the k'a'tsina would come to dance for them. She told the people that they must respect these spirits, for they were very powerful. Iatik<sup>u</sup> told her children to multiply and to teach their children to live as Iatik<sup>u</sup> wished. She said that she would always be near them to help them and to take care of them.

Among the children of Iatik<sup>u</sup> were two brothers, Masewi and Oyo-yewi. They were very powerful and very wise. They became the leaders of the people.

One day two G'o'maiowic (scouts) came to announce the coming of the k'a'tsina in four days. Everyone busied himself in preparations for the reception of the k'a'tsina. The women ground corn and made bread; the men hunted rabbits and deer. Masewi and his brother showed the people how to make prayer sticks (hatecamoni) and how to worship the k'a'tsina. On the evening of the third day everyone prayed to the k'a'tsina with their prayer sticks and corn meal (ckati'na) and made offerings of bread and game. The next morning the k'a'tsina arrived, preceded by two go'maiowic. The k'a'tsina were dressed the way the masked dancers are to-day (but

of course they did not wear masks; their faces looked the way the masks do to-day). They came into the plaza. Masewi and his brother went forward to meet them, handing them bunches of prayer sticks. The other people were close behind and they, too, met the k'a'tsina. Then the k'a'tsina distributed presents. They carried small buckskin bags with them. When they were opened and their contents discharged they became magnified and multiplied manifold. They had bows and arrows, clothing (for the people were still naked), pottery, flints, buckskins, tools, etc., which they distributed to the people. The k'a'tsina then instructed the people in the uses of all the gifts, and they made inquiries regarding the clans. (Just what inquiries and why I do not know. It seems they merely asked each person what clan he belonged to.) Then Masewi and Oyoyewi told the people that they must "believe in the k'a'tsina," that they were powerful, that they were rain makers. Then the k'a'tsina began to dance in the plaza. They danced all day. In the evening they left, returning to We'nimats', their home in the west. The scouts told the people, before leaving, that if they wanted the k'a'tsina to come they should make prayer sticks and worship to them. In each case the scouts would come to announce the k'a'tsina four days before their arrival.

Then the people were happy. They had food, tools, clothing, and weapons. When they became bored or lonesome they had the k'a'tsina come to dance for them. They had learned many things, hunting, a few games, etc. They made herb brew which they used as an emetic. (This is said to be very healthful. If one drinks brew and vomits upon arising in the morning he "will feel good all day.")

After a time the people decided to move from Shipap', for it was a very sacred place and they feared they might defile it. So Masewi decided to move to Kacikacutia (White House) which lay to the south. Leaving Shipap', they migrated to Kacikacutia, where stood the White House. They settled there.

When they had become established in their new home they decided to try to call the k'a'tsina; they were not sure that they would come to their new home. So they made prayer sticks and worshipped as they had been taught. The scouts came, followed after four days by the k'a'tsina. In the evening, following one of these dances, the people were gathered in a large room to play at aioak'utyeyi (hidden ball). They were in high spirits; everyone was happy. It occurred to one man to show the others how one of the k'a'tsina had danced. He danced, exaggerating the peculiarities of the k'a'tsina. Everyone laughed. Then others gave comic imitations of various k'a'tsina. This caused great merriment among the spectators. Suddenly some one left the room. It was Mac'tuiktsatca't', a k'a'tsina who had been sitting in the room all the time. They tried to catch him, but

he had disappeared when they reached the door. He returned to Wenimats<sup>1</sup> and told his fellows. They were very angry and decided to return to Kacikatcutia and destroy the village. That night the war cry "Ah-a-a-a-a Ai!" alarmed the whole village. Masewi and his brother went out, meeting four scouts from Wenimats<sup>1</sup>. The scouts told the brothers that the k'a'-'tsina were going to come and kill everyone. Masewi and Oyoyewi returned and began preparing for defense. They got poles and skins and made a barricade (ai'tcini). (See the account of the "fight" ceremony, also the other myth describing this episode.)

The morning following thousands of k'a'-'tsina were seen running toward Kacikatcutia from the west, raising a big cloud of dust. They were met by the people of the village, the women behind, the men in front. They fought all day. Many people were killed. If a k'a'-'tsina was killed he immediately came to life again and resumed fighting. At nightfall the fighting ceased and the k'a'-'tsina returned to Wenimats<sup>1</sup>. Most of the people had been killed. The rest were very sad. And they quarreled among themselves, blaming each other for their misfortune.

The next day the scouts returned from Wenimats<sup>1</sup>. They told the people that they would never see the k'a'-'tsina again. If, however, they wished them to come in spirit they should dress just like the k'a'-'tsina, pray in the usual way, and then impersonate the k'a'-'tsina in their dances.

The following days were spent burying the dead and in mourning.

A month or two passed, when Masewi summoned the people together to talk again about the k'a'-'tsina. They finally decided to impersonate the k'a'-'tsina as they had been directed by the go'maiowic. So Masewi and his brother began to make masks. But they did not take all of the people into their confidence, because many were skeptical; they did not think that such a substitute would be effective. With six or eight men the two brothers prepared as many masks to represent k'a'-'tsina. Then they built a house in which to practice songs and dances.

Early one morning two men, dressed as go'maiowic, left the village and went out west. At daybreak they returned to the village. The people who were ignorant of the scheme were very frightened; they feared another attack. Masewi and his brother met the scouts in the plaza. The scouts said that the k'a'-'tsina would come to visit them in four days. Everyone was glad, and set about making preparations for their reception. Peace was to be made. On the third day Masewi appointed three war chiefs—a head chief and two lieutenants—and told them how to receive the k'a'-'tsina.

In the morning of the fourth day two scouts arrived in the village, followed by six or eight k'a'-'tsina, Masewi and his brother taking

the part of k'a'tsina. The war chiefs met them and made them welcome. They told the people about the wrong done the k'a'tsina, and how they must be respected now. The k'a'tsina danced all day and at sunset returned to Wenimats<sup>1</sup>.

But the people could not agree among themselves; some thought it unwise to impersonate these spirit beings, others thought it necessary. Dissension spread in the village. Little bands detached themselves from the main body and migrated in various directions. (This implicitly accounts for the northern pueblos.) Many, however, stayed behind and followed the advice of Masewi. It was during these days of discord, too, that Iatik<sup>a</sup> caused the people to speak different languages so that they could not quarrel with each other.

After a time Masewi and his followers migrated to Wapaceka, where they lived a long time. There was still discord among them concerning the k'a'tsina.

Now Masewi had two eggs, one a parrot egg, the other a crow egg. One was blue and the other was white, but no one knew which was the parrot's egg. They decided to go to the south, where lay a place called A'ko. They wished to go there and raise parrots. So they set out. In their wanderings they would pause at various mesas, thinking perhaps that they had found A'ko. Masewi would call out in a loud voice "Aaaakoooo-o-o!" If the echo sounded favorable they would settle there for a time to make sure. But if the echo was not "good" they would pass on.

On their wanderings they stopped for a time at Dyüp'tsiyam, but it was too small to raise parrots, so they moved on. They also stopped at Guicti and at Tsiamá. But always, when they moved, they traveled toward the south. As they passed K'atsi'm<sup>o</sup> (Mesa Encantada) some of them paused and made their homes there; the others followed Masewi southward. When they came to the east point of Acoma, Masewi called out "A-a-a-ko-o-o-o!" and received a perfect echo. "This is Ako," he announced. Then he held up the two eggs, the blue and the white egg. The people divided themselves, some preferring the blue egg, others the white one, but both parties were, of course, trying to select the parrot egg. Most of the people chose the blue egg, so Masewi threw it against the cliff. Swarms of crows flew out. Those who had chosen this egg were sadly disappointed, but they had agreed to remain at Ako. Those who had chosen the white egg went on farther south, carrying the egg with them. (And my informant said that he had been told by some of the old men that far to the south were a people that spoke a language almost like that of the Acomas. He thought those must have been the people who went south with the white egg.)

Now there were many snakes and ants on top of the mesa at A'ko, so the people settled at the foot at the east point, which was called

Akohai'titu (east point of Ako). There were also rabbits, squirrels, birds, and trees on top of the mesa. Masewi told his people that he was going to live on top of the rock. So he and his brother ascended the mesa. After a few days they returned and told the people that some day they would all live up there; that the village at the foot would be destroyed. They also said that they were going to disappear, but that they would be living beneath a rock on the east end of the cliff. (On the cliff to-day stand two rock pillars under which the spirits of Masewi and Oyoyewi live.) But some day, Masewi told them, he and his brother would return as great warriors, riding on tsityaiowic (?). Then the world would come to an end. Everyone would be killed. After that some people (presumably the faithful) would live forever.

The settlers at the foot of the mesa began to build a village. First they built the war chief's house, then those for the medicine men, then the houses for the others. Each was to help the other in this work. They had some altars and masks that they had made at Kacikatcutia. They planted corn, beans, squash, and melons. They did not irrigate at that time.

When they had become settled in their new home they decided to try to bring the k'a'tsina back. They made more masks. The war chief (at that time the war chief served for life and was succeeded at death by his son) appointed two men to serve as go'maiowic. They were to hold this position permanently and at death to be succeeded by their sons.

When all preparations had been made and the prayers offered to Wenimats<sup>1</sup> the two scouts appeared in the village the morning following and told them that the k'a'tsina would come in four days. They told the people to make every preparation for their arrival, to clean up the whole village, grind corn, bake bread, hunt game, etc. They were to make a food sacrifice to the k'a'tsina. The older people knew that the k'a'tsina were merely impersonated by their own people, but the younger folks thought that the real k'a'tsina were to come.

On the morning of the fourth day the k'a'tsina, preceded by the go'maiowic, came. They came around the south side of the mesa to the east point. The war chief met them in the plaza. The k'a'tsina brought no presents, and they never spoke, as they had done before the fatal fight. The k'a'tsina danced in the plaza and prayed for rain. (It was said that they prayed either to Iatik<sup>2</sup> or to the Shiwanna.) Rain came. This ceremony became sacred and was repeated. The masks were preserved carefully.

Among the dangers and annoyances in the life at Akohai'titu were a Flint bird (Hictiani Koasüt, something with wings of flint) that used to steal away young girls and carry them off to his home above the



sky, and some giants who roamed the country, carrying off stragglers to their mountain homes, where they were eaten. (See the stories of Kasewat, the great hero of this time, and his encounters with these monsters.)

At certain times the war chief would have the medicine men purge the village of sickness. And they would have rabbit hunts at various times, usually before some ceremony, to provide meat for the feasts.

For his heroic exploits Kasewat was made war chief. The old war chief, the father of his wife, died without leaving sons, so Kasewat was made chief. Shortly after assuming the office Kasewat caused the medicine men to ascend the mesa and remove all the snakes and ants. They were planning to move on top of the rock, as it had become dangerous to live at the foot. So the medicine men brought the snakes down and turned them loose.

After a council they moved up on top of the mesa. There were some, though, who did not wish to go, so they left and journeyed southward. Before making the ascent, however, they examined the rock carefully to ascertain the sources of water, trails, etc. When they had moved they built homes of stone and of adobe. Some were three stories high. At this time there were some old people left who had witnessed the fight with the k'a'tsina at Kacikateutia. They wished to reenact that episode, partly to teach the others what had happened and also to impress upon everyone the sacredness of all matters pertaining to k'a'tsina. So after long deliberation they decided to reenact this fight. (See page 88 for accounts of this ceremony.)

#### ORIGIN AND EMERGENCE <sup>51</sup>

The first supernatural being was Utc'tsiti (male). Then there were two sisters, Nau'tsiti and Ia'tik'. Utc'tsiti told them in a dream that the people were under the earth. The two sisters wanted to dig for them. They got the gopher to dig for them. The gopher dug down and reached the people, and the two sisters told them to come out. They crawled out. They were very small, like babies; their eyes were shut. The sun had not come up yet. The sisters made the people face the east. When the sun came up all their eyes opened. This was at Shipap'.

One night Utc'tsiti gave the two sisters all kinds of fruits, vegetables, game, sheep, etc.<sup>52</sup> It was all in a basket. There was a book in the basket. When the sisters woke up in the morning they found

<sup>51</sup> This version, I suspect, is one that was told at Laguna, or Zia, perhaps. I do not believe it is common at Acoma, for other informants did not know about it. But Utetsiti and Nautsiti are mentioned in myths collected at Laguna by Professor Boas; Naotsete and Uretsete are mentioned by Dumarest (p. 212, Notes on Cochiti, N. Mex.). Mrs. Stevenson speaks of Utset at Zia. The reference to the book, of course, indicates that some recent myth maker has had his hand in it.

<sup>52</sup> This informant, and indeed others, believe that the Pueblo Indians have always had sheep.



the basket. Nau'tsiti said, "Oh, look; this is our present from Utc'tsiti. We will divide all the things." Nau'tsiti told Ia'tik<sup>u</sup> to pick out the things she wanted. So Ia'tik<sup>u</sup> picked out the wild game and the wild plants, things that grew by themselves. The animals and plants that had to be planted and tended in order to grow she left to Nau'tsiti. Then Nau'tsiti offered the book to Ia'tik<sup>u</sup>, but Ia'tik<sup>u</sup> didn't want the book; she thought it would be too much trouble to read it. Then they called all the people together and told them to choose between the two sisters. Most of the people went with Ia'tik<sup>u</sup>; only a few went with Nau'tsiti. But Nau'tsiti told Ia'tik<sup>u</sup> that she was making a mistake. "You don't want to work," she told Ia'tik<sup>u</sup>, "but some day you may want what I have. I will get the best of you yet," she said. Then Nau'tsiti went to the east. She became the mother of the white people (who later came back to the land of the Indians). Ia'tik<sup>u</sup> was the mother of the Indians.<sup>63</sup>

GUITIDA'NIC (PERFORMING MIRACLES), A STORY OF THE FIGHT AT  
KACIKATCUTIA

Mic'hama, there was a dance going on at Kacikatecutia one day. Toward evening the k'a'tsina that were dancing went back to Wenimats'. But there was one k'a'tsina named Mactiktsateati who remained in the estufa, sitting in a corner. That night some men gathered in the estufa and fell to discussing the dancers. Some of them began to ridicule the k'a'tsina and to mimic their ways of dancing. "This one was bow-legged," "This one danced this way," etc. They did not notice the k'a'tsina sitting quietly in the corner. After Mactiktsateati had listened for some time he got up and went out of the estufa. Some men noticed him leave and recognized him to be a k'a'tsina. They rushed after him to endeavor to detain him, but by the time they had reached the exit of the estufa Mactiktsateati had disappeared.

When Mactiktsateati arrived at Wenimats' he told the k'a'tsina how the people had mocked them. The k'a'tsina dancers became very angry. They determined to revenge themselves. The next morning two g'o'maiowic (scouts) were summoned. They were instructed to go to Kacikatecutia and tell the people that the k'a'tsina would attack them in four days and punish them for their misdemeanor. So the scouts went to Kacikatecutia where they met the tsatyao ho'tcen' (outside, or war chiefs) to whom they delivered their message. The chiefs summoned the people to one of the estufas and told them of the decision of the angry k'a'tsina. After some discussion the chiefs decided that there was nothing to do but to prepare

<sup>63</sup> Although there is no doubt about the existence of an Utc'tsiti and a Nau'tsiti in Keresan tradition, I feel that this particular version is largely the product of some individual fancy, perhaps the informant's.

for defense. The head chief announced to all the people, "Prepare for the coming fight. Meanwhile I shall go to Wenimats<sup>1</sup>." So he set out for Wenimats<sup>1</sup>. There he sought out Aaik'an<sup>1</sup>, two Tsitsünits, two K'ak'uipe, Dyaits'ko'tume, Nyen'nye'k'a, Na'yu, G'otitcanicame, Masewi and Oyoyewi.

He asked these k'a'-'tsina to help the people of Kacikatecutia. The k'a'-'tsina agreed to do so. It was planned that when the k'a'-'tsina dancers came to attack the pueblo these k'a'-'tsina were not to join in the fight, but were to stand by until about half of the people had been killed, when they were to seize the dancers and bring them to Masewi and Oyoyewi, who were to kill them.

On the fourth day the k'a'-'tsina left Wenimats<sup>1</sup> and set out for Kacikatecutia. Some watchers in the pueblo saw them approaching and gave the warning signal. All the able-bodied people in the village came out to meet them. Then the fight began. They all mixed together. Some of the k'a'-'tsina tore arms or legs off the torsos of young men and used them as clubs to beat others with. The war chief was watching, and when about half of his people had been killed he gave the signal to his friendly k'a'-'tsina. They ran about seizing the other k'a'-'tsina and knocking them down. Masewi and his brother ran up and cut their throats. This continued until all the hostile k'a'-'tsina had been dispatched. After remaining inert for a while they would return to life and begin their retreat to Wenimats<sup>1</sup>.

The war chief and his people returned to the village, bringing their k'a'-'tsina friends with them. They took the k'a'-'tsina to an estufa and fed them. Then the war chief told all the people to make prayer sticks and to bring them to the estufa where the k'a'-'tsina were. This was done, the prayer sticks being placed in baskets. These the war chief gave to the two scouts and told them to take them back to Wenimats<sup>1</sup>. He prayed and asked forgiveness of the k'a'-'tsina, and asked for their help in the future.

The scouts returned to Wenimats<sup>1</sup> with the prayer sticks which they gave to the hotceni (chief), Kimac°. Kimac° said that from that time the k'a'-'tsina would never return to the pueblo. Then he directed the scouts to take some masks that had already been made to Kacikatecutia and to tell the people that the k'a'-'tsina would never come again in person; instead, they were to wear those masks when they danced, and that rain would follow. The people were to pray to the k'a'-'tsina, and even though they would not be present in person they would be there in spirit. But it would be necessary for the dancers to believe in the k'a'-'tsina and to treat them with respect.

When the war chief received the masks he called the people together and told them never to ridicule or mock the k'a'-'tsina again.

"We have made a terrible mistake," he said, "but from now on we must do the best we can." The friendly k'a'tsina were present in the pueblo when the masks arrived. War chief told the people that they were to regard these k'a'tsina as ho'teeni (chiefs) and that they must respect them. War chief proposed having Tsitsünits whip all the children four days from that time. (In summoning the people to the estufa he had admitted only adults.) In four days all the children were brought to the estufa, where they were whipped by Tsitsünits. Four days after the whipping the men put on their masks for the first time and danced in the plaza. When they had finished dancing they retired to the estufa. Here the war chief caused all the children over eight years of age to assemble. They were told the secret of the masks and the k'a'tsina dancers. They were told to believe in the k'a'tsina and to treat them with great respect. They were forbidden to tell the younger children.

In the evening the dancers pretended to return to Wenimats'. Then they went out west, waited until nightfall, when they removed their masks and returned to the village. This is the way they must do even to this day. Dahama tcaite. (This is the way it happened.)

#### MASEWI ABANDONS IATIK

Mic<sup>n</sup>ama (long ago), when the Acoma people were still living at Kacikateutia (White House), Masewi and his brother Oyoyewi lived in the same house with Iatik. Iatik had an altar (yabaicini) in her room with a medicine bowl (waiititcani) sitting in front of it. Masewi and his brother used to go into Iatik's room every night and dance for her until morning. They would dance in front of the altar so that the water in the medicine bowl would not dry up. Clouds arose from the water in the medicine bowl and spread all over the world, thus insuring a sufficient supply of rain.

After a time, however, Iatik appeared to tire of the nightly visits of the two brothers. At last she showed it so plainly that they decided not to return, so one night they stayed away. Instead of dancing before the altar they went to each house in the village and got some corn; they collected corn of all kinds and colors. The next morning early they left the village, traveling toward the north. After journeying some distance they selected a spot and dug a hole in the ground, a deep hole, leading down into another world. Before descending into the lower world they found a horned toad (tabinock<sup>a</sup>). They told him that Iatik had tired of them and their dancing and that they had decided to leave the village for 10 years; it was their way of making the people realize that it was they and not Iatik who brought the rain. The toad was to guard the hole during the absence of the two brothers; he was to sit on the entrance to the hole. Masewi caused some flowers to grow about the hole so that the toad

would have food during his long watch. He also supplied the toad with water to drink. Before descending into the hole Masewi told the toad to sit on the entrance faithfully and not to move even though told to do so by some passer-by. But if someone should ask the toad to open his mouth he should obey.

So the brothers went down the hole, way down to a lower world. When they reached the bottom they went west to a place called Akütestcototsica (Flower Mound). They selected this place because they knew that there was a well there. At Kacikacutia there lived a man named Waikuti-miti, whom the people hated. (The meaning of his name and the reason he was disliked are not known.) This man Masewi and his brother brought with them to Akütestcototsica. The brothers started a farm with the seeds they had brought with them; Waikuti-miti was to tend the fields. And so they lived in this way and were happy. They had plenty of everything. But they worked hard and stored up much food, for they knew that the people at Kacikacutia would be starving at the end of the 10 years.

Four days after Masewi and Oyoyewi left Iatik was looking for them. She wanted them to dance for her because the water was going down in the medicine bowl. Not being able to find the brothers, Iatik decided to dance, but all her efforts failed to raise the water in the medicine bowl and to bring rain. Day by day the water went down. Becoming alarmed, Iatik asked the k'a'tsina to come to her house to dance. The k'a'tsina came to her house and danced for her, but no clouds arose from the bowl and no rain followed. The water continued to fall in the bowl. At the end of a year the bowl went dry. There was a spring near the village where the people got water to drink. But it never rained and there was no snow. Iatik appealed to the four rain makers of the four cardinal points (see p. 66), but they could do nothing.

Five years continued in this way. Iatik became desperate. Then she called a humming bird (miitc<sup>a</sup>) and asked him to find Masewi and Oyoyewi. On the first day of his search the humming bird went to the north, but could find no trace of the two brothers. The next day he went to the west, but was again unsuccessful. On the third day he went to the south; no success. The fourth day took him to the east, but nothing could be learned of the brothers. Then the humming bird set out again, going to the north. Attracted by the flowers that Masewi had caused to grow to supply the horned toad with food, the humming bird came upon Tabinock, sitting on the hole. "Duietraa" (Are you there?), humming bird greeted horned toad. "Yes," he replied. Humming bird asked the toad to move to the north, but he refused. Then he asked him to move to the west, but again he refused. Humming bird asked him to move to the south,

but the toad would not move. Then he asked him to move to the east, but the toad sat motionless. Then humming bird asked the toad to stand up, but the toad would not stand up. Then humming bird asked the toad to open his mouth. The toad opened wide his mouth and the humming bird flew in and right on through him, down the hole. When he got to the bottom of the hole, he went to the west to Flower Mound, where he found Masewi and Oyoyewi.

"Guatzi, Masewi!" greeted the humming bird.

"Dawai, Miite<sup>a</sup>," replied Masewi.

"I am looking for you," the bird said; "Iatik's medicine bowl has dried up."

"What's the matter?" asked Masewi. "Can't Iatik bring the water and make it rain?"

"No."

Then the humming bird asked Masewi when he and his brother were going to return. Now, the brothers, being great hotceni (chiefs), spoke a language that differed somewhat from the language of the common people at Kacikateutia. So when Masewi told the humming bird that they would return in four years, the bird misunderstood him and thought he had said four days. Then they fed the humming bird, for they had plenty to eat.

The next day the humming bird set out for Kacikateutia. When he got to the top of the hole he called out to the horned toad, "Open your mouth!" The toad did as he was told and the humming bird again flew through him and went back to Iatik's house.

"Did you find them?" Iatik asked.

"Yes."

"Where?"

"Down in the lower world."

"When are they coming back?"

"In four more days," the bird told her.

But Iatik knew that the brothers meant four years and she began to weep. She asked the humming bird why they were going to stay away so long, but the bird said that he had not learned anything else.

Then Iatik sent the humming bird to Wenimats<sup>1</sup> to get some k'a'atsina to help her. Four k'a'atsina—two Tsitsünits, Aaik'unü and Dyait'sko'tume—came to her house. It was Iatik's plan to have these k'a'atsina remove the toad from the entrance to the hole. But all this time Masewi and his brother knew all about these plans. So when the four k'a'atsina approached the hole they caused a great cloud to appear over them and it began to hail with great violence. The k'a'atsina were compelled to return. Iatik wept when she saw them return baffled. The k'a'atsina asked Iatik to go move the horned toad herself. But she would not go.

Just then a swallow (*seseke*) happened along. He volunteered to go down the hole and meet Masewi and his brother. Iatik told him to go. So the swallow, accompanied by the humming bird, set out. Before they reached the hole the humming bird told the swallow to ask the horned toad to open his mouth and then to fly through. "But be careful not to let the toad bite you," he warned.

When they reached the hole the swallow asked the toad to open his mouth and both birds flew through and went down to the lower world. They found Masewi and Oyoyewi, who welcomed them and invited them to eat. The swallow told the brothers that he had come to bring them back: Iatik wanted them. But Masewi said that they did not wish to return yet. After a time, however, the brothers agreed to return on one condition. "If Iatik sends us something that we really like to eat; if she can guess what it is that we like best and sends it to us we'll return." So the birds set out for Kacikatecutia. Coming up the hole they called out to the toad to open his mouth. Humming bird flew through first. The swallow was a little slow and when he was flying out of the toad's mouth the toad bit his tail and pulled four feathers out of the middle. That is why the swallow has a forked tail to-day.

The birds went to Iatik's house and told her what the brothers had said. Iatik thought a long while, trying to decide what the brothers would like best to eat. At last she chose some *ho'nuk*<sup>a</sup> and *diak'unu* (dried berries). "Perhaps this is it," she said. So she ground the berries up and made them into four little balls. She wrapped each ball, with a cigarette, in a corn husk. She knew that Masewi always wore a *cpaik'a* (a short downy eagle feather, worn on top of the head) so she put in one for him.

During this time the four years had almost elapsed. Some of the people in the village had already died of starvation.

When Iatik had prepared the gifts she called the two birds and told them to take them to Masewi and Oyoyewi. So humming bird and the swallow made another trip to the underworld, passing through the horned toad as before. They gave the four husks to the two brothers. Masewi and Oyoyewi unwrapped the husks and found the balls of dried berries; it was just what they wanted. So they told the birds to return to Iatik and tell her that they would return in four days. They told them to tell Iatik to announce to all the people that they would return in four days; they wished to have the people expect them. Then Masewi got a sack of seeds—all kinds of seeds—and gave it to the birds. He told them to give it to Iatik and to tell her to spread them out before her altar so that they would multiply sufficiently to supply all the people of the village. After the seeds



had remained before the altar one day they were to be distributed to the people who were to go out and plant them.

The birds returned to Iatik with the seeds and told her what Masewi had said. Iatik spread the seeds out in front of her altar. They multiplied many, many fold. The next day she distributed them among the people of Kacikateutia and told them to plant them, which they did.

On the fourth day Masewi and Oyoyewi came up from the world below. When they came out of the hole they thanked the horned toad and dismissed him. As soon as they had done this a great cloud formed over all the fields of Kacikateutia and it began to rain. It rained for four days and four nights. Masewi and Oyoyewi returned to their house. Iatik was glad to see them. The seeds that the people had planted sprouted and grew. When the rain ceased four days of sunshine followed. On the fourth night after the rain Masewi and Oyoyewi went all through the fields and prayed. Everything began to ripen at once, for the brothers knew that the people were in need of food. Then the people gathered their crops. They set aside a day to visit Masewi and Oyoyewi. Then the people realized that the two brothers were very great, that they possessed great power. That is why the Acoma people to-day believe in Masewi and Oyoyewi. *Da hama tcaite.* (This is the way it happened.)

#### ANTELOPE MAN BRINGS BACK THE K'ATSINA

Mic<sup>a</sup> Hama, two *gomaïowic* came from Shipap to look for the *k'atsina*. The *k'atsina* had hid in a hole in the ground in the north-west. The *kuuts<sup>1</sup> hanotc* (Antelope people) were looking for the *k'atsina*, too. The Antelope man met the *gomaïowic* (scouts, like the *Zuñi* "mudheads") on the road and asked them what they were doing. The scouts told him that they were looking for the *k'atsina*. The Antelope man said that they were looking for them, too. The scouts said, "Let's go to ask Spider (*Gamack<sup>a</sup>*). Guess he knows where went those *k'atsina*." Then they got to the Spider's home and asked her where the *k'atsina* were. Spider woman said she didn't know where they were. Then she said, "I guess I'll go to Salt Lake and ask the Salt woman (*Mina K'oya*) if she knows." She told the scouts and the Antelope man to wait until she came back. The Salt woman said, "Yes, I know what place they stay, those *k'atsina*. You tell the Antelope man and scouts to wait until the horns of the antelope are ripe (hard, mature)." The Salt woman told the Spider woman to tell the Badger (*dyup<sup>1</sup>*) to be ready. (The Badger was to dig a hole before the Antelope broke the door with his horns.) Then Spider woman went home.

The scouts and Antelope man asked Spider woman what the Salt woman said. "Yes; I know where they are, those *k'atsina*. But you

got to wait until the Antelope's horns get ripe, and the badger got to dig a hole first before the Antelope knocks the door down. I go to see the badger now. You stay here for four days. On fifth day we'll go to where the k'atsina are. You can stay here and hunt deer and rabbits, so we can feed the k'atsina when they come out." Then she went to see the badger.

On the first day the scouts and the Antelope men went hunting in the north. They got a deer and brought it home to the Spider woman's home. The next day they went west and got a deer. The third day they went south and got a deer. The fourth day they went east; killed a deer. Spider woman made some matsini during the four days. On the fourth evening they boiled the meat in four big pots.

On the fifth morning they went to the Badger's house. Then they all went to where the k'atsina were. The Antelope was there when they got there. The gomauiowic dug in the ground a little way with their flint knives. Then one of the gomauiowic gave his knife to the Antelope man (the Antelope man just carried a cane, crooked stick, gonac), and he dug a little. Then the Antelope man told the Badger to dig down to the door. The Badger dug down until he got to the door. The door was a thin rock. Then Antelope man told the Antelope to break the door with his horns. The Antelope backed off and ran toward the door and hit it with his horns. He hit it four times. The third time he cracked the door. The fourth time he crashed through inside. The Antelope man went in, too. The gomauiowic stayed outside. There were lots of flowers, corn, melons, inside where the k'atsina were. The Antelope man met the head k'atsina, Kimac°, and told him he had come to get the k'atsina out. The people were hungry because they did not have the rain. Kimac° said, "All right. We go out to-day and make rain for those peoples. And we got fruit here. We drop them right by the pueblo for the people to eat." The Antelope man said, "All right. I be glad if you do feed my people. They hungry." Then the Antelope man said, "We got to stop at Spider's house. We give you good meal there. After that you could make the rain." Kimac° said, "All right."

They went out. The Antelope man led the way. Then came the antelope (who had butted the door down). Behind the antelope came the badger. Then the k'atsina; Kimac° was at the head of the k'atsina. The gomauiowic were way behind. When they got to the Spider's house they gave the k'atsina the deer meat. When they finished, there was lots of meat left, so the Antelope man told the k'atsina to take a lunch with them. So they took a lunch. Kimac° said, "We got to go back to Wenima first, but to-morrow we going to make rain for whole world." The Antelope man said, "All right." Kimac° told the Antelope man to tell the people they were going to bring fruits and make rain four days and four nights.

The k'atsina went back to Wenima. (Wenima, or Wenimats<sup>1</sup>, is a place "out west"; it is always referred to as "the home of the k'atsina.") The gomaïowic and the Antelope man went back to Shipap (the place of emergence, located "in the north"). They told the people it was going to rain four days and four nights. After, on the fifth and sixth day, they could plant anything they want.

Next day the clouds came from Wenima and it rained like everything. The people had a meeting at Shipap. They made the Antelope man, the headman, to call out the k'atsina. No one else could. The people, everybody, made prayer sticks. After the rain, in the morning, Kimac<sup>o</sup> came to the Antelope man's house and said, "Well, we finished now. You can tell your people to plant to-morrow. It will be all right." "All right."

The people came in with prayer sticks to give to Kimac<sup>o</sup>. Kimac<sup>o</sup> told the people that the Antelope man was their headman because he was the one who had brought them back. He would be cacique.<sup>54</sup>

The k'atsina went back to Wenima.

Da Hama teui naut<sup>a</sup>.

#### MASEWI AND OYOYEWI KILL A GIANTESS

They were living right near Acoma, with their mother. (The sun was their father. They used to live at Hakaaité—place where sun rises—but he sent them away to live near Acoma. They grew big enough in four days.) They were pretty brave boys and smart boys too. After four days they went out hunting rabbits and deer. They brought in rabbits and anything they could get. Next day, went out again. They got an antelope and some other animals too. Next day they got a deer. Next day, got a bear.

Then they wanted to go to the east to the sun. The cacique (of Acoma, presumably) wanted to know where they came from. From the sun they told him. "How you come?" They told him the sun sent them. Then he believed them. Then they told their mother they wanted to go back to the sun, their father, to see him. The mother said, "How you can go? There is all kinds of dangers." But they said, "But we can go. We can manage those things, those dangers. Our father will take care of us, and we got arrows and bows to protect with. And we got hictian tcaipitean (this is a piece of flint shaped somewhat like a boomerang. When it is thrown it looks 'like lightning')." They get to the sun. "Now we got back here Naicdia Ocate (Father Sun) to see you. Doco domako skaaitsa (now we are grown big). We come to get you to help us to get more strength and to be brave in this world and to have more

<sup>54</sup> The cacique at Acoma is always an Antelope man (member of the Antelope clan, the kuuts<sup>1</sup> hanote). He is spoken of as the "father of the k'atsina."

power." The sun said "All right. I give you the power because there are many ckoyos (giants) who carry peoples away with their baskets and eat them." The boys said that they wanted to kill those ckoyos. The sun said they could kill them with their flints. "And I am going to give you advice. You stand this far from the ckoyo and tell him to look back. When he look back you can throw this flint and cut his head off." "Now we better go back (the boys said) and do what we want to the ckoyos. Because there is one place where a ckoyo has got lots prisoners. He got them full in all his rooms."

They start back to their mother. When they got back they told their mother what they going to do. "We want to kill all these ckoyos now. When we are ready we are going out to kill them." Their mother said, "No; better not go out 'cause surely they going to get you fellers and eat you up." They told her, "No; they wouldn't eat us up. We're going to cut their heads off." "How you going to kill those ckoyos? You haven't got the power to kill them." "Yes; Father Sun gave us the power and told us to kill them." "How, and with what, are you going to kill those ckoyos?" "Well, we got bows and arrows, and here is the flint that we going to use to kill those ckoyos." "No; dear children, I don't think you can do it. They going to grab you before you can run away. They got long hands and long-legged, too." "Well, mother, we know how to kill them. We can hide. They can never find us where we hide." "The ckoyo will see you very far off. They will see where you hide and get you right there," she told them. "Never mind, mother, you will see how we going to do it, to get them." "No, my dear children, I wish you would mind me." But the boys say, "Now we want to go where the ckoyo, his home is."

When they start out they laughing, dancing. "Oh, we going have lots of fun with that grandmother ckoyo (stera baba). (The informant always used the word ckoyo, never translating it. He formed the plural easily by adding 's.')

Let's go out here where she can see us." Then they went out to the northwest from their home south of Acoma. They look for a place where ckoyo can see them. They stopped on a sandy place and played like children so the ckoyo could see them. Pretty soon a ckoyo saw them; Masewi knew it. "Let her come here; we going to get her to-day." Oyoyewi was a little afraid.

Ckoyo lived at Cakaiya (a large mesa near Acoma) on top. Ckoyo saw them; look down. She knew it was Masewi and Oyoyewi. "I am going to get those children. I am going to eat them up." She takes only four steps and gets where Masewi and Oyoyewi were. When she get there they pretended they didn't see her. "Let's holler and play and she'll feel funny," Masewi said. Oyoyewi said,

"I'm afraid of her." Masewi told him, "Don't be afraid. We'll get her before sundown."

Ckoyo said, "Here, my dear grandchildren, come here." Masewi and Oyoyewi didn't want to listen, but kept playing. Ckoyo said, "Now I'm getting tired waiting. Let's go to a nice place to play. Come get in my basket. I take you to a nice place." Masewi said, "Let her alone till we find out a way to get her." Then he said "All right. Let's go get in her basket and let her carry us away."

Then they went to the basket. "All right, get in." Masewi got in and jumped out and in and out. "You got fine basket here to carry us." "Yes; I got fine basket to carry you." They both jumped in. "Now are you ready? Sit down so when I get up you won't fall off." "All right, grandmother." Then Masewi say, "See what fine basket our grandmother got to carry us?" Oyoyewi said, "Yes; that's pretty nice basket."

Ckoyo stooped down and put basket on her back and she walk off. Some one saw them. "Oh, some one is caught by the ckoyo. Oh! it's Masewi and his brother. Let's go back and tell their mother." They went back and told their mother. The mother was afraid. "I tell them not to go, but now they will see how they will do them, those ckoyos." She was crying, "I'll never get to see them no more."

Ckoyo got up on top of mesa in the pines and piñons. Masewi and Oyoyewi would hang out the basket. Ckoyo would look back. "Don't fall out!" "No; we just playing. We like to play." The boys would pull her hair and say to each other, "I wonder what this is?" Ckoyo would say, "Don't do that; that's my hair." They would pull the buckskin on her shoulders. "Take us under that tall piñon tree. We want to get brushes to play with." When she took them under the tree they broke off some branches and got some pitch. "Let's get some pitch and burn her hair off. Then she will throw us down." And they asked again, "Take us under that pine tree. We want to get brushes to play with." Then she did. Then they asked to go under a dry pine tree. "We want to get pitch to make chewing gum out of." They got the pitch to make gum out of. Now they get to her home, the ckoyo. "Now, grandchildren, get down. Here's the place where you can play all the time and be happy." "All right." They jumping around and hollering 'round. "Better go over there on west side. There is an arroyo there. There is a nice place to slide down. But don't go far away. There's lots bear and lion there."

They stay there and play around till afternoon sometime. Then they thinking there. Masewi said, "Let's build fire down here so she won't see us. Or maybe we can get some rabbits or a deer and we will take to her." They walk off little ways and get some and take



them to her. When they get to her house they say, "Here is some rabbits. You can roast it and eat it." "Oh, fine, dear grandchildren. You are good boys and good hunters." "Yes; then we can go out and get deer for you. We see some tracks." "No; you better not go. Maybe will get you some bear. You better go back and play." "All right."

They said, "Let's build a fire." So they got lots dry wood and make big pile. Then they go out little ways and found a deer. They catch that deer and take to ckoyo. "Oh, fine, boys. You are good hunters. I will have plenty to eat now." "Then we can go again and get some more." "No; don't try to get bear or lion. They will get you to eat."

Then after while said Masewi, "Let's go get some deer or bear for our dear grandmother." And they try to go back to where they have the wood. On their way they went by the house where the ckoyo got many prisoners—mans, womans, childrens, little kids. They tell them the ckoyo giving them the deer meat. Ckoyo called them away from the house—"Don't do that." (They're looking through the hole.) "They pretty fat, those people," the boys said. (When the ckoyo wanted one she asked them to stick finger through a hole. If they weren't fat, their finger would go through the hole easily.) They told Masewi, "If we can't put finger through the hole she opens the door and takes us out and butchers us and roasts us and eats us."

Masewi sends Oyoyewi out every once in while to see what ckoyo is doing. Masewi tells people, "Now we going to get you out. We going to kill her, the ckoyo. This is the last day for her." Some were happy and some cried. "No; you can't do it. The ckoyo going to eat us all up." "Yes; sure. We going to get you out; we going send you home to-day."

Then they went out to where the pile of wood was. It was afternoon. Then they build fire there. After while ckoyo called them back to get something to eat. When they get back to ckoyo's home they see deer meat, rabbit, and some other meat. "What's that?" Oyoyewi asks. "That's person meat, what you going to eat." "No; I won't eat person meat. I going to eat deer meat." Then they eat. She tries to make them eat person meat. "No; its too fat. We don't like fat meat." Then they got through eating and went back again. They put the flint ball in the fire to heat it. They put two balls in. When they got back they saw the balls pretty well heated hot. Then the ckoyo went to the house 'cause she heard crying and talking, and she didn't know what was the matter. "What's the matter? I hear crying. Do you want to get something to eat?" "No; we not doing nothing." "Yes; I heard something, look like crying or hollering. Did Masewi come around?" "No; we never see him." But ckoyo thinks so. "No; we never see him."



"Now be ready for her. Let's call her to come out here." They told her to come out to where they were playing. "You come out and watch us. It's pretty hot to-day. You better stand up on that rock there and see how we playing down below." Ckoyo said, "All right. I'll come out and see you." Masewi and Oyoyewi got down and picked up the flint balls. Covered the fire with ashes and sand. They left the flints on one side.

The ckoyo stands up there; and she was pretty sweat, too. She wears some kind hanging-down dress, the ckoyo. Masewi told his brother, "When that ckoyo gets up there I'm going to tell her to stand by the edge of the rock and cool off." He told Oyoyewi, "Then you'll be next; I'm going to do it first. I'm going to pick this red-hot flint up and throw at her first. If I don't get her then you be next to throw at her."

The ckoyo come out and stood on rock and looking down at them. When she get there she say, "Hello, boys. You playing nice there." "Yes." "Oh, grandmother," the boys say, "Get cool off. Pull your dress up." And she pulled dress up. Get wind in. "Turn around and cool your back off. Pull dress up higher." Masewi threw the red-hot rock up her rectum and she fell down dead. Oyoyewi holtered, "Now you got her. I didn't get no turn to throw at her."

They went up to the prisoners. "Now you free." Some of the prisoners didn't believe it. Masewi said, "Get your things and go home." Then Masewi hit the door with his flint and smash it open. The prisoners came out and started to run home. Masewi told the people not to go away. He said the ckoyo would come back with hail and kill them. "I got buckskin. I going to make a tent of hides" (he had bear hides, buffalo hides, etc.). Masewi tore the house with his flint and made a shelter of hides, and poured melted pitch over it and it got hard. "Better get all your people in here or the ckoyo will get you with a big hail." Then he called them all back. "Now you see it already clouding up. Coming a big storm from all directions." And they all come together right above the shelter just as they had finished. They went under. Then came the hail. Sure pounded those hides. Great big hail. "See what I told you? Now you are safe. This is the last time the ckoyo can try to kill you. Go home now and be happy. You will have no more trouble." All went home.

Masewi got back home that evening. The people already knew about it. Some people doubted it even when they saw them. That evening people came to ask them. The people told them that Masewi had freed them.

## MASEWI AND OYOYEWI RESCUE A GIRL FROM A GIANTESS

The people went out to hunt rabbits. They went to the east. When the people came home in the evening there was a girl left behind. She had lots of rabbits. She got too much. She didn't know how she was going to get home. She tried to carry them, but they were too heavy. She couldn't carry them so she looked for a place to camp that night. She found a place in a cliff—a cave. She stopped there and built a fire. The war chiefs were watching the people, but they didn't miss her.

A ckoyo (giantess) saw the fire from the Sandia Mountains (north-east of Albuquerque, 70 or 80 miles away). She took 10 steps and got to where the fire was. She saw the girl roasting rabbits. She was roasting all of them to carry home next day. Ckoyo said, "Who are you?" The girl told her her name. "Where did you come from?" the ckoyo asked her. "We went out to hunt rabbits. I got lost, that's why I camp here. And what are you doing here?" "I same. I can't go home it's so late, so I came here to camp with you."

The girl got scared. She didn't know what to do. Ckoyo was sitting down. The girl then saw a great big head and face. "That must be a ckoyo" (she said). "Oh, dear me, she going to get me. She going to eat me up." Ckoyo said, "Oh, you got fine roasting rabbits?" "Yes." Ckoyo asked for some rabbit meat. "I am hungry. If you can, let me have one to eat." "Which one do you want to eat?" "The one on the east side." "All right." The girl pick it up and give it to the ckoyo. Ckoyo threw it in her mouth all at once and swallow it. Ckoyo said, "Who is your father at Acoma?" "I am the daughter of hotceni (chief)." "Which hotceni?" "Tsatyao hotceni" ("outside chief," the war chief). "Oh, yes. I know who you are now."

In the village they were asking about her. They waited for her all night. "Yes; we saw her. There is a boy with her. They will come home late," some one said.

Ckoyo asked for another rabbit. "I'm so hungry. Give me the one laying on south side." She took it and swallow it right away. After while she asked for the one laying on west side. The girl give it to her and she swallow it all at once. Then the ckoyo asked for the rabbit laying on the north side. Ckoyo swallow it up. Then the ckoyo took rabbits two or three at a time and ate them. She ate up all the rabbits. It was late in middle of night then. Before the ckoyo had come the girl had taken off her leggings. "I wonder what she's got," the ckoyo said. The girl was scared. She moved back in the cave. "What you got in back of you?" the ckoyo ask her the girl. "Those are my moccasins." "I wonder if you can let me have one? I am not full yet." So girl threw her one moccasin. Ckoyo pick it

up and swallow it. "I wish I had another one." The girl threw her the other one. After while the ckoyo asked the girl for one of her leggings. The girl gave it to her and the ckoyo ate it. Then she gave her the other legging. Then the ckoyo kept asking for her clothes. The girl give her all her clothes, one at a time. First she gave the ckoyo her stockings, one at time, then her dress, then her odinuts (the silk "back apron" which pueblo women wear on their backs), her belt, her shawl. The girl was naked now. She was crying. "Don't cry; I won't hurt you. Come home with me," the ckoyo told her. "No; I won't." The fire went out. Ckoyo said, "I wish I have your body." "No; I can't give you my body. Can't you go away from me?" Ckoyo kept on asking. Ckoyo tried to reach her with hand. Then she stuck a stick in. Then she went out to get a hard rock. She pounded the cave away with the rock. It could be heard far off.

Masewi knew it. He went out and listened. He heard that the girl had not come home. He woke his brother. "Let's go," he said.

They left early in the morning. They took the flint (the curved flint that they had received from the sun, their father. When this flint is thrown it looks like lightning). They ran. They saw the ckoyo. Masewi said, "You watch. I'm going to run; and if I don't cut her head off, you be ready next." He sing to his flint. Then he throw his flint and cut giant's head off. They told the girl to come out. They threw her the clothes that ckoyo ate. The girl put her clothes back on. They went home in the morning. They scolded the girl. That's the way it was.

#### THE BLIND BROTHER AND THE CRIPPLED BROTHER

Tsikinumi. They were living down below Acoma on north side, a kotecinnako (a woman; this term is used almost exclusively in myths) and her two boys. One boy could walk all right, but he was blind. The other boy could see, but he was crippled; he had hands and feet just like a duck (webbed) and kind of skin like what was between his fingers was hanging down from his arms and all down his sides and legs. He couldn't walk good. Sometimes when they want to go out to play, the one that is blind he carries on his back his brother. The one that was blind he carries bow and arrows. They go out to hunt sometimes. The webbed one would see the birds and he would say, "There's the birds! Let's catch the birds!" he'd tell him. "Shoot him with your bow and arrow!" "Where? Just tell me where to shoot." The blind boy would hold his bow and arrow and the webbed boy would move it until it was right. "Shoot!" That's the way they used to go out sometimes and bring them (the game they shot) to their mother. Then when they get strong enough they want to go far away to hunt.

One time they went to the spring, Go'mi, west side. They found a deer there. "Oh, there's a deer!" the webbed one said. The blind boy said, "Where?" "Right there! Let's shoot him!" The blind boy took his bow and arrows. The webbed one showed him where to point. They shot that deer right there. The blind boy said, "How we going to take home this deer (he says), we ain't got nothing to cut with?" When they got to where the deer was the blind boy felt all over him. "How we going to get him home? He pretty heavy." The webbed boy said, "Let's go look for flint." "What kind of a flint do we have to look for?" says the blind boy. "The one that is sharp and is shaped like a knife."

The blind boy put his brother on his back. The webbed one was singing about something to cut with. He was singing that way. They looking all around. They heard a coyote that was near by. Finally they got to where there was many trees. The coyote was standing there. Then he was listening to what the webbed brother was singing. "Hello, boys; what you looking for?" "Nothing," the webbed boy said; "We not looking for nothing. We just walking around here," he told him. "Yes; one of you boys singing that you looking for knife to butcher with." And he says, that boy, "No! I didn't say I am looking for something like knife to butcher with. I says this way caiutsi, caiutsi (the wind sounds like this when it blows fast)." "No; you must have something killed around here." "No; how can I kill something. I am webbed and my brother he's blind. How can we kill anything?" "No; you must have something, a deer maybe, killed around here." Then the coyote he walk off. Then they found right near there a flint and then they went back. Then that blind boy said, "Let's look for the coyote and see if he is going off. Let's get up on a high place so we can see if he's going off. Yes; he's going off now; let's go back." Then they go back where he's laying, that deer. When they got back there they commence to cut the skin right in the middle. When they got that open, that skin, they skinned some off. They took the guts out and cleaned out good. Then they put some blood in one of the guts and tied up good. Then they set it away. "We going to take this to our mother. Then she can fix for us with the corn meal. She will fix the oven in the ground and mix the blood with the corn meal and cook it. Let's save everything."

They skinned all off. They were stay there all day. Then comes night there. "I wonder what we going to do with this deer? Well, let's get all this meat and put on top the trees here." "Let's camp here, then," the webbed one said, "and go home in the morning. I wonder what she will be thinking about us; our mother, if we don't get home. She will think some wild beast get us and eat us if we

don't go home. Let's go." "No; she won't think that. We got bow and arrow. No one going to get us. We will protect ourself." Then they hang all the meat on the tree. Then they had the guts with the blood in it. The blind one said, "Let's build some rocks around and bury the blood right here. We'll eat it in the morning." The webbed boy showed his brother where to find the rocks. Then they build the oven and start a fire in it. After it all got heated up good they clean out the fire and use the cedar brushes to sweep it out good. Then they put it in, the guts and blood together. When they put it in they cover it over with a thin flat rock. Then they build a fire on top of the flat rock. They keep the fire going that way a little while till they think it's cooked enough. Then they start to fix the bed. "Let's go to bed," they say. Then they went to bed. Next morning they get up early in the morning. Then the blind boy asked his brother, "Where did we bury the guts?" "Right there," and he show him where they were. "Let's get them out and eat early and then we can start out early for home." Then the blind boy took it out and laid it out on cedar branches.

The webbed boy moved around; he could hardly move; he just go around slow like frog. The webbed boy touched the gut. It hot. "How we going to open it, this gut?" Then the blind one sharpened a stick and stuck the gut with the sharp stick. And it was full of steam. When it got stuck with the stick it explode. And the webbed one he was sitting right near, and when it explode, all the blood went over him. It was hot, that blood. And when the blood got on him, all that skin between his fingers and toes and all along his sides, it came loose and came off. "Oh! Look what the blood did to me." And he start jumping around and dancing. He was glad; happy. And the same way, when the gut explode, it went over the blind boy. And when he wipe the blood off his face, his eyes, he could see. They were both glad. They dance around. They glad. "See what it done for us, this noctin<sup>1</sup> (sausage)!"

They start home right away. They pack up the deer meat and run home right away. They didn't have to come back. When they get to their house, their mother is up on the house. "I wonder who is coming with those packs. I wonder if they are my children. I don't think so. He isn't carrying his brother on his back, but they are carrying something."

When the boys got to their house they called out, "Here we are, mother. We have lots deer meat. Open up the door; we want to get in." The mother was surprised. "Wonder how you got that way?" she said. "Yes; that's wonderful that noctini, what it done to us," they told their mother. And they told her how it happened.



## HOW KAUBAT LOST HIS EYES

Once, in the old days, when the Acoma people were still living at the foot of the eastern end of the mesa of Ako (at Akohaitit<sup>u</sup>), they were making baskets to hold meat. The war chief decided to send every one out to get some reeds (ya'a) to make the baskets with. Someone knew that lots of these reeds grew at a place north of Acoma, so they all went there.

There was a man named Kaubat', who lived west of Ca'kaiya (a large mesa near Acoma). He knew that the Acoma people were going out to get reeds, so he went along, too. He met a girl. He gave her some reeds that were nicely colored for her baskets. He asked her to come with him to his house. He said he had more of the colored reeds there and that he would give her some more. Then he showed her his mack'ute (this was a small hoop of reeds. It was rolled on the ground with a stick, and perhaps used in a hoop-and-javelin game. The pot rest that women wear on their heads to support water jars is called a mackute). Kaubat' told the girl to stand where she was and that he would roll the mackute toward her. If she could catch it, she could keep it. So he rolled it toward her and she tried to catch it. But when she stooped over to get it, she got caught in it and disappeared inside. Then Kaubat' rolled the mackute along until he came to the north slope of Ca'kaiya, where he lived. Then he took the girl out of the mackute and had intercourse with her. When he had enough of her, he went off, leaving the girl in the woods.

The girl was scared and began to cry. She walked aimlessly through the woods, crying, until evening. A badger heard her and came to see who it was. "Sa ma'ak" (my daughter), the badger called to her. "Yes, mother, where are you?" the girl answered. "Here," the badger said, coming from beneath a piñon tree. "Why are you crying?" "Because a man brought me here. He deceived me." "It was Kaubat', perhaps," the badger said. "Where do you live?" "At Akohaitit'." "I don't know what direction that is from here," the badger said. "Come on home with me."

The girl followed the badger to her home. "Put your foot down there and the door will get larger," the badger told her. The girl did this and the door grew large enough to go through. "Make yourself at home, dear," the nice old badger told the girl. "I don't have much to eat what you like." "What do you eat?" the girl asked. "Oh, deer, rabbit, etc."

The badger went out to get some food. She saw a rabbit run in a burrow. She dug it out and killed it. The girl did not know how to build a fire, so the badger showed her how to make and use a fire drill (atutco'mi). The girl did not want the fire to go out because



it was dark. The girl cleaned the rabbit and cooked it. The old badger made a mattress of grass for her to sleep on.

The girl lived with the old badger like this. The girl gathered piñon nuts while the badger gathered other kinds of food. They had game to eat, and hock'an (a fruit that grows on the stem of soapweed). The girl dried the meat. In two days she showed signs of pregnancy. In eight days she gave birth to two boys. The old badger was very happy. She loved the girl and the two babies. The oldest boy was named Ca'kaiya; the other was named Go'mi. (It was near the spring Go'mi that the girl had met Kaubat' and it was at Ca'kaiya that she had been seduced.) The boys grew very fast. When they could talk they called the old badger "Baba" (grandmother). Soon they could talk and sing a few songs. Then they learned to walk. In two years they were full-grown boys. The old badger taught them to use bows and arrows. They hunted deer and antelope. They began to build a house. They liked the old badger very much.

One day when they were out hunting they climbed to the top of Ca'kaiya. They were looking around. They saw some smoke coming from the village at the east end of the Acoma mesa. They were surprised; they didn't know what it was. "Some one must live there," they thought.

When the boys went home they asked their mother, "Where do we live? How did we come to be here?" The mother told them that she used to live at the foot of Ako. "Where is that?" they asked. "I don't know." "Who is our father?" "Kaubat'." They asked the badger where Kaubat' lived. "Way out to the west," the badger said, "it is a two day trip." The boys said they wanted to go out to see their father; "We are going to visit him," they said. "No, don't go," the badger begged the boys. "Yes; we want to go." "All right, if you insist, you can go." Then the badger told the boys about their father. He was a great gambler, she said. He played with anyone who came along, perhaps with some people, or perhaps with some k'a'tsina who came from Wenimats<sup>1</sup> to gamble with him. Kaubat' was very lucky and he always won in the end. Then the badger told the boys about a buckskin bag that Kaubat' had hanging from the ceiling in his house. When Kaubat' lost everything he had, sometimes when he was unlucky, he would bet that his opponent could not guess what was in the bag. He would bet his heart against everything that the other fellow had. They could never guess what was in the bag. The badger told the boys what was in it.

The boys got all ready to go. They had new moccasins, buckskin clothes, and bows and arrows. They traveled two days. Then they got to Kaubat's home. "Guatzi, naicvia (Hello, father)," they said when Kaubat' came out to meet them. "I have no sons," he told

the boys. Then the boys told him how they happened to be his sons. Kaubat' was kind to them and invited them to come inside and have something to eat. Kaubat's mother was in there, and she talked to the boys. She asked them about their mother and about how she had met Kaubat'. She scolded her son. "Why didn't you bring the girl here?" she asked. She took a liking to her grandsons. The boys stayed all night.

The next morning Kaubat' tried to get the boys to gamble with him, but the boys didn't know how to play. Then Kaubat' showed the boys how to run a stick race (atcawaiyi). The boys won. That evening a k'a'tsina from Wenimats<sup>1</sup> came to Kaubat's house. He brought lots of buckskins, mantas, belts, etc., to gamble with. They played aioak'utyeyi (hidden ball). Kaubat' won everything from the k'a'tsina. The boys watched everything and learned how to play the game. Then Kaubat' asked the boys to try their luck. All the boys have to bet is their bows, so they bet them. They won. The next day they gambled all day. The boys won right along. Kaubat's mother is nice to the boys. The next day the boys had almost everything that Kaubat' owned. They even had his house. The next day Kaubat' bet his mother and lost. Then he bet his lion skin quivver (o'ictiwactan). He lost this. He lost all of his clothes, one piece at a time. At last Kaubat' bet his heart against everything that the boys can't guess what is in his little buckskin bag that hung from the ceiling. The boys didn't want to do this, but Kaubat' insisted. Ca'kaiya, the eldest, was to have eight guesses; his brother was to have four. Go'mi, the younger, tried first and failed. Then Ca'kaiya started to guess. He had guessed almost eight times when he said "stci'ta!" (stars). That was what was in the bag. Kaubat' gave up. But the boys didn't want to kill him; they felt sorry for him. "We don't want your heart," they told him, "so we will take your eyes out instead." So they took out his eyes. This made Kaubat' very mad; he would rather have been killed.

The boys packed up all their winnings; they had sacks and sacks full of mantas, buckskins, moccasins, belts, etc. They decided not to take Kaubat's mother, but to leave her to take care of Kaubat'; they felt sorry for him. Then they set out for home.

Kaubat' was very mad. He groped around the house feeling with his hands because he can't see. He found some pitch and his fire drill. He made a fire. Then he began to sing; he was asking a coadyam (evil one) to help him; he wanted to destroy the whole country. Kaubat' keeps on singing. The fire burns up good. Then he put the pitch on the fire; he wanted it to melt and run over the whole country and kill everyone. The fire kept getting larger and the pitch boils out and starts running all over. Kaubat' called to his mother to take him away from the flames. She came and got

him, but not before the fire and smoke had turned his face black (the mask of Kaubat' is blind and has a black face). She took him out of the house and ran to the southwest. They kept on going until they came to Steamunako't (Black Mountain). They settled there.

The pitch and fire began to spread over the whole country. The boys saw it coming and ran as fast as they could. Then Maiyatcuna (the rain maker of the north) called out the clouds (shiwanna) and rain and put the fire out. It rained for four days and four nights before the fire was all out. The pitch became cold and hard. You can see it near Grants to-day (the lava beds).

The boys got home all right with their winnings. They told their mother and the badger all about their visit to Kaubat' and showed them his eyes. They threw the eyes up to the sky in the south. You can see them to-day; they are called Kaubat' K'an (Kaubat, his eyes).

The boys and their mother lived with the badger for a long time. One day while out hunting the boys met some hunters from Akohaitit<sup>55</sup>. The boys told their mother, and they decided to go back. They told the nice old badger good-by and left. They went by the spring Go'mi; the boys' mother recognized it as the place where she met Kaubat'. Everyone was glad to see the girl again and the boys. They kept the bag of stars in their house. It helped them to become great gamblers.

Kaubat' and his mother appear in the masked ceremony of the Corn clan.

#### TSICTIK'A'TSAME BRINGS A BRIDE FROM WENIMATS<sup>1</sup>

Tsictikatsame lived on top of a rock a short distance west of Acoma. One day he said he was going to Wenimats<sup>1</sup> for a k'o-'teinak'o.<sup>55</sup>

Tsictik'a'tsame was the son of Ocate (the sun). He always dressed in a grotesque manner to amuse the people. When he announced his intention of going to search for a girl, all the people at Ako laughed and made fun of him; they said he didn't have a chance. Nevertheless, he left early one morning. He arrived at Wenimats<sup>1</sup> about noon. He carried a rattle. Walking about the village, he passed the house of the chief of the K'a-'tsina, Kimac<sup>o</sup>. (This chief appears in the story of the fight, or Guititanic.) Kimaco had a daughter, Ga'caiinako (white woman). The daughter was amused by the antics of Tsictik'a'tsame, who pleased her very much, so she asked

<sup>55</sup> All of the mythical women were called k'o-'teinak'o. This term has been translated often as "yellow woman," but it is a generic term applied to any or all women of the mythical era.

her father if she could follow him to his home. Kimaco gave his consent. So the daughter followed him and imitated him. They went about the village; everyone was pleased.

Kimac° liked Tsictik'a'tsame and asked him to come to his home. So he came to the house of the chief. Kimac° invited him to be seated and offered him a smoke. "Where do you live, son?" the chief asked Tsictik'a'tsame. "At A'ko—at Tsicti'a'tsame," replied he. Then Kimac° asked him if he wanted his daughter. "Do you want her to-day?" he asked. "No," Tsictik'a'tsame answered, "I am going to stay here four days before I return." He wanted to prove himself worthy before he took the girl home.

On the first day Tsictik'a'tsame went hunting to the north. He killed a big buck deer, which he brought back and gave to the girl's father. The next day he went west. He killed an antelope, which he gave to the chief. The following day he hunted in the south, where he killed a mountain sheep (K'acKu). On the fourth day he hunted in the east; he killed a bison (Mocaitc) which he returned to Kimac°. Then he asked the girl's father if he were satisfied. The chief replied that he was. "Well, I have won her," said Tsictik'a'tsame, "I shall take her home to-morrow."

On the morning of their departure the people gave the girl some spruce boughs. Tsictik'a'tsame and Gacaiinako danced in the plaza. Then they started homeward. The people at Ako were watching for the return of Tsictik'a'tsame, intending to ridicule him for his failure. But when they saw him returning with the chief's daughter they all felt "cheap." Tsictik'a'tsame was very proud. He decided to have a dance in the village of Ako. So he and his wife went up on top of the rock and danced in the plaza. Tsictik'a'tsame belonged to the Tansy Mustard (I'sa) clan, so he stopped at the house of one of the families of this clan, where he and his wife were served with food. In the evening they went to their home, west of the mesa. The Akomætc (Acoma people) told Tsictik'a'tsame that he was welcome and invited him to come with his wife to the village to dance whenever he felt like it.

Tsictik'a'tsame and Gacaiinako dance in the K'aiya during the winter solstice (and at Christmas, if they decide to have it). Sometimes, at no particular time, Tsictik'a'tsame and his wife come up to the village to dance. The part of Tsictik'a'tsame is then taken by one of the war chiefs. The part of Gacaiinako is taken always by a man. The dancers need not belong to the Tansy Mustard clan. (Gacaiinako is similar to K'otcininako except that she has a white face instead of a yellow one.)

## MACTCOAI IS KILLED TRYING TO RECAPTURE A GIRL

Mactcoai lived to the northwest at a place called Mat<sup>u</sup>teat. He lived with his mother. He always went out early in the morning. He went to Dautum<sup>1</sup> in the south. Gets up on top of a mountain and calls to wake up the clouds. Then he went to Kute'ana and hol-lered. Then to Kawecbima. Then he went home. Before sunrise.

Then he traveled around. He liked girls. He would catch them. He had a mackute (this is a small cylinder made of reeds. It is rolled on the ground in a game). He would meet a girl. He would tell her she could have the mackute if she could catch it when he rolled it to her. When she would try to catch it she would get caught inside it and disappear. Then Mactcoai would pick it up and take it home. When he got home he would take the girl out. He used to catch girls that way.

Once he took a girl home. He caught her at Go'mi (a spring near Acoma). He had a big house at his home where he kept the girls he caught. Had about fifty girls in there. He fed them deer meat. This girl he brought home he got tired of her. He didn't want her any more. He told her, "I guess I send you home to see your mother." He told her in the afternoon. He told her she could take some pretty birds home with her. (There was a cliff, a steep mesa on the east side. There were parrots lived there.) The girl went down to the water hole. A spider lived there. "Guatzi!" (Hello!) "Dawai!" (the reply to guatzi) "Are you going home?" the spider ask her. "Yes, Mactcoai told me. I am going to take a bird along." The spider said "No, don't believe it. He going to kill you. But you keep your eyes open. I'll be there to help you. I'll hold you up. (Mactcoai would take the girl to the cliff to get the parrot. He would hold her by the foot while she reached down to get the bird out of its nest. When she was stretched down, Mactcoai would let go her leg and she would fall down the cliff and kill herself.) I'll take you home." "All right." The girl went home.

The next morning Mactcoai said "Come out. I'll send you home." He took her down to the cliff. The girl saw the birds. "I'll hold your foot." The girl hung down—Mactcoai was holding her by the ankle—to get a parrot. Mactcoai let go and the girl dropped. But she caught a parrot when she fell. She fell slow, slow. Mactcoai went back. He thought the girl died. The spider called to the girl. "We must run fast to escape Mactcoai." Mactcoai went down to see if she was dead. When he got down he saw her tracks where she ran away. He tried to catch her. The spider knew Mactcoai was coming. She told the girl to run fast. The girl was tired. She cried. At Gaca lived four K'otcin'nako (women in myths are called k'otcin'nako). Spider said "Let's stop there." So they stopped there. There was a big hole in the ground with a ladder—"just like



estufa." The spider told the girl to tell the women she was running away and to ask them to help her. "They are smart," the spider said. The girl told them, "Can you help me? Mactcoai is coming after me. Can you help me something to save my life?" The women told the girl to go in another room. "When we have killed him, you can come out," they said. "All right!"

Mactcoai was coming. He came on top and hollered, "Is she inside? Tell her to come up!" "No, she won't come up. You come down." So Mactcoai went down the ladder. "Where is she?" The kotchinnakos took Mactcoai in a side room. There were four big potteries (pottery jars, or bowls) in there, one north, one west, one south, and one east. They told Mactcoai to holler in each one of those bowls, and if he could, he could have the girl. So Mactcoai began to holler into the bowls. First he holler in the north bowl. Then he holler in the west bowl. His voice get weaker. Then he holler in the south bowl. His voice weak now. Then he holler in the east bowl. He died in the east bowl: his lungs came out. They tied them up in the bowl. Then the kotchinnakos called the girl out. She saw Mactcoai. The women said, "Let's pick him up and throw him out on top." Mactcoai always dressed good. Looked nice.

"Where is your home?" "At Gomi." "Well, you can go home now." The girl got home. Her mother and father saw her coming. They cry 'cause she been lost long time. She told all about what's happened.

Mactcoai lay there four days. He turn black. The shiwan-na (cloud men) missed him. "I guess someone they kill him. He like the girls. We get tired laying down. No one tells us to get up to make the clouds." Those shiwan-na had a meeting. To decide what to do. Try decide to hunt for him. "To-morrow morning we hunt for him." "All right." Next morning the clouds came from west, south, east, north. Rained like dickens, all whole world. Finally they find Mactcoai. He all black. The shiwan-na said, "Here he is. He's got no heart any more." They look around a while. They find the house where the kotchinnakos lived. "I guess they got that heart in there, those kotchinnakos." So they come up with clouds and lightning. It lightning and it scare those kotchinnakos. They throw the pottery out with the heart in it. The shiwan-na pick up that heart and the body. They took him to Kaweedima. They put the heart back. Mactcoai all black. He cry; he don't look like he was. "Can you fix me up so I be nice looking fellow?" So the shiwan-na took snow balls and made white stripes. "That's more better now." Then they make earrings for him. They took two lizards (meyu) and made him earrings (he had had turquoise earrings before). Then they gave him a headdress of turkey feathers, and gave him his mackute and stick back. Then they sent him home. Mactcoai's



mother did not know him. "That's me. I'm Mactcoai. They kill me. I lay there four days. Turn black." "Well, that's your fault," his mother say. "Well, mother, I guess I turn loose these girls." He turn them loose. "I guess you still remember where I pick you up," he told those girls, "I guess you can find your way home. I won't keep you any longer." Da hama tcaite.

#### KASEWAT RESCUES HIS WIFE FROM FLINT BIRD

In the old days, when the Akomeetc (people of Ako) were living at Akohaitit<sup>a</sup> (east point of Ako, at the foot of the mesa), there was a war chief who had a daughter. She did not care anything about men. She would never speak to them, and she wouldn't let them try to marry her. But there was a man named Kasewat who was a great hunter and a great warrior. He married the war chief's daughter and took her to his home at K'atsim<sup>o</sup> (the Enchanted Mesa). Kasewat wasn't a very good-looking fellow, but he was very powerful and had all kinds of weapons. He was the best hunter in the whole pueblo. He had killed some giants (cko:yo) that used to roam around the country. The mother of K'asewat was very fond of his wife and used to be very nice to her.

One day the war chief ordered a rabbit hunt. Everyone in the pueblo was going. Kasewat was getting ready. The night before the hunt the caiyaik (the medicine men of the hunt) got their medicines ready and danced and sang the hunting song.

Kasewat's wife was going hunting, too. She was so eager to go she prepared everything in advance. Kasewat's mother wanted to go too, so she could be near the girl (Kasewat's wife), but Kasewat wouldn't let her go. When they started out Kasewat asked his wife if she were going with him, but she said that she would go alone.

The hunters set out from the village east of Akō. They were going to go in two groups; one would go one way and the other another, then they would come together in a great circle, driving the rabbits toward the center. The war chief saw Kasewat and asked him if his wife was along. Kasewat told him that she was with some other people.

Kasewat's wife went along with some other people, but she strayed away from them. When she was alone, away from the other people, Flint Bird (Hictian' koasüt) swooped down from the sky and stopped right by the girl.<sup>65</sup> He had been watching her from a door in the sky. He used to do that. He would watch through his door in the sky and when he saw a good-looking girl he would fly down and get her

<sup>65</sup> This Flint Bird seems to be a man who wears a suit made of flint knives, a suit which makes him appear like a bird and able to fly like one. When he is home he takes this suit off and hangs it up on the wall.

and take her up above the sky to where he lived. He used to get lots of girls this way.

When the Flint Bird came up to where the girl was he said, "Where are you going, girl? Hunting? I'm going too. We can go together. Hop up on my back and I will take you fast." The girl climbed on his back. "Now, hold on tight and keep your eyes closed," Flint Bird told her. Flint Bird began to fly away. He went round and round and on up until he came to the door in the sky. He flew in and went out of sight.

Kasewat heard the whirring of wings and looked up just in time to see his wife disappear. The war chief was very sad and went home. There was little hunting that day. Everyone was sad. Kasewat went to his home at Katzimo. He found his mother crying. She had seen the Flint Bird carry the girl off. Then Kasewat became angry and determined to recover his wife. That evening he went to the war chief's house and told him of his decision. Then he returned to his home.

The next day he told his mother that he was going to prepare for four days to attack the Flint Bird. He went out in the mountains and got herbs for the emetics. He ran and jumped each day; night and morning he vomited with the herb brew. He looked over all his weapons and got them all ready. On the fifth day he left at daylight, going toward the south, singing a war song that he might be more powerful. Everyone knew he was going. You could hear his song a long ways. He repeated it four times; the people could hear it as if he were very near. No one could understand how Kasewat was going to beat the Flint Bird and get his wife back.

It snowed very hard that day. In the afternoon Kasewat found himself far to the south of Acoma. The snow was almost knee-deep. Presently Kasewat came to a tree where an old spider had her home. "My dear son, where are you going at this time of the day?" the old Spider woman asked. "I am going to find my wife, dear mother," Kasewat replied. "Oh, is that so?" said the Spider. "Well, I want you to come into my house; there are some things I want to teach you." Kasewat, who had not seen her, but had heard only her voice, now looked all around to find her. "Where are you? I can't see you," he said. The Spider woman let herself down from the tree on her web. Kasewat said, "Oh, so it was you that spoke." Spider woman, "Yes." Kasewat, "Where do you live?" "Right down here," said the Spider, disappearing in the snow. "You put your foot down here." Kasewat stepped where he was told and it opened up, leading down into a large room underground. Kasewat descended into the room and looked about. Two or three little girl spiders were there. There was a Spider boy, too, but he was out hunting snow-birds. "You have a nice place here," Kasewat said. "Yes," replied

the Spider, "and we would like to have you stay with us for a few days; I have some advice to give you." "All right; I'll stay," Kasewat replied; "I'll take your advice." "So you are going to get your wife back?" asked the Spider woman. "Yes." "Well, you can't do that yet, as I must prepare a way for you to go." Kasewat agreed, and decided to spend a few days with the spider family.

By and by the little Spider boy returned with one snowbird that he had killed. The Spider woman cooked it and brought it to Kasewat. He ate it all. One of the little Spider girls exclaimed, "Oh, he ate it all. He didn't leave any for us." Kasewat replied, "Oh, I'll kill you some more birds; enough to last for some time." The Spider woman said, "Oh, let him eat." Kasewat then went outdoors accompanied by the Spider boy who had taken quite a fancy to him. Kasewat pulled some hairs out of his head and made a snare (wa'sa) to catch birds. With it he snared many birds which he carried back to the spider's home. He threw them down on the floor and began to pick them and cook them. He showed the spiders how to make a bed with the feathers. He spent the night with them.

The next morning, after breakfast, the Spider woman sent her boy up through the hole in the sky, climbing up on a web. The boy was to look around the home of the Flint Bird and to learn just how his flint suit was made; the Spider woman planned to make one like it for Kasewat. Before leaving his mother gave him an herb. He was to chew this when he arrived at the hole in the sky and spit toward Flint Bird's house. This would cause him to sleep soundly.

Kasewat went out into the woods and got some pine boards, which he split with his stone ax. He got pine that had lots of pitch on it. He made a rope of soapweed and made the boards into a bundle which he carried home on his back.

When the Spider boy had crawled through the hole in the sky he looked about and then started toward Flint Bird's house. When he neared the dwelling, he spit out the herb as his mother had directed, to cause the Flint Bird to sleep soundly. Upon entering the house, Spider boy saw the Flint Bird's suit hanging on a wall; Flint Bird was in the back room asleep with Kasewat's wife. Spider boy examined the flint suit carefully and returned, down the web, to his home.

When Kasewat returned he found the Spider boy there. "Oh, are you back so soon?" he asked.

The next day (second day) they hewed the pine boards to the proper sizes and designs. They boiled the pitch in a bowl and dipped the boards in it; this made them resemble flint. That afternoon they made the bird suit. On the third day Kasewat tried on the

bird suit. "Imitate a bird," the Spider woman told him. Kasewat hopped about like a bird, flapping his wings. "Now fly a little and get used to the suit, for you are to set out to-morrow morning," the Spider woman told him. Kasewat flew about for a time, circling four times in the sky. He made so much noise that the people at Ako heard him and were alarmed; they feared another visit from Flint Bird.

When he returned to the Spider woman's house she gave him many kinds of medicine. She advised him as follows: "When you get to the gate in the sky chew this herb and spit four times toward his house. Your little brother (the Spider boy) will be with you. Fly quietly and alight outside his house. He will be in the back room asleep with your wife. The coat will be hanging in the front room. Go in, take his flint suit and hang yours in its place. Put his suit on and go away quietly. Then come back, making lots of noise. He will wake up and come out to fight you, wearing your suit of boards. Then you can kill him and bring your wife home. But be careful; Flint Bird is very cunning; he may try to play some trick on you and kill you."

On the morning of the fourth day Kasewat set out. The little Spider boy sat right behind his ear, so he could talk to him. The old Spider woman told her son to take good care of Kasewat. "I hope you will have good luck and bring my daughter back safely. I will wait for you."

Off they flew, and soon arrived at the gate. "Open the gate," the Spider boy said in Kasewat's ear, "but be very quiet." When they had passed through the gate Kasewat chewed the herb and spit four times toward the house, flying slowly. The Spider boy showed Kasewat where the flint suit was. They went in and exchanged coats and went out again. Flint Bird's mother, who saw him enter, thought that it was her son, but when he went out again, she was surprised.

Soon Kasewat returned, flying with great noise. Flint Bird heard him and ran out to see what it was. "Guatzi (hello!)," Kasewat greeted the Flint Bird. "Dawai—eh!" replied Flint Bird. "Where did you get that suit, Kasewat? How did you get here? Did you come for your wife?" "Yes, I did," replied Kasewat. "Well, you can't have her," Flint Bird told him. "Then I will kill you," Kasewat declared. "All right, if you can."

As they were about to begin to fight, Flint Bird's mother came out and said, "Don't fight him. He's your brother!" "No he isn't," the Flint Bird replied, "he is Kasewat." Just then Kasewat's wife was seen peeping out from the house. Flint Bird told her to go back into the back room. Then he asked Kasewat to come in and have some supper. He told his mother to give him some supper

and let him stay outdoors. Then Flint Bird retired to the back room.

Kasewat took off his suit and went into the kitchen where Flint Bird's mother gave him food. He saved some for the Spider boy. When they had finished Kasewat put on his suit again and went outside. "He doesn't want us to stay inside," he told the Spider boy.

Back of Flint Bird's house there was a spring and a pond into which four streams flowed. They were of four colors, red, white, yellow, and blue, and when properly treated would produce hail, rain, snow, and wind, respectively. Into the red stream Flint Bird dropped some ice. Soon it began to blow and to hail with great violence. The Spider boy spun a thick web under which Kasewat crawled, the Spider boy resuming his position behind his ear. The hail could not penetrate the web, and sunrise found Kasewat and Spider boy unhurt.

When he woke up in the morning Flint Bird came to the door. "I'll bet Kasewat is dead," he said to himself. Then he called "Kasewat!" "Yes!" Kasewat replied. "Why, that son of a gun (or words to that effect), he didn't die," Flint Bird exclaimed. Then he asked, "Are you cold?" "No, I'm not," Kasewat answered. "You must be tough, you beast. Well, come in and have some breakfast, for I want you to hoe my cornfield."

Kasewat came in and ate breakfast; Flint Bird went into the back room. When Kasewat had finished, Flint Bird came out and took him out to a large cornfield. "Now, you must hoe all this field to-day. If you don't, you can't take your wife home." Kasewat looked at the field and was discouraged, for it was of great size. But the Spider boy told him to hoe here and there about the field. Meanwhile, he spun a web all around the field, save for a small patch. When the Spider boy returned he handed Kasewat the web, and told him to draw it tight. Kasewat pulled the web and it cut down all the weeds. Then Kasewat lay down to sleep, the Spider boy keeping watch. About noon the Spider boy woke Kasewat up, as Flint Bird was coming with Kasewat's wife. Kasewat jumped up and began hoeing the little patch of field that remained unfinished. As they came up Flint Bird said sarcastically, "Look at your husband, working so hard." Kasewat finished the task just as Flint Bird and his wife arrived. Kasewat spoke to his wife. This made Flint Bird very angry and he told Kasewat not to speak to her. Kasewat's wife gave her husband a lunch she had brought and she and the Flint Bird watched him eat. Flint Bird ridiculed Kasewat while he was eating, calling him a glutton and a beast.



"Since you have finished so soon," spoke the Flint Bird, "I will have you make an oven this afternoon. I want you to parch corn tomorrow." So Kasewat set about to make the oven. But Spider boy found a badger and they got her to help them. The badger began to dig and finally had a hole through the sky. Through this they dumped the earth they did not want. They built a very large oven. When it was finished, Kasewat and Spider boy went to Flint Bird's house and told him it was finished. Kasewat ate his supper and went to sleep outdoors as before. But nothing happened this night.

The next day Kasewat got ready to parch the corn. Flint Bird told him to get the wood for the oven, and that his lunch would be brought him at noon. To get enough wood for such a large oven would be a big job. But again Spider boy came to the rescue. "Just go into the woods and select the biggest logs you can find. Strip off some bark and get some chips and bring them back." Kasewat did as he was told. When he returned and untied his little bundle the chips and bark became many big logs. Then he built a fire. When it was burning brightly he went to fetch the corn to be parched. Spider boy spun a web all around the corn and when Kasewat pulled it, all the corn came to the oven.

Then Flint Bird came, bringing all his women—he had about 50 or 60. (They never had any children by the Flint Bird.) The women felt very sorry for Kasewat and among themselves they said, "Poor man, he is going to be killed; he is going to be pushed into the oven." Flint Bird came up to the oven and said, "Have you enough wood in there, Kasewat? Put more in." Kasewat, who still had his flint suit on, put more wood in the oven. "Now poke the fire a bit," Flint Bird commanded. Kasewat poked the fire, facing the oven door. Then Flint Bird pushed Kasewat into the flaming oven. All the women screamed. Then Flint Bird had all the women put the corn in and close the oven door. "Why are you crying?" Flint Bird asked harshly.

When Kasewat and the Spider boy were pushed into the oven Kasewat spit some hakani wawa (fire medicine), which he had been chewing for this purpose, into the fire. This caused the heat to become less intense. Then he crawled into a secret cave that the badger had prepared, for they had suspected some kind of treachery on Flint Bird's part. Flint Bird and his women returned home. The women were very sad, but Flint Bird was in high spirits.

The next morning, after breakfast, Flint Bird and the women returned to the oven. When they opened the oven some steam and smoke issued forth. They took some of the corn out of the oven and then Flint Bird called "Kasewat!" "Yes!" Kasewat replied. Then Flint Bird flew into a rage. "Can you come out?" "Yes." So



Kasewat crawled out of the oven. The women were dumfounded. The women began to husk the corn which they afterwards took to Flint Bird's house. Kasewat slept outside again, that night.

The next morning Flint Bird came out and said to Kasewat, "You are going to have to fight with me to-day." Then he ordered Kasewat to prepare two piles of wood. So Kasewat made two piles, one smaller than the other. They were going to set these on fire. Then each one would sit on one pile and see who could stand it longest. Kasewat knew that the Flint Bird would choose the smaller pile. So he spit some medicine on it. That noon Kasewat was not given any dinner. When Flint Bird had finished his meal he brought Kasewat's wife out to watch. As Kasewat had anticipated, Flint Bird chose the small pile. When the wood piles were burning, each one sat on one. They were wearing their flint suits. Kasewat began to sing a war song. Flint Bird repeated it. Kasewat sang another. Flint Bird repeated this, but not so lustily. The bird suit made of pitch pine that Flint Bird was wearing was beginning to burn; moreover, the medicine spat upon the woodpile by Kasewat was beginning to have its effect. Kasewat sang a war song for the third time. This time the voice of Flint Bird was very feeble. At the fourth song Flint Bird died. Then Kasewat jumped off his pile and seized Flint Bird's mother and threw her on the fire. Kasewat's wife came forward and embraced her husband.

Then Kasewat gathered all the women together. He divided among them the possessions of Flint Bird—all the buckskins, mantas, beads, etc. They descended to the earth in a basket woven by Spider boy. They passed one day and one night at the home of the old Spider woman, who was very glad to see them. Most of the stolen women belonged to the northern pueblos, so they set out for their homes. Kasewat and his wife returned to Ako. All the people were very glad to see the couple again.

#### KASEWAT RESCUES HIS WIFE FROM A GIANTESS

Sometime after her adventure with Flint Bird, Kasewat's wife went out to a spring to get some water. While she was there a great giantess came up, put the girl in her basket, and carried her off. There used to be some giants in the old days who roamed the country about Acoma. They carried great baskets on their shoulders. When a giant (eko'yo) found a person out alone he would pick him up and put him in his basket. When the giant got home he would cook the person and eat him.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Some miles south of Acoma, according to native report, there are some great bones, larger, according to description, than those of any living mammal in America. These bones are said to be those of one of the former giants of the region. I looked for these bones one afternoon but was unable to find them.

Kasewat was out hunting on the day that his wife was carried off, but he did not have any luck. He could not kill anything,<sup>58</sup> so he went home. When he got home his mother told him that a ckoryo (giant) had carried his wife off; she had not seen the giant, but she had seen her tracks at the spring, and had found the girl's water jar. Kasewat decided to follow the giantess and rescue his wife. So he set out, but he lost the giant's trail during a storm that night, so he came home and decided to try another plan.

He watched for the giantess, and when she came back around A'ko (Acoma), he went out near where she was, alone, so she could catch him. The great giant saw him, caught him, and put him in her basket which she carried on her back. Then she started to go home. She went out west, and took him to the highest peak of the Zuñi Mountains.

When she got home she threw Kasewat into a large room where there were a lot of other people that she had caught. She was keeping them until they got fat enough to kill. Kasewat looked out into the room where the giantess lived. He saw some of her children there, playing. They were as large as a full-grown man, but they were very young; they were not old enough to walk yet. Kasewat could see the giantess. She was working round a fire. Kasewat called out to her, "What are you doing, mother (naiya)?" The giantess said, "I am making a fire to cook someone." "Who are you going to cook?" "Oh, you'll find out," the giantess replied.

Pretty soon the giantess took Kasewat out of the room. She took him to her room. She took off all his clothes and started to wash him. The women in the other room peeped out to look at him. The giantess had put some stones into the fire to heat. She was going to cut Kasewat open, take his insides out, then she would put those hot stones inside him, and they would cook him. That is the way she cooked them. While the giantess was washing Kasewat, he got to talking to her. He remarked about the heat. It was hot in there by the fire. He told the giantess that she looked hot; that she was all sweaty. He told her she had better get some fresh air. So the giantess went over to a window (or opening in the wall) and stuck her head out to get some air. "Lean out more," Kasewat told her. So she leaned way out; she was stooping over like. Then Kasewat took up one of the hot stones from the fire and threw it at her. She fell out of the window and fell down a cliff and died. Then Kasewat grabbed her children and threw them in the oven and roasted them. Then he went to the room where all the people were. He let them out so they could go home. He got together all of the belongings of the giantess—her beads, buckskins, mantas, etc.—and

<sup>58</sup> The conduct of a wife is felt to affect the husband while hunting, in many instances. Particularly if she is unfaithful will the husband have bad luck.

divided them among the people. Then they set out for home. Kasewat took his wife home. Da hama taite. (This is the way it happened.)

#### THE ADVENTURES OF SAN DIEGO

San Diego <sup>59</sup> lived east of Acoma on a mesa with his mother. She was very old. One day San Diego took a trip to the south on horseback. He had lots of horses. He took the best horse he had, a mare, kind o' red.<sup>60</sup> He went down south. At about sundown he reached a little Mexican town. He stopped at a Mexican's house a mile north of the town. There were just a man and his wife. They didn't have any children. They were very poor. They just had one rooster; that's all. They just had one bed. The old Mexican in the door saw San Diego ride up and said, "Hello, son." "Hello, father; can I sleep here to-night?" "Sure, get off your horse. I'll take the saddle off and put hobbles on the horse and put him in the pasture."

The old woman gave San Diego his supper. "You eat first, and we eat last," she said. "All right." After he got through eating the woman said, "You better go to bed. You're tired. You been riding all around all day horseback." "All right." So the old man told his wife, "Let him have the bed. We can make a bed for us with your dress and my coat. Let him have what we got." "All right."

In the next room they talked about breakfast. "What we going to have?" "Well, I guess we kill our rooster." And then he took their dollar (they had only one dollar) and went to the store and bought some chili, flour, and lard. The old woman kill that rooster that evening. Boil him up. The old man came back from the store. They made their bed with the woman's dress and the man's coat. San Diego, he's not sleep t'all; he's just waiting till they get to sleep, those people. San Diego, he's very glad those people treat him good, and he's going to pray to God to give those people sheeps, horse, pigs, chickens, house—good house—mans to take care of sheeps, chickens, pigs. San Diego, he get up way in middle of night and pray for all those things. And that night everything finished: On the north side made corral for sheep; on the west side a corral for cows; on the south side a corral for horses; on the east side a corral for pigs and chickens. There were two girls to work in the kitchen, six men to take care sheeps and horses. House was finished. Had 12 rooms, all furnished nice; nice bed. 'Longside was table with best man's clothes; woman's clothes, too. San Diego had same bed, same blankets what he had; he never change it. 'Bout 4 'clock in

<sup>59</sup> San Diego was said to be a k'atsina.

<sup>60</sup> This tale is recorded almost verbatim.

morning, lots roosters, they're hollering, and cows, sheeps. That man he wake up and hear them hollering. He keep his eyes open for while. Then he grab his bed. "What kind mattress is this we got?" His wife said "Wake up!" "Look, we're sleeping on bed!" "We haven't got any bed." "I know it, but look!" Then they heard the roosters hollering. "We killed our rooster last night, but he still hollering." "Well, I guess our boy he's glad we treat him right. Let's wait until the morning." They try to sleep, but they keep on talking, talking. They very glad.

In the morning the man get up and look around the house. There was lots of everything. He walk around. San Diego, he sleep same way; same blankets, same mattress. "Look at our boy. He's got same bed. It must be God's son. I guess; yes."

Pretty soon the two cooks get up in kitchen and make fire in the stove. They heard them. The woman wanted to go in and see. "No," said the man, "let's wait. They going come out, I know, and tell us to come to breakfast. Let's go back to bed." So they went back to bed.

The two cooks came out to wake up man and his wife. "Good morning, father." "Good morning." "Well, you better get up—wash, and put your clothes on—for breakfast." So they got up. Then the old man woke up San Diego. "You better get up and wash. We going to have breakfast pretty soon." They put on their new clothes. Old man wanted to give San Diego a new suit, but he don't like to wear new suits. He won't put on. So old woman she cry. San Diego said, "Don't cry, mother. It's all right. That's the way I like it."

After finished eating, the old man told his man to take the sheep out and make camp. Same for horses and cows. Other man he told to feed the pigs, chickens.

The old man got a letter from a town on south side from king who lived there. He sent a letter to every house. He said he was going to have a bullfight. Anyone if he wants to can fight him. If he win he can marry the king's daughter—any one of them. (He's got eight.) It was going to be next day. San Diego said, "Well, let's go down. I'd like to see how they going to do down there." "All right, we'll go down next morning." San Diego said, "Well, I'll look for my horse." He found the horse. San Diego, he carry two little (loaves of) bread to feed the horse. The horse, he talk. "Guatzi, Kaiotsa!"<sup>61</sup> the horse told him. San Diego said, "Well, we going to king's house to-morrow morning. We going to fight that steer." "All right," the horse said, "I'll be walking kind crippled in the morning. The people, they'll think they going to kill us, but you

<sup>61</sup> Guatzi is the Keresan equivalent of "Hello." Kaiotsa is a proper name; I do not know what it signifies.

kill him, that steer." Then the horse said, "Down there what place we stop that Mexican got nice saddle and blankets. But don't take them. We'll take our own stuff. Don't change your clothes, either."

In the morning they get up and get ready to go to king's house. The two cooks fix the lunch. The man and wife were going in a buggy. San Diego said, "Well, I guess I get my horse." The horse said, "Good morning!" That horse, his name's "Feather." He walking crippled like. "When we get down there, your father, he's going to tell you to take the big horse he's going to have in his buggy, but don't you do it. Take me. The corral has gate on south side. The steer be standing on west side. I'm going around to east side, then north, then west. Then the steer chase us. I'm going to run around the corral four times."

San Diego brought his horse to the house. Old man said, "You better get another horse. Your horse kind crippled." "No; this my own horse. I'm not going to change." "Well, take the new saddle." "No." "Well, take the new blankets." "No." The old woman, she cry. "Don't cry, mother. This way I like it." Old man went in front. San Diego came behind. They got down to king's house. They lots peoples there, lots peoples. A Mexican was trying to kill the steer, but he got killed. And he killed his horse, too, that steer. In northeast corner of corral was a hole. When anybody got killed, they throw them in there. They throw the Mexican and his horse in the hole. San Diego got mad. The king kill the mans there every year. The king said, "Well, anybody going to try to kill this steer?" Nobody say anything. Then San Diego, "Well, father and mother, I guess I go in, fight that steer, kill him." "Well, you better take my horse. Your horse kind crippled. I don't want you to get killed right here." "No; I want to take this, my own horse. I know him." The mother cried. "Don't cry, mother. It's all right. I'm mad now. The king kill the peoples. I'm going to make him stop."

He went in and went around. Talked to the king, "Guatzi, rey (hello, king)!" He asked the king what he would win if he killed the steer. "You not going to win any money. You can win my daughter. Don't you see my daughter up on the porch? You can pick out one you like best." "All right." King said, "Well, I tell the people if they want to bet they can." Band was playing first before goes in it. After finished those band, he opened the gate and went in. Look at that man. "I bet he's going to get killed right away. His horse, he's crippled, and he's so small." "No," others said, "he's not going get killed!" And they talk that way and everybody hollering. San Diego went in and rode around the corral and went in front of the bull. He chase him. (The bull chased San Diego.) San Diego rode around the corral four times. Fifth time



the horse he turn around quick, right behind the bull. San Diego, he grab that bull by tail and turn him up on his head so his horns stuck in the ground and broke his neck. Those people hollering. Men throw hats. Women waving shawls. Hollering, "This is best man fighting steer!" The mules dragged the bull to the hole and threw him in.

King said, "Well, you win. Let's go upstairs. Pick out my daughter, which way you like." They went upstairs. The girls sitting 'round the room. San Diego picked out the center one. "This is the one; I pick him up."<sup>62</sup> The girl jump up, grab his neck. "This be my husband!" King said, "Well, what your name?" "My name's San Diego." "Well, you can't sleep with your wife to-night. We going to have bronco busting to-morrow. If you can ride all the hundred horses before sundown, you can sleep with my daughter." San Diego said, "Well, I guess I'll tell my father and mother to go home. I'll stay here." "All right, you go tell them and come back here."

San Diego was ready to eat his supper. After supper he told king, "Well, I go put my horse away somewhere." "All right" (king), "here's a key. Take your horse and water and feed him and put him in the barn. When you come back I give you a room to sleep in." San Diego took his horse to a spring on south side king's house. The spider she knows he was coming to water his horse, so she went to the spring. When San Diego came Spider said, "Good evening, San Diego." "Where are you?" "Right here in the grass. Don't step on me! Can you tie your horse to that post and come with me to my house? I want to talk to you a little while." "All right." And he tied his horse to the post. They went to the south to the spider's home. There was a little hole in the ground. Spider went in. San Diego stopped. "Well, I can't go in it." "No; you just put one foot on the hole, and it will be wide." San Diego stepped there, and it got wide. There was a ladder there, and San Diego went down inside. Spider had lots young ones inside. They playing. Spider told them to be quiet as San Diego was visiting.

"Well, San Diego, you be ready to-morrow to bust those broncos." "Yes." "Well, I'll help you along. Here is some medicine. You chew it up good. Go to-night to the corral and tell the two big ones that you're going to put a rope on them in the morning. Then spit a little medicine on the others."

He took his horse and opened the corral. "Guatzi, caballo!" (hello, horse!) They all runnin' around. "Hello, San Diego. You coming in here?" He called up the two big ones. "To-morrow morning you be rough. Buck round four times. Then go north

<sup>62</sup> This informant used the phrase "pick him up" as equivalent to "choose." For example, in referring to some dish on a menu he said, "This one here; I pick him up."



about two miles. Go round mesa. Come back." (Then San Diego would take off the saddles, crawl under the horses' bellies and show the king how tame they were.) "Now rest of you fellows don't buck. I'm not going to use rope; just whip. I'm going to ride around mesa." Then he spit the medicine (wawa) around. "Good night, horses." "Good night, San Diego."

San Diego went back to the king's house. "Where you been? Been gone long while." "Well, Mexican talk to me. He good friend of mine. Talk long while." "Well, let's go to bed. I'll show you your room." Went upstairs. King locked his daughter in her room and San Diego in a room right near. The girl opened the window and jumped out and knocked at San Diego's window. He got up and let her in, and they slept together there that night. Have a good time.

Early in the morning she got up and went back to her room. King came down and let them out. Told them to wash and get ready to eat breakfast. They ate breakfast. King said, "Let's go. I'll show you the place. I guess you know." "Yes; I put my horse in last night." King said, "Here's a rope to use." But San Diego's horse had told him not to use it 'cause there was a snake in the rope to make the horses wild. "No; I use my own rope." "Well, here is a saddle you can take," the king said. "No; I take my own saddle." "Well, here are some blankets you can use." "No; I use my own blankets." "Well, use your own way, then," the king said.

Lots people came to watch. Some said, "He's going to get killed sure." "No; he's all right!" San Diego opened the corral. Horses ran around wild. He roped one of the big ones. He drag (San Diego) around, buck, try to bite, kick. People hollering. Pretty soon San Diego told the horse to stop. He put on the bridle and saddle. Got on. Bucked 'round four times, then ran to the north like hell. He came back. Took saddle off and bridle. Crawled under belly. "King, look here. He not wild." King got mad. "Sure going to kill him sometime," he think to himself. Then he roped the other big horse. He did like first one. Went same place. Came back, took saddle off and crawled under his belly. "Look here, king. He not wild." King sure mad. San Diego pick up his quirt and went in corral, jumped on a horse, guided him with whip. Went to mesa and come back. He just keep on that way. Finished before sun goes down. Last one he came to king. "All right, thank you." Then he said to himself, "Sure damn I'm going to kill him to-morrow."<sup>63</sup> King said, "Well, let's go back." They went back and washed for supper.

<sup>63</sup> "Sure damn" was a favorite expression of this informant.

San Diego said, "Well, I guess I'll water my horse; I haven't watered him all day." "All right, but don't stop at the Mexican house. You're tired. To-morrow you got to go up on the mountain to haul timber. You're going to have 100 wild oxen. If you finish before sundown you can sleep with my daughter."

San Diego went to water his horse. He tied his horse and went to the Spider's house. He had the key that locked the oxen up. He went into the Spider's house. "Guatzi, k'amack"<sup>u</sup> (Good evening, Spider)." "Good evening, San Diego. What does the king want now?" "I got to go up on the mountain and get timbers with wild oxen." "All right, I'll go up to-night and tell the woodpeckers to cut the timbers. You want 100?" "Yes." "Here's some medicine to put on. Yoke two and send them up early in the morning. Then the others. My spiders (and others) will go up on top of corral gate and jump down on each pair oxen when they come out. I'll be up to-night and get woodpeckers and cut logs and get Gaiyac hatetsi (Squirrel man) to tie them on. If in the morning when you go up, you meet the first two coming back, don't go up, but come back with them." (The Spider was going to have the woodpeckers cut the timber, a log. Then Squirrel man was going to tie one end of the log to the yoke. The oxen would then draw the log down the hill.)

San Diego went out to corral and told oxen to be ready to go up in the morning to get logs. "First ones I rope, you try to hook me. When I tell you stop, you stop." He told same to his partner (i. e., the other ox of the team). "Now rest of you fellow, I'm not going to use strap on you. Be gentle." Oxen said, "All right." "Good night." San Diego went back to the king's house. The king said, "Where have you been? You been gone long time." San Diego said, "I been down to that Mexican's house." "Well, let's go to bed," the king said. So he locked his daughter in her room and put San Diego in his. That night again the girl she climb out of her window and go into San Diego's room, and they slept together again. The king's daughter said, "My father try to kill you; he kills fellows all time. But I help you; I like you." "All right." "Try your best to-morrow." The girl went back to her room in the morning.

In the morning the king came and let San Diego out. They washed and had breakfast. "Well, let's go now," the king said. The king offered San Diego the rope with the snake in it again. "No; I use my own rope," San Diego said. Then he went down to the corral to get the yokes and the straps. When they got to the corral the wild oxen were jumping around. He caught the two tame ones and yoked them up and sent them up on the mountain. Then he caught the others and yoked them and sent them up too. He followed the

last team up. When he got half way up, he met the first team coming down with a log. The Spider woman was coming too. "Go back now," the Spider woman told San Diego, "and ask the king where to put the timbers. Then put the oxen back." "All right."

When San Diego got back down he asked the king where to put those timbers. "What, you back already?" The king told San Diego where to put the timbers. All the oxen came back down with timbers and San Diego he pile 'em up and put the oxen away. He finished before sundown. "All right, king, I'm finished." "Thank you," the king said. He very mad. Then they went in to supper.

The king said after supper, "Well, last time for you to-morrow. You got to herd rabbits to-morrow, 100 rabbits. If you lose any I cut your head off. If you bring back all of them you can sleep with my daughter." San Diego said, "Well, I guess I go water my horse." Then he went to the spider's house. "What does the king want now?" the spider asked. "He wants me to herd rabbits to-morrow, and he going to cut off my head if I lose any." The spider said she would help. She got a little whistle and gave it to San Diego. "Take this whistle. Go to where rabbits are and tell them you're going to use this whistle, and when they hear it to come around." San Diego took the whistle. "The king will try to buy rabbits," the spider told him. "He will come around with paint on him so you won't know him. He will ask you to sell him some rabbits, but don't you do it. Then he will offer you any amount of money. Then you tell him that if he wants one you will sell him one if he will put his pants down. I bet the king will do it."

So San Diego went back. He went to where the rabbits were. "Good evening, rabbits." "Good evening, San Diego." He told them what he going to do to-morrow. He showed them the whistle and blew it, just like rabbits. "Better hide," San Diego told the rabbits, or the king will kill you, but when I blow this whistle, you come back." "All right." Then San Diego went back.

"Where have you been?" the king asked. "Down to those Mexicans' house." Then the king took San Diego to his room and lock him up. The daughter slipped out of her room that night and went into San Diego's room and slept with him again that night. Next morning she went back to her room. Then the king came and got San Diego. They went down to breakfast. They put up a lunch for San Diego to take with him. Then San Diego took the rabbits out. He counted them. There were 100. He took them out and went down south side canyon. The rabbits were running around, eating. San Diego blew his whistle. The rabbits came back. "What do you want?" they asked. San Diego said, "I'm going to lie under that tree. If the king comes, you go hide. When he goes I'll whistle, and you come back." "All right." San Diego went

over and sat in the shade, and then he lay down. About 11 o'clock the king came. "Hello, boy," he said. "Hello." "What are you doing?" "Herding rabbits." "Can you give me one?" "No." "Why not?" "I would get my head cut off if I lost one," San Diego said. The king tried to buy one, but San Diego he won't sell. "I give you lots o' money—anything—for one of those rabbits," said the king. "All right," San Diego said. "All right, now let's get the rabbit." But they hunt all over, and they can't find any; they all hid. They hunt long time. 'Bout 2 'clock it's hot. King he got tired. He thought that San Diego would lose anyway, 'cause they can't find those rabbits, so he went home. San Diego ate his dinner. About 4 'clock he went down. He blew his whistle, and all the rabbits they come runnin'; all the hundred.

"Are you all here?" "Yes," the rabbits say, "you count up; we go by one at a time." So all the rabbits went by San Diego, and he count them. They were 100, all there. Then they went back home. The king was watching San Diego. When they got back the king opened the door of the pen and counted the rabbits as they went in. They were all there. "All right," said the king, "you can sleep with my daughter to-night and marry her to-morrow morning." "All right." So they went in and washed for supper. After supper, San Diego went out to water his horse. "All right," the king said, "but come right back, don't stop at that Mexican's house." San Diego went out to where his horse was. "To-morrow morning you going to get married, ain't it?" the horse asked San Diego. "After you marry, but before 11 o'clock, you ask the king for his knife. Sharpen it up good, and cut my throat." "Why?" "'Cause you're going to get married." He told San Diego to knock him down and mark a cross on his throat, then cut his throat open. He was to say, "Go on, my horse, go to heaven." The horse said, "First, I'll blow out my blood, and lots horses will come out. I'll blow out four times. The first time will be gentle horses; the second time gentle horses; the third time, gentle; the fourth time, wild horses. When I finish, you pick out the horse you like best and that will be me." Then San Diego went back. "Where have you been?" the king asked. "Down to the Mexican's house." The king gave San Diego the key to his daughter's room. The girl said, "We going to marry to-morrow." San Diego said, "Yes; but I going to kill my horse." "Why?" "Well, I going get married and I going help my father get other horses." "How?" "I show you."

Early in the morning the king came down and washed for breakfast. The king gave San Diego a suit, 'cause he going to be the king's son-in-law. Then he gave a suit to the girl, too. They going to be married in the church. The king told the people to come at 12 o'clock for dinner. There was to be a dance that night. San Diego

asked the king for his best knife—"Your own knife. I'm going to kill my horse." "Why?" "To help you. Get different colors horses." "How?" "I show you." Then San Diego went out and got his horse, and watered him. He took him outside the king's house and tie up one foot. He made a cross on his neck. Then he cut quick. The blood came out (in spurts). The first horses had four "trees" in their eyes.<sup>64</sup> The next had three, the next two, and the next one. San Diego chose a kind of a white and blue horse, same size as his old one. "I'm going to take this one home." The king thanked him for all the horses. San Diego said, "I'm going to go home to-morrow." "Where do you live?" "Long ways. But we come back. My mother she's very old, and I want to see her." The king said, "I'll give you 50 men to guard you and my daughter." "All right."

That night they had a big dinner. That night they had a big dance. Next morning the king woke up. He went down and washed for breakfast. "Well, I get my horse and go home." The king said, "Well, I'll tell the soldiers to get you four horses and some lunch." When San Diego went out to get his horse he found him crying. San Diego asked him why he was crying. "'Cause we going home. Your mother is dying right now. Better hurry up. We going to a hill. When we're halfway up, I'll fly up the rest of the way. Be sure and keep your eyes closed, and tell your wife to keep her eyes closed. When we get home I'll tell you."

So San Diego told the king that he dreamed his mother was dying and he had to hurry. So the king sent the soldiers out, 50 of them, 25 on each side. San Diego sat in his saddle, and his wife sat behind him. San Diego put two cpaiaik' <sup>65</sup> on his right temple. They went out to the west. Pretty soon they came to a hill. They went up. A twister came and blew the horse up. The two feathers (the cpaiaik') helped lift them up. The soldiers saw the horse and San Diego and his wife go up in the air. They ran back to the king and told him that his son and daughter were lost. "All right," the king said, "he be back."

Pretty soon they got home. San Diego opened his eyes. He was home. He went in his house. He find his mother dead in bed. San Diego cried, but he couldn't help her. So they buried her. He stayed there three days. Then he said to his wife, "Well, I take you back your home now. I can't keep you here 'cause I travel over

<sup>64</sup> If you look into a horse's eye, you see, sometimes, some little objects that look like "trees," or little fungous growths. Sometimes there is one, sometimes two, three, or four. Some Acoma Indians believe that these little "trees" are indices of a horse's disposition. If he has one "tree" he is a mean horse, very mean. If he has more than one he isn't mean. The narrator of this story had some months before explained this to me.

<sup>65</sup> A cpaiaik' is a small, white, downy eagle feather that is often worn in the hair during ceremonies. Masewi, the elder twin war god, was very fond of these feathers.



whole world. I've got to go to old Acoma September 2d." <sup>66</sup> The girl cry. "Don't cry. I see you once in while, but I can't carry you with me." So they went back to the girl's home. They shut their eyes again when the horse went up in the air. They came down near the king's house. The king and his daughters came out. "King, I brought your daughter. I can't keep her, 'cause I travel all over whole world, to Acoma and heaven, but I visit you again." "All right."

Then San Diego left and went up to old Acoma. It was September 1st (the day before the fiesta dance). He went inside the church. The next day he dance around in the plaza on his horse. In evening he went back inside the church. Went back to heaven. On his way he met God (Iyos, Dios). God said, "Well, San Diego, this is last time for you to travel on earth. You going stay here with me." "All right."

Da hama tcaite.

### THREE SNAKE TALES FROM ACOMITA

#### I

There were some Mexicans and Indians working on the section near McCartys. One day while working near the track a Mexican found a snake's nest. There were some little snakes and one or two eggs in it. The Mexican destroyed the nest, killing the little snakes and crushing the eggs. He did this in spite of the warnings of the Indians.

That evening when the men were sitting around after supper a snake was seen approaching. (It was a "kind of dark snake with red on his sides.") The snake came right into the camp. It would approach each man and, raising his head high from the ground, would examine each one very carefully. He continued this until he came to the man who had destroyed the nest. When the snake had found the guilty one he crawled swiftly up the Mexican's body and wrapped himself firmly around his throat. The Mexican screamed for help and tried to free himself, but the snake held on, tightening his grip. At last the Mexican dropped, strangled to death. The snake uncoiled himself and slid away.

(This from an eyewitness.)

#### II

Some men were seeking shelter from a hailstorm under some large cottonwood trees. The clouds were low and the wind was strong. Rain and hail were falling in torrents. While standing under the tree

<sup>66</sup> San Diego had to be at the fiesta dance at Acoma, for he appears in the plaza riding his horse. This actually occurs every few years at Acoma.



the men noticed a dark snake with red on his sides climbing up one of the cottonwood trees. He was climbing very swiftly. Soon he reached the top of the tree. But he did not stop; he went on, out into the air. He was seen for some time traveling swiftly through the air and clouds, until he finally disappeared.

### III

Some boys were herding cattle. One of the boys noticed that a cow trampled on a snake's nest, crushing the eggs. A few hours later the old snake came back and found her nest ruined. The snake followed the footsteps of the cow until she sought her out from the herd. When the snake had located the guilty cow she crawled down the cow's throat. Very soon the cow died. When the men cut the cow open they found that her insides had been cut all to pieces.

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# ISLETA, NEW MEXICO

By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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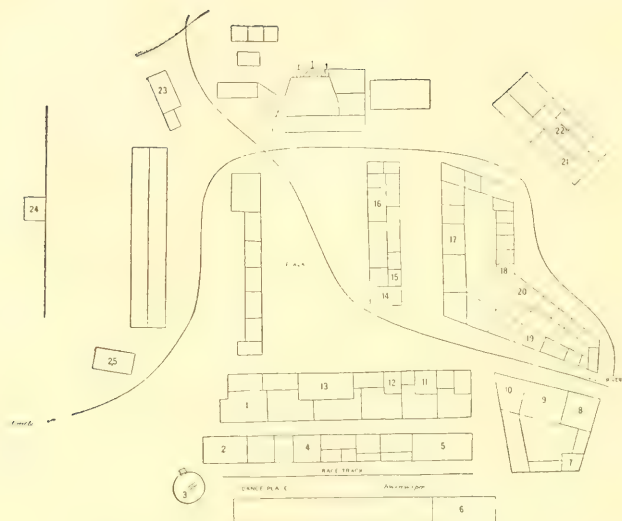
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# MAP OF HOUSES WITH CEREMONIAL CONNECTIONS

(From sketch by townsman)

1. Town chief's house. 2. Town chief's ceremonial house. 3. Black Eyes roundhouse (kiva). 4. Kum-pa's house. 5. Ceremonial house of chief of Laguna Fathers. 6. House of chief of Goose Corn group. 7. House of chief of Yellow Corn. 8. War chief's house. 9. House of chief of shure'. 10. Chakabede's house. 11. House of chief of Blue Corn. 12. Courthouse. 13. Black Eyes kiva. 14. Shure' kiva. 15. Public kiva. 16. House of chiefs of Eagle Corn group and Goose Corn group. 17. House of chief of All Colors Corn. 18. House of chief of Town Fathers. 19. House of chief of Laguna Fathers. 20. Ceremonial house of chief of Town Fathers. 21. House of Poplar and Magpie Black Corn. 22. Shure' roundhouse (kiva). 23. House of chief of White Corn. 24. House of hunt chief(?). 25. House of chief of Shichu Corn group.

## ISLETA, NEW MEXICO

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By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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### INTRODUCTION

Isleta has been a baffling place to the student of the Pueblos. Isletans are particularly secretive, and what information was obtained from them contained contradictions. The only student who ever lived in the pueblo was Charles F. Lummis, and his interest in the life of the town has expressed itself scientifically only in a collection of folk tales rendered in a more or less literary form. So that when in 1924 Esther Schiff Goldfrank undertook a study of the pueblo, and after much difficulty succeeded in securing an informant, there was matter for congratulation. Mrs. Goldfrank has published an analysis of the folk tales she and I recorded, in the *Journal of American Folklore*.

In 1925, thanks to Mrs. Goldfrank's introduction, I was able to work with her informant where he and I were not subject to Pueblo inquisitorial pursuit. It was soon apparent that our fluent informant was of a type unusual among the Pueblos. Shrewd as he could be at times, he was also exceedingly credulous. Had he not only heard, but seen, the horned serpent on his mountain? Had he not seen a living deer walk through the door of the hunt chief's house, and a medicine man fly away as an eagle to a great distance, to return within an hour to the ceremonial chamber? Thrice had he seen the padre with gold teeth resurrect from under the altar of the church. Even of Mexican or white signs he was a ready believer; he believed in his own dreams; he believed in anybody's "power" and in any gossip of magic. One day he told me about a certain townswoman who was living with "two husbands" since, thanks to the "power" she had got out of a "black book," her husband actually wanted to have her lover in their house.

That a man of this mentality should not be accurate in description at large is not surprising. And Juan Abeita would be, in fact, quite as glib about ceremonial he had not seen as about what he had seen. So that his accounts of ceremonial must be taken with reservation and



at the first opportunity checked up.<sup>1</sup> But in all his descriptions he does not depart, I think, from the pattern, i. e., he may improvise the combination of patterns, but not the patterns themselves. His very credulity is quite according to pattern. In Pueblo folk tales, and I have in mind more particularly Tewa tales, the horned serpent is seen by all, when he comes into the kiva; in the witch kiva men transform into deer and other animals to go abroad with evil intent; through evil or good magic men are able to levitate or fly.<sup>2</sup> Even the hysterical character Abeita gives to some of his accounts, notably his account of exorcism after a bear kill, is not, I incline to think, fictional. Keresan exorcism is known to have a similar exciting effect.<sup>3</sup> However, it is obvious enough that the outcome of work with such an informant by two students must vary. This fact, the emotional irresponsibility of our informant, as well as differences in our own methods of study, have led Mrs. Goldfrank and me to keep our observations in separate forms.

Among contradictions recorded by earlier observers, including myself at a past period, were statements in regard to clan organization. The Corn divisions of Isleta are not true clans, and we were misled in trying to assimilate the Isletan social organization with that familiar in other pueblos, particularly Keresan.<sup>4</sup> The following study I had the advantage of making after I had acquired some familiarity with the Tanoan-speaking peoples of the north, with the people of Jemez and the Tewa among whom clanship is of slight importance, with clanless Picuris and clanless Taos.

Whether the Isletan Corn groups are or are not clans is more than a question of description or classification; for it is concerned with the experience of a migratory clanless group with bilateral descent, but

<sup>1</sup> That opportunity I have since sought but failed to find at all fully in a woman informant whom I shall be referring to as Lucinda. Although she was corroboratory of Juan Abeita in many particulars, on ceremonial she was absolutely close-mouthed, and so consistent was she that she would never give me an Isletan personal name. Isletan names are peculiarly associated with ceremonial. Keresan names she did not hesitate to impart. Lucinda was more truly a person of "one heart," as she said of herself, and more scrupulous than almost any other Pueblo I have met. It undoubtedly pained her to hear me allude in any way to the secrets of religion. When I referred to the war spirits as living in the mountain under whose feet we were one day passing—Sandia Mountain—Lucinda began to weep. And yet the next moment, like a child, she was correcting my pronunciation of the name of Masewi and remarking that Masewi and Uyuwe were "the greatest men in the world." Lucinda was, of course, apprehensive, as well as conscientious. "I hope I won't die soon," she remarked after telling me the kind of folk tale that is told to little children. Another time she repeated what was no doubt told her when she herself was a child: "If I tell about our religion, some time when I am out in the hills a bear or some other wild animal might get me and hurt me." Another time she told of what had happened to the Hopi Indian who lay the altars in the Harvey House at Albuquerque. "In two days he began to swell up. His tongue was swollen and hanging from his mouth." And then there was Lucinda's enemy and antithesis, a woman bold to recklessness, unreliable, and unscrupulous. Fortunately, I knew enough about Isleta when I came to work with her to be able to check her up. We were friends and enemies, for we respected, even admired, each other, and our duel of wits is a high spot in my Pueblo experience. Out of it came some valuable information.

<sup>2</sup> Parsons, 17: 20-1, 26, 37, 90. A Jemez acquaintance also told me he had seen the horned serpent in his spring. (Parsons, 16: 125.)

<sup>3</sup> Compare Parsons, 8: 121, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Parsons, 9: 154. Analysis of these clan lists reveals quite plainly the specific fallacy of informants who use the term for people, t'ainin, indiscriminately for clan, society, animal spirit.

if anything favoring the patrilineal, in contact with groups with matrilineal clans. Here is an interesting case of cultural conflict to which we should be alert. According to my interpretation the Tanoan migrants took over the matrilineal theory of their hosts or neighbors, Keresan, perhaps Hopi, applying it to their ceremonial groups which continued to be primarily ceremonial, unconcerned with marriage regulation and thought of but slightly if at all as kinship groups.

In the northern towns descent is bilateral, with a leaning, if any, to the patrilineal. Contact with the matrilineal tribes resulted for the migrating Isletans in a mixed system of descent. Ceremonial and ritual show similarly mixed strands—individualistic shamanistic “powers” of the Plains type, society organization of the Pueblo type, and the characteristic Pueblo hierarchy. To this composite the Catholic Church has not failed to contribute. A candle may be offered in the hills to the dead as well as a prayer stick; the veterinary medicine man may diagnose the sickness of the horse as a transfer of sickness from its owner—scapehorse instead of scapegoat; gallstones removed by a white doctor are identified as witch-sent objects; the saint is carried about fields parched by drought; the stillborn are prayed to because, I surmise, they are in limbo; confession is made to medicine men as well as to the padre. No pueblo is without Catholic acculturation, not even the Hopi pueblos, but among them all we shall find Isleta contributing peculiarly interesting instances of this cultural process.

### HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY RELATIONS

It is probable that Isleta stands on or near a site that was occupied in 1540, the year of the Spanish discovery.<sup>5</sup> There is a town tradition about an older site or sites below the mountains to the east, where there are many ruins. The people there “got crazy talking about how the yellow and red faced people with red hair were coming (i. e., the whites); then they ran away and crossed the river and made Isleta.”

About 1675 Isleta received accessions from the Tigua pueblos of Quarai,<sup>6</sup> Tajique, and others east of the Rio Grande, when those pueblos were abandoned because of Apache depredations.<sup>7</sup> Possibly the Isleta settlements on the east bank date back to that period. However, as early as 1581 settlements on the east bank were observed by that remarkable party of 3 friars, 9 soldiers, and 19 Mexican Indians, presumably from southern Chihuahua, known as the Rodri-

<sup>5</sup> Handbook of the American Indians, 622, citing Lummis. See Bandelier, 234.

<sup>6</sup> Here in 1643 Fray Juan de Salas was resident priest. (Bandelier, 233, n. 1.)

<sup>7</sup> Handbook of the American Indians, 623; Bandelier, 234.

guez or Gallegos expedition. The settlement on the west bank which the expedition called Taxumulco and described as having 123 houses of two and three stories was probably Isleta.<sup>8</sup> Of interest as bearing upon the question of early Spanish-Mexican influence among the southern Tanoans is the fact that the two surviving friars of the expedition, together with the Mexican Indian servants, stayed on at old Sandia (Puaray<sup>9</sup>). The friars were soon killed. What became of the Mexican Indians? In 1629 Benavides reports that there are two monasteries, very costly and interesting, one at San Francisco de Sandia<sup>10</sup> and one at San Antonio de la Isleta.<sup>11</sup>

After the great rebellion, in 1681, Otermin took southwest with him from Isleta 519 captives, of whom 115 afterwards escaped, and others settled at Isleta del Sur. Then those left in Isleta abandoned the town and are said to have gone to the Hopi country, not returning until 1718.<sup>12</sup> Reminiscent of this visit may be the name of the suburb Oraí'bi, and the legend of the origin of the Eagle people.<sup>13</sup> As usual in Pueblo circles, the historical memory is short and there is no specific tradition about the Hopi visit.

Isleta exhibits the interueblo relationships usual in other pueblos—the receiving and paying of friendly visits, particularly at times of fiesta, or the entertainment of delegates on some affair of importance, now and again an intermarriage, and always an underlying degree of suspicion of witchcraft practice by alien townsman (or tribesman). In my account of Jemez I have referred to a letter written by a notable of Isleta—the White Corn chief—to his compadre in Jemez inviting him to visit during the pinitu dance. Recently the White Corn chief and his wealthy brother-in-law have been regular visitors to Zuñi during the Shalako ceremony. Later we shall hear how Zuñi sent a delegation to Isleta in the autumn of 1925 asking for aid against some sickness prevailing in the town, and how, the better to preserve certain cultural standards, aid was refused. During the Great War influenza, of which I was told the germs were sent out into the world by the Kaiser, the population of Sandia, already meager, was so reduced that the townspeople feared extinction. Consequently a delegation from Sandia came to Isleta and deeded to Isleta all the Sandia lands. Isleta still holds the deeds. Three Isletan men are married into Sandia<sup>14</sup> where there are to-day but 24 male heads of families. A generation ago two Isletan brothers visited Taos. One recalls his visit by the race he won there against

<sup>8</sup> Hammond and Rey, 350, n. 80, citing Mechem.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 351, n. 83, citing Mechem; also 356, 359.

<sup>10</sup> The first church at Sandia was in existence in 1614. (Bandelier, 220, n. 2.)

<sup>11</sup> Benavides, 19.

<sup>12</sup> Bandelier, 233-234.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 362.

<sup>14</sup> Napihun, Sandians; Napipiena, Sandia Mountain.

a Ute; the other married into the town, leaving descendants, one of whom has visited his kindred at Isleta and learned to speak Isletan. So great are the dialectical differences in the Tanoan speech of the two towns that when the Isletan cousin of this Taos man in his turn visited Taos he had to speak either Spanish or English with his hosts.<sup>15</sup>

Isletans have not learned to speak Keresan, although, as we shall see later in detail, they have had special opportunities. About 1880 they welcomed some immigrants from Laguna, to whom they gave lands and with whom they intermarried. Of this interesting Laguna colony we shall give a fuller account, and particular intermarriages with Keresan townspeople and others we shall also note later on.

As to witchcraft suspicions of the foreigner, we hear in general that strange lights at night are likely to be explained as witches flying from abroad to harm some townsman and that if you are anxious to harm a fellow townsman you will resort to the witches of another town. Significant in this connection is the tradition that at Shintua, where the witch cave of assembly is placed, there was once a Sandia settlement.<sup>16</sup> A keen trader among my Isletan acquaintances said that because of the witches at Sandia she would not go there to trade. She expressed an extraordinary aversion to the Napihun, the dusty people. ("The faces of the Sandians look dusty.")

As elsewhere, Navaho witchcraft has been feared. Navaho were also an overt enemy. The scalps preserved in the round houses are all accounted Navaho, although it is said that "once" there was a fight with the Comanche. Every Saturday night the Captive dance, *nakurfur*<sup>e</sup> (kuride, captive), is danced,<sup>17</sup> also Hanch or Comanche.

Contacts with Mexicans (*lapahde*, ? hairy) have been comparatively close. At the southern end of the reservation lands, about 5 miles from Isleta, is Los Lentils or, in Isletan, *Berkwintöi*, Rainbow village. There live still "a few old Indians," but the place is so largely Mexicanized that, because the father of the White Corn chief came from there,<sup>18</sup> the chief has been referred to, by those who do not like him, as half Mexican. Although only a few Mexicans are married into town, there are many Mexican neighbors on the road to Albuquerque and in settlements around the reservation. Everybody in Isleta speaks Spanish, and I get the impression that a good many Spanish words are used in speaking Tanoan. Assimilation of Catholic ritual and ideology is unusually striking. A candle may be offered in the hills<sup>19</sup> instead of a prayer feather; during irrigation ceremonial a cross blessed by the padre is placed at the river at the

<sup>15</sup> But see Baudelier, 218, n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 430.

<sup>17</sup> Danced also by the Tewa.

<sup>18</sup> The parents of the woman in house 23 also come from *Berkwintöi*.

<sup>19</sup> See p. 456.

same time that prayer feathers are thrown into it; the government canes are aspersed by the town chief as well as by the padre; ritual whipping is referred to as penance, and my informant compared the power of the tachide<sup>20</sup> or padre to change bread and wine into the host to the powers of the medicine men.<sup>21</sup> To show people his power: Did not Father Andrew, who has been padre in Isleta for 34 years, curse a piece of cheese and turn it black as ashes?<sup>22</sup> He had been scolding the people for not coming to Mass, meeting their excuse that they were shoeless by pointing out that they went to their own ceremonies without shoes. Father Andrew was also reported to want people to observe "semana sancta" by not chopping wood or moving wagons, "staying still as they do at 'Taos," in December-January, and at Nambé during Holy Week when they do not hammer lest they "pound on the Lord," or chop wood, or wear shoes, "lest they step hard on the Lord."<sup>23</sup>

How much the rite of confession is observed in the church I do not know, but curiously enough, it is observed in connection with the Fathers who are medicine men. Some years ago an Isletan woman told me that if she fell sick from giving me information she would have to "confess it." And now after a discussion of kinship terms Lucinda says, "What I am telling you I am going to confess it before I die. I am not going to carry it away with me." At another time Lucinda said she confessed once a month to the padre, and felt very "lively" afterwards.

The wenin or underlake people of the west from whom the maskless kachina dancers get their power were said to be "like the saints."

Mexicans wait to plant until the Isletans begin, saying that "the cazique" has a good guess. Of the Isletan irrigation ditch procession Mexicans on meeting it will say, "Now we are going to have a good year."

Nevertheless, in spite of this reputed sympathetic attitude, from the ceremonial life of the town the Mexican is quite strictly shut out as elsewhere. Also the white. Guards are placed to keep away Mexicans and whites from that part of town where the Laguna kachina dance and, during the solstice ceremonials, from the town at large. The use of Mexican words is taboo to those engaged in ceremonial. Whites and Mexicans are excluded to-day from cere-

<sup>20</sup> Probably from the Zuñi term for father (tachu).

<sup>21</sup> He might well have cited in this comparison the rite of bringing down the sun as a rite of transubstantiation.

<sup>22</sup> At Jemez silver necklaces and shoes are not to be worn at the meetings of one of the societies. The silver becomes black; footgear shrinks up. (Parsons, 16: 71, n. 1.) The Yayatu of the Hopi also make magical transformations. Once they changed the black hat and the garters of a visiting Isletan into a raven and a snake. (Stephen, MS.)

<sup>23</sup> At Palma, in the Balearics, no wagons or automobiles may be used on Holy Thursday and Good Friday, and no work is performed, practices observed also, I am told, in other parts of Spain. In the Holy Thursday penitential procession men go barefoot. In Mexico no work is done from Holy Thursday to Easter Monday; the animals are confined in the corrals.



monial because "in old times" they were excluded. Giving information about the customs is strictly taboo. It is said that the violator would be whipped with a strap by the governor; he might even be interred to his waist in a secluded part of the town (near houses 1-2, the houses of the town chief). A man was once actually punished in this way, it is said, for betraying the *costumbres*.<sup>24</sup> Isletans will warn one another of the presence of an alien by referring to the hawk. If the stranger understands Isletan, they will say, "The beam is broken," meaning "Beware lest the roof fall."

It was said of Charles Lummis that he was well liked in Isleta, because although he lived in town (in house 136) "he never wanted to go to ceremonies." We may note, by the way, that the Lummises had each an Isletan name. Mr. Lummis was called *Paxöla*, star; Mrs. Lummis, *Turbe'se*, sun, cloud design;<sup>25</sup> their son, *Kimbatö*, white lion; their daughter, *Papkui*, spread prettily.

A year or so after the above comment was made on the popularity of Lummis it might not have been made. In 1927 a "council" was held on his Pueblo Indian Folktales which seems to have come to general notice for the first time. The two townspeople most notoriously in touch with whites—Pablo Abeita and Candelaria Chavez—were summoned to the meeting in the courthouse by the war chief (*paiwiławe*). Candelaria Chavez, a woman of extraordinary mentality and character, pointed out to the Mothers and Fathers that the book was written 30 years or more ago and that the stories which were "not very important stories" at any rate (being mostly of Laguna), were got by Lummis from one Patricio, now dead. She was excupated and dismissed, but for some reason Pablo Abeita was held and his case carried from the courthouse to another house, some ceremonial house, where it was continued for four days. Possibly they discussed Pablo's indiscretion in contributing the name, *Kimo*, mountain lion, to the moving picture house opened in Albuquerque by some Italians. The theater is decorated with Pueblo designs and a prize of \$50 had been offered for the best name for it. Pablo got the prize, also much hostile criticism from his townspeople.

In 1890 there was a Presbyterian mission school in the southeast corner of the plaza. (Was it the present courthouse over the roofing of which there has been so much dispute? Was it to be a tin gable or a flat old-style roof? See pl. 18, *a*.) This mission has long since disappeared, but for a time it maintained "its membership against the opposition of both priest and present governor."<sup>26</sup>

Albuquerque (*Łe'ui*) is only 13 miles away from Isleta, and there is considerable visiting of that large town. Among other conse-

<sup>24</sup> Such punitive burial is itself a Mexican *costumbre*, borrowed from the Penitentes. (Lummis 1: 108.)

<sup>25</sup> See p. 210.

<sup>26</sup> Census, 113.



quences of its proximity I construe a familiarity with crime which is more observable at Isleta than in other pueblos. A few years ago a Mexican who had killed a white man was shot and killed by an Isletan,<sup>27</sup> likewise a Mexican who was stealing from an automobile. In 1924 an Isletan policeman was killed by a negro fleeing from Albuquerque. During the Christmas Eve church dance in 1925 the hat of a prayerful townsman was pilfered by one of the many visiting Mexicans, who spent the rest of the night in the town jail. Was it a Mexican or a white man or a townsman who not long ago stole from the kiva its ornate ladder, for one week, returning it, according to Juan Abeita who suspects a townsman, when the fear of being found out by the detective of the medicine society possessed him? I did not suggest to Juan Abeita that in a week a kiva ladder might easily be copied for reproduction in museum or in a "picture."

### TOWN AND POPULATION

The town which is called by the townspeople<sup>28</sup> *Shiaw'iba*,<sup>29</sup> and by their Mexican neighbors, *San Agosti(n)*, lies on the west side of the Rio Grande. On the eastern side there is a settlement of about six houses, the people of which are referred to as *namchut'ainin*, earth yellow people, or *nabatörtöt'ainin*, White Village people, who are said to be "mean people,"<sup>30</sup> also to speak a little differently, dialectically, from the townspeople proper. In folk tale these names refer to two different groups, the Yellow Earth people being localized in the ruins in the bluff above the White Village.<sup>31</sup> I have heard also that from this district went the immigrants to Isleta el Paso, Isleta del Sur. Before the bridge was built by the Government, a decade or more ago, it was the business of the White Village people to ferry passengers across the river. Then came the great flood<sup>32</sup> which destroyed all the houses but one at White Village or Ranchito, and drowned a woman with child and a youth, and led to the building of the bridge. Only recently have people been returning to rebuild at Ranchito. Three miles down the river (*pela'*) lie two suburbs or ranching colonies called *Shila* (Mexican, *Chikal*)<sup>33</sup> and *T'aikabede*<sup>34</sup> of which the people are called *T'aikabehun*. Several miles farther east rise the Manzano Mountains. Conspicuous in the range is the peak which Isletans refer to

<sup>27</sup> By Escapula, the Isletan policeman, according to Oraí'bi witnesses. Now, Escapula was a relative of Pablo Abeita, and it was these charges which turned Pablo against the Laguna people. (See p. 353.)

<sup>28</sup> To Lummis they translated the name *Shiewhibak* as "knife laid on the ground to play whib." Handbook, 622. But the right translation, I surmise, is prayer feather kick stick. (See name list on p. 216.)

<sup>29</sup> Phonetic note: p, b indeterminate written as P; p, f indeterminate written as F; thl written as t; c sub-letter indicates nasalization; letter written above the line indicates slurring; \* glottal catch; and ' breathing.

<sup>30</sup> Compare pp. 386, 388.

<sup>31</sup> See pp. 386, 388.

<sup>32</sup> In 1905, according to Hodge. (Benavides, 222.)

<sup>33</sup> Name of an unidentified bush. The river has been diverted and *Shila* now lies about a mile east of it. Formerly people did not live here throughout the year, the houses being strictly summer or ranch houses.

<sup>34</sup> Town chief: The district is so called because the town chief's fields lie there.

in English as "our mountain," Shyubatö, White Eagle, the home of the *liwa* or *kachina*.

On the southwest border of the town, in a place called Orai'bi, were placed the colonists from Laguna (Birnin). At the time of settlement there was a larger gap between Orai'bi and the town than there is now, more houses having been built in recent years in this neighborhood.

Enumerated in the town proper were 220 houses, and in Orai'bi, 43, of which only 16 are lived in by the Laguna immigrants or their descendants. Across the river, in the ranch suburbs, there are about fifty houses. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs reports the population of Isleta as 1,036 in 1930. In 1890 the population was accounted 1,059.<sup>35</sup>

There are a few 2-story houses, but for the most part the houses are 1-story and with their porches and walled yards have somewhat the appearance of a Mexican town. (Pl. 18, *b*.) There are a number of outside Mexican ovens. In some of the older houses the big hooded hearth for baking wafer bread is still to be found. House 23 (see map) contained one of these fireplaces until the house was bought by the leading man of the town who had the fireplace removed. Conservative though he be, ceremonially, wafer-bread making was not for his household!

Five buildings are referred to as *kivas* (*tula*)—the two detached "roundhouses" (houses 3, 22), associated with the moiety organization, the two undetached rectangular houses also used by the moieties (houses 13, 14, pl. 18, *a*, *c*), and a building which is used for general assemblage, the public *tula* (house 15). The two houses of the two medicine societies which are also used ceremonially are not referred to as *tula*, but as *nap'ainatö*.<sup>36</sup> (Houses 5, 20.) The roundhouse of the Black Eyes moiety is called *paki'mu* (fog or mist) *tula* (pl. 18, *d*); that of the *shure'* moiety, *keyu* (protecting wall)<sup>37</sup> *tula*. The terms "turquoise" and "squash," used by the Keres, for the roundhouses of their ceremonial moieties, are not used in Isleta.

In the roundhouses four posts are referred to, also the *kökauu* which is the hole in the middle of the floor corresponding, inferably, to the *sipapu* of the Hopi-Keresan kiva. Within the *kökauu* the town chief "keeps the *wahtainin*" (all, people), meaning the supernatural animals and other spirits. (I question if the stone fetishes of these spirits are actually kept here.) The *kökauu* is plastered over. It is opened on the installation of the town chief and of the moiety chiefs. It is because of the *kökauu* that grave conduct is always exacted in the kiva. In the undetached *kivas* of the moieties as well

<sup>35</sup> Census, 92.

<sup>36</sup> *Nap'ai*, "something like a dream of something happening long before, as when the people came up," i. e., vision; *natö*, house. In one connection I heard the term for the medicine society house as *p'aihöa*, suggesting the derivation *p'ai*, old, (*na*)löa, witch bundle (see p. 311).

<sup>37</sup> Whether this term refers to a special wall or to the house walls around the kiva I do not know. It is impossible for the stranger in Isleta to place the kiva, built around as it is.

as the round kivas there is a *kōkauu* in the chamber which is reserved for ceremonial as distinct from the chamber for the use of dancers.

In all the ceremonial chambers the fire wall or screen is surmounted by the familiar terrace cloud design,<sup>38</sup> at Isleta called *bersə'*. In the round kivas the hearth is toward the center of the chamber and there is but one fire screen. Where the corner hearth is used and there are two screens or walls, each is terrace topped, as are also the ladders of the round kivas. The façades of the undetached moiety kivas also show the same design (pl. 18, c), which may also be observed on some of the older yard walls.

Among the ceremonial houses is to be noted that of the town chief (*t'aikabedetōai*) (house 2) which is distinct from his dwelling (house 1). Another distinctive ceremonial house is that of the White Corn chief (house 23). The chiefs of the other Corn groups hold their ceremonial in their dwellings.

Between the town and *Orai'bi* stand the Government buildings, schoolhouse, administration buildings, and a small 1-room jail (*kabetō'*).

The Catholic Church stands on the north side of town and of the plaza. Formerly, as elsewhere, the dead were buried in the churchyard, but now the cemetery is to the southwest, near *Orai'bi*. The removal caused "big trouble." The churchyard is one of the dance stations. (Just as is the atrio in Mexico.) There is but one plaza,<sup>39</sup> which is very large, and through it runs the high road. The street between the two most southerly rows of houses is used also as a dance station, especially for the Laguna kachina dances (pl. 19, b). Through this street lies the race course, which was described consistently with Isletan count, as 500 yards long.<sup>40</sup>

On each of the four sides of town there is an "ash pile." (Pl. 19, c.) To one or another of these ash piles witch bundles are taken and buried. On them offerings to the high god, *Wəide*, and to the dead are made, and there are various taboos<sup>41</sup> in regard to the ash piles which seem reminiscent of some ancient burial practice<sup>42</sup> . . . To the ash piles the boys at night will go to sing<sup>43</sup> the songs of their own side of town.

<sup>38</sup> A design which is Spanish-Moorish. It appears on the tiles of the Alhambra and tops buildings in Granada and in the Balearic Islands. It appears also in the pre-Conquest sculpture of San Juan Teotihuacan, Mexico.

<sup>39</sup> *Paxō'a*. *Paxōla* means a big arroyo. *Paxō* means water, grain (p. 331). In the plaza the town chief performs a night rain-making ritual.

<sup>40</sup> According to Lumis 1: 120, who secretly took its measure, 320 yards.

<sup>41</sup> See pp. 213, 321.

<sup>42</sup> Anciently the ash or refuse heap was a common Pueblo burial place. (See p. 432.)

<sup>43</sup> See too, p. 333, note 49.



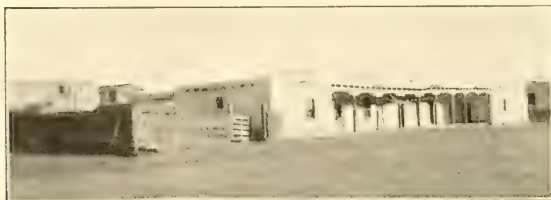
## DESIGNS ON WALLS OF THE CHAMBER OF THE LAGUNA

Figures: Sun, Moon, Orion's Belt (frim, fawns), Rainbow, Lightning, Mountain Lion, Badger, Eagle, Bear, Rattlesnake ("big snake"), Four "helpers", A. a. in piannim). (The zigzags in the tabula of the "fathers" on the north wall represent fire. The other "fathers" wear prayer feathers in their hair.)



a. SOUTHEAST CORNER OF PLAZA

Note Blue Corn house in center; right, courthouse; left, rectangular kiva of shure'.



b. HOUSES ON EAST SIDE OF PLAZA

House of Eagle and Goose Corn groups, and, on farther corner, shure' kiva.



c. RECTANGULAR KIVA OF THE BLACK EYES

Note terrace design over door.



d. ROUNDHOUSE (KIVA) OF THE BLACK EYES



a. ISLETAN WOMAN



b. STREET FOR RACING, AND FOR DANCING BY LAGUNA KACHINA



c. SOUTHEAST PART OF TOWN. MANZANO MOUNTAINS IN BACKGROUND

Note ash pile in foreground and house of chakabede.





a. DARK KACHINA

Mask yellow (right), blue (left); top pieces of leather; spruce armlets; bell leglet.



b. HEA (?) KACHINA

Topknot of feathers, hair fringe below.

## ECONOMIC LIFE

The Isletans, like other Pueblo Indians, are primarily farmers. As elsewhere, the staple crops are corn and wheat, grown on irrigated land, although wheat may be planted in February, before the work of irrigating is begun, if the ground is sufficiently wet from winter snows or rains. Vegetable crops—onions and peas or beans—are planted in January. The March winds, we may note, are hard on the crops, even harder than frost. Alfalfa is grown—two plantings, one in May, one in August. Cotton is grown, enough for ritual use as well as for weaving into belts, and 500 pounds are sold out of town. On the outskirts of town there are orchards and vineyards, unrivaled by other pueblos.<sup>44</sup> Grapevines are now yielding to alfalfa. A family is allowed one barrel of wine by the agent, and wine may not be sold.

Flocks and herds are scant. There used to be "lots of sheep," but the people have been selling them off, so that to-day only two men have flocks. Only 10 or 12 men keep cattle. There are some pigs. The usual time for butchering is in connection with the last night of a ceremony when food dishes are to be contributed by attendants.

There are the usual rabbit drives. The rabbit stick of the false boomerang type is known,<sup>45</sup> but probably little used. There is still some deer hunting, and only a few years ago a man went antelope hunting in the Jicarilla Mountains. Now and again a wildcat is killed, of which the skin sells for about \$5. Bear are not killed.<sup>46</sup> Eagles are shot; the pit snare and nest robbing were unfamiliar methods.<sup>47</sup> There is an eagle hunt before an initiation into the medicine societies. There is no domestication of eagles because people might forget to feed their birds and the birds would get angry, like the eagle of the town chief of Berkwītōe'.<sup>48</sup> . . . There is a baited horsehair trap for bluebirds whose feathers are used in prayer feathers. The snared bird will be plucked and then released. Snowbirds (upööwe') are also snared. Boys use slings. Fish are caught by hook and net, and eaten at pleasure, according to Juan Abeita. Lucinda said that boys might catch fish in the drainage ditch, but people would not eat them. "We do not eat fish," said she most emphatically, and she would not eat the smoked salmon I once offered her.<sup>49</sup> The horned toad (koale kireude, sheep droppings, full of marks) is sometimes caught and with a piece of yarn tied around its neck it is told to go and make a manta or belt.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Cp. Census, 113.

<sup>45</sup> See p. 377.

<sup>46</sup> See pp. 338-339.

<sup>47</sup> But for the latter method, see p. 379.

<sup>48</sup> See p. 380.

<sup>49</sup> Although trout and an edible sucker abound in the Pecos River, no fishbones have been found in the rubbish piles of Pecos, writes Doctor Kidder, and he infers that they did not eat fish at Pecos.

<sup>50</sup> Compare Laguna, Zuñi, and Pima practices. (Parsons, 12: 196, n. 3.)

There is some spinning and weaving of the home-grown cotton, for hair and dress belts<sup>51</sup> and dance leglets and kilts. There are four women belt weavers. Men's dance kilts used to be woven by women; now men weave them. There are two women weavers of woolen blankets. One of the oldest men of the town was once a blanket weaver. You are told that blankets (*manta*, the woman's dark woolen dress, also the so-called Hopi ceremonial blanket) are not woven because these they did not have when "they came up."

Bead making is practiced by a few men, for themselves, not for trade. A Hopi silversmith lives in the town. And there is also a native silversmith.

Thanks to the Laguna colonists and to an American tourist market there have been in recent years changes in pottery making.<sup>52</sup> The product is of an inferior quality in design and in modeling to the Laguna-Acoma ware, bric-à-brac novelties predominating. Lucinda invented, so she said, a bird model from a quail her son shot, to be used as a bank.<sup>53</sup> Native cook pots<sup>54</sup> are of a crude, undecorated type, polished on the inside "so the beans won't stick." These are the pots, not the decorated ware made for the American trade, that are given with food to the clowns (*k'apyo*) in the *pinitu* dance by their "aunts."

July is the season for house plastering, inside and out, the plastering being done, as usual, by the women. New houses or rooms are built in March.

We have referred to the passing of wafer-bread making. Grinding by metate, except the grinding of meal for ritual use, is also going out—it is "too hard" for the "schoolgirls." There are three mills<sup>55</sup> owned by Isletans in which the grain is ordinarily ground, also the chili. One of the mill owners is the man we referred to as removing the hearth for wafer bread from his newly acquired house. He is also a storekeeper. As elsewhere, the performance of ceremonies has a bearing on trade in connection with the last night of the ceremony—that is, "the time they make lots of money in the store" or stores, as there are three, two kept by townsmen, one by a white man.

"The old people say," remarked Lucinda, summarizing changes in the economic life, "that we keep ourselves too hot and eat too much."

<sup>51</sup> At the bottom of women's dress belts there is a design of five lines. On men's belts there is a lightning design. Women are "scared" to put on men's belts, my guess is, because of this design. See pp. 213, 301.

<sup>52</sup> See p. 351.

<sup>53</sup> Such bird banks are made in Mexico.

<sup>54</sup> *Kwerete* (Mexican *cahete*).

<sup>55</sup> Milling dates back to 1870. Census, 113.

## PERSONAL LIFE

## CONCEPTION AND PREGNANCY

Women, whether wanting a child or not wanting one or not wanting another, "if they have suffered in having baby," will apply to a member of one of the medicine societies, to whom a buckskin, black cloth, a belt, and cotton will be given. Two women were cited as having no children after three or four years of marriage, thanks to their medicine man. If a woman does not wish to conceive she will not have intercourse for nine days after menstruation. There is no intercourse during the four days of menstruation, nor during pregnancy, nor for six months after childbirth. At least in theory. A case was cited of a man who sought intercourse 10 days after his child's birth; his wife wept, thinking she would conceive, and her mother scolded her husband. At first menstruation a medicine may be given a girl which will preclude child bearing. . . . Lucinda had ceased menstruating at the age of 35. An "old man" said she was too young for that and offered to bring the function on again, but she refused. In speaking of her daughter's family, Lucinda opined that two children were enough for her daughter to have.

A pregnant woman should be generous, and give things to children passing the house. Were she stingy and tenacious of her things, the afterbirth would stick, too. She should not turn her back on the sun or on the fire. A case was cited of a girl having ignored this taboo and dying in childbirth, the afterbirth looking black as if burned. A pregnant woman should always carry something in her arms in front of her. She should not peek out of the door and reenter the house, else the child will not be delivered quickly.

A pregnant woman should not fry anything nor use much powder lest the child have sore eyes or be blind, nor should she blow on the fire lest the child be born with a big belly, nor should she step on the ash piles of the town, lest the child be born deformed, without fingers or toes. A pregnant woman should not go into a house where the dead is lying (she should not be scared), nor to a ceremonial where lightning and thunder are brought down, nor to church. She should not go to a moving-picture show lest the child twitch, moving quickly like the film, and have no sense. A girl was mentioned on whose neck there was a mark which lessened with the waning of the moon and increased and darkened with the waxing moon. Her mother when she was pregnant went outdoors during an eclipse of the moon which "did this" to the baby. This same girl is deaf and dumb, and her grandmother once suggested to her mother that it was because during her pregnancy she had mocked at the little chattering bird called bebatire (dizzy flying) that her child was born dumb. I heard

also of an infant that had been born with teeth, because a yellow whip snake (*naw'enare*) had whipped her mother before her birth.

A prospective father should not slaughter sheep or go hunting or fishing lest the child be marked. Once when Lucinda was pregnant her husband had gone deer hunting. Her baby was born gasping for breath. So her husband had to go out and run as if chasing a deer, then return and pass his hands over the baby. As soon as he did this, the baby began to breathe all right.<sup>56</sup>

Women do not like to bear twins (*kuinin*, two). "Our Lord punishes by sending twins." Is this a paraphrase for the theory of solar impregnation, familiar at Taos and elsewhere but of which at Isleta I could learn nothing, or is it a substitute theory? If the mother of twins give away her dress to any woman, that woman will have twins.

#### BIRTH AND NAMING RITUAL

In both medicine societies there is a childbirth specialist and a woman assistant. Their attendance is requested in the usual way, with meal, which the doctor gives in turn to his Mother (*iema'paru*) asking her to help him. The doctor visits the prospective mother two or three days in advance of the birth "to clean up the body of the woman"; i. e., to exorcise her. During the delivery the doctor holds the woman. Relatives leave the room. The doctor's woman assistant washes the baby. The doctor carries the baby to the middle of the room where he thanks *Wąide* and his Mother (*iema'paru*) and heads the baby in the different directions, beginning as usual with the east.

The afterbirth and the cord are buried in a field, for a boy; for a girl the afterbirth is buried under the house ladder, the cord, in the house. If the cord is lost the girl will be a wanderer from home.

The stillborn is carried early in the morning to *Nampe'kötö* (sand red piled up), a place in the mesa side to the west or northwest. It is buried without wrappings. A woman will refer to the stillborn as "my poor little Navaho!" "It is just like a Navaho, people are afraid of it."<sup>57</sup> I asked Lucinda if this kind of burial was outside the cemetery because the padre so directed. "No, old-time way," she answered.

The child's father announces the birth by firing off a gun—three shots for a girl, five shots for a boy. The morning following the birth, at sunrise, the father's sister carries the baby outdoors, sprinkles meal, and asks *Wąide* and Sun for long life for the child to whom she gives a name. The doctor and his woman assistant are present. The parents give them breakfast and presents of meal or bread.

<sup>56</sup> Cp. Parsons 6: 170.

<sup>57</sup> See p. 299-300.

On the fourth morning the mother steps across fire which is then taken out of the house, to take away the sickness. Then they bathe the mother. Again the aunt takes the infant outdoors, this time announcing its name to the family. Relatives of both parents come and bring presents. . . . The mother may not go outdoors for 12 days.

The name received at this time is the same name that is given when the child is taken for adoption into one of the seven Corn groups, at the solstice ceremony which is subsequent to the birth. Isabel Abeita, for example, who was born in April, had her name confirmed, so to speak, at the following June solstice ceremony. Had she been born in July she would have been taken to the December or winter solstice ceremony. Isabel was carried to the house of the Corn group's chief while he was conducting his 4-day retreat by the same aunt who gave her her name, this aunt happening to be a woman assistant in the Corn group of Isabel's mother to which Isabel also was to belong. Ordinarily the woman assistant, an unrelated woman, fetches the infant.

The woman assistant throws meal on the ground altar. While she is announcing the infant's name the chief sprinkles the infant from the medicine bowl with two duck feathers, also giving the infant a taste of the medicine water off the tips of the feathers. Then he gives the woman an ear of corn from those stacked on or near the altar, corn of the same color as the Corn group is associated with. The woman breathes out on it three times. The chief dips the ear in the medicine water, drips the ear into the child's mouth and himself mentions the name. Again he dips the ear into the medicine water and with the ear crosses the infant on the forehead, each palm, each sole. In both hands he holds the ear, breathing on the near end, and then passes the ear over the body of the child—this three times. In conclusion he gives a drink of the medicine water from the shell to the woman, who says *aka'a* (? father), and he also pours some of the water into the little bowl she has brought to take home with her. During these various rites the male assistants, sitting as usual behind the altar, sing the songs associated with the rites, e. g., the *palöre* song which belongs to the medicine water when the chief is sprinkling it, or the song appropriate for giving medicine water to drink.

With similar ritual, except that corn is not used, the child receives his moiety name, another name, the day the ditch is opened, a day of moiety ceremonial. Again the naming ritual is confirmatory, for the moiety "father" had already named the child, coming four days after the birth and spitting into the child's mouth. It is this "father" who carries the child to the moiety kiva when the name is confirmed.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Compare Hopi, Parsons, 10: 104.



On initiation into any ceremonial group or on installation into any ceremonial office a name is given which may or may not be generally used.

## NAME LISTS; COMPARATIVE REMARKS

## MALE NAMES

|                                                                                                       |                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| kim'u, mountain lion.                                                                                 | narratō, poplar white.                          |
| kimratō, mountain lion, white.                                                                        | narw'iv, poplar kick stick.                     |
| te'ri, parrot.                                                                                        | shi'ōratō, arrow-point white.                   |
| teriwrālōa, parrot tail bright.                                                                       | pab'u, Sp. Pablo (?).                           |
| turshan, sunrise.                                                                                     | paptāō, pollen.                                 |
| turshanpaw'iepyu, sunrise lake bright.                                                                | na'fa', feather down.                           |
| turralōa, sunshine.                                                                                   | kiōratō, goose white.                           |
| turw'iv, sun kick stick. <sup>69</sup>                                                                | kōiw'ī, goose tail tip.                         |
| turuu, sunny.                                                                                         | na'ratō, whiteness.                             |
| ko'awa, spruce.                                                                                       | paw'iapyyu, lake bright.                        |
| koawake'tu, spruce standing.                                                                          | turshure, a red bird. <sup>62</sup>             |
| p'gralōa, road shining.                                                                               | tuefuni, cane black. <sup>63</sup>              |
| p'etō', road mark.                                                                                    | ati, metate motion (moving up and down).        |
| p'gwero, road ? digging.                                                                              | atita, metate motion shuttle.                   |
| pækui, road good.                                                                                     | tau, shuttle, also swallow-stick. <sup>64</sup> |
| luau', arrow (? little).                                                                              | mati, "scooping-in motion in grinding"          |
| luaratō, arrow white.                                                                                 | (ti, grinding motion).                          |
| takōapien, among (?) the mountains. <sup>60</sup>                                                     | kuyuyu, "a Laguna word." <sup>65</sup>          |
| shiuu, eagle (? little).                                                                              | kietō, standing mark.                           |
| shiukye', eagle wing feather.                                                                         | po'u, cane (plant).                             |
| shyuratō, eagle white (see p. 209).                                                                   | ieratō, corn white.                             |
| shiupetō, eagle road marked.                                                                          | berseu, terraced fire screen of kiva.           |
| na'hōrai, the mountain <sup>61</sup> to one side of Eagle Hill. Nahō is a tree "like the cottonwood." | piempyyu, mountain bright.                      |
| shie'ratō', prayer feather white.                                                                     | pietō', mountain mark.                          |
| shietō, prayer feather marked.                                                                        | pi'enaō, mountain leaf.                         |
| shiepyu, prayer feather bright.                                                                       | oppyu, leaf bright.                             |
| turnapab, sunflower.                                                                                  | pq'u, plain (Spanish llano).                    |
| w'ireu', bow.                                                                                         | churma, yellow call.                            |
| tōrw'irtō, living (? sun) bow mark.                                                                   | pa'wi, water pine.                              |
| w'iru, "smoke into medicine water."                                                                   | pawire, water digging.                          |
| w'ibu, kick stick (? little).                                                                         | paxōla, star.                                   |
|                                                                                                       | kapyyu, tip bright.                             |

<sup>60</sup> Compare p. 368.

<sup>61</sup> Compare pp. 343, 372.

<sup>62</sup> Here the sacrosanct red paint is found, see p. 320.

<sup>63</sup> Of which the feathers are used in prayer feathers.

<sup>64</sup> Referring to the Mother of the Water-sizzling people.

<sup>65</sup> See p. 267.

<sup>66</sup> In Isletan, kuyu is a term for the sacrosanct corn. Kuyuyu was the man-woman from old Laguna who spent some time at Oraibi, where he was called Naiye (mother) Huye. I incline to think that kuyuyu is not a Keresan word but the Isletan equivalent for naiye (mother) as applied to the corn fetish mother. Kuyude is also given (see p. 277) as meaning twin, referring to the corn ear with branching tip.

## MALE NAMES

|                      |                                          |
|----------------------|------------------------------------------|
| kapu, tip small.     | fima, dart game. <sup>66</sup>           |
| kapeo, tip made.     | k'oatasön, war club youth. <sup>67</sup> |
| karalö, tip shining. | takjta, cottonseed.                      |
| lurtö, rain.         | tupsi, whistle. <sup>68</sup>            |

## FEMALE NAMES

|                                                            |                                                  |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| kökauu, sacrosanct hole in kiva floor (Keresan, sipapu).   | kepap, mother spread out.                        |
| shieyu, prayer feather there (yu, demonstrative particle). | toyo, prayer stick small.                        |
| shiepyu, prayer feather bright.                            | kjtu, the meal altar zigzag design.              |
| shie'kiri, prayer feather prone.                           | ia', corn silk.                                  |
| shie'pap, prayer feather spread out.                       | pegchuri, road yellow.                           |
| shieshuri, prayer feather blue.                            | iechuri, corn yellow.                            |
| shiejuni, prayer feather yellow.                           | mapö, corn on stalk. <sup>69</sup>               |
| shiefuni, prayer feather black.                            | kyena, "I place it."                             |
| maxöre, circle.                                            | höakire, sacrosanct bundles <sup>70</sup> prone. |
| berkwj, rainbow.                                           | p'ienaö, mountain leaf.                          |
| paköla, star.                                              | wjw'ia, tail plaque (dance paraphernalia).       |
| turbap, sun spreading.                                     | naratö, whiteness.                               |
| turberse', sun zigzag.                                     | kiru, spreading or laying.                       |
| p'jberse', mountain zigzag.                                | tö'kum, day rising.                              |
| kyeu, standing.                                            | klechiu', rain little.                           |
| kyeupab, standing, spreading.                              | iöu, corn small.                                 |
| koawa, spruce.                                             | paxö, water grain. <sup>71</sup>                 |
| koawapabmaxöre, spruce spreading circle.                   |                                                  |

## NICKNAMES

Endara, football, a certain old man was so named from the lumps on his feet. Ko'ashide, roast lamb, a certain lousy man is nicknamed. The reference is to something nice to eat. Chinadö, curly head, is a common nickname. Also, Weru, blond. A certain very dark-skinned man is called Punu, nigger.

## COMPARATIVE REMARKS

As among other Tanoans, the etymological meaning of personal names is apparent; likewise a notable number of names have some religious<sup>72</sup> import.

In our lists I note that six names—whiteness, star, spruce, mountain leaf, bright prayer feather—are borne by both male and female.

<sup>66</sup> See p. 240.

<sup>67</sup> See p. 279.

<sup>68</sup> Referring, probably, to the ritual whistle used in calling the rain or the animals.

<sup>69</sup> Elsewhere translated as corn with glumes. (Parsons 9: 160.)

<sup>70</sup> See p. 278, n. 37.

<sup>71</sup> See p. 331.

<sup>72</sup> Compare Jemez, Parsons, 16: 32-3; Tewa, Parsons, 19: 18-20; Taos, Parsons, 22.

Among male names *tö'*, mark (marked or painted), is a common suffix, as at Jemez, although at Jemez as *t'o'o*, it is a suffix of female names.<sup>73</sup> *Pałōa* and *pūyu*, shining, bright, are also common male suffixes. White is very commonly used as part of a name—white mountain lion, white arrow, white eagle, white prayer feather, white poplar, white arrow-point, white goose, white corn—all male names, with whiteness, as noted, the name of both a male and a female. Yellow occurs in several female names—yellow prayer feather, yellow road, yellow corn.

#### CHILD REARING

A girl infant is suckled for one year, a boy until he quits of himself. Boys have a good heart, girls are mean and meddlesome. That is why girl infants are not allowed as much mother's milk as boys. To wean the girl, powdered sheep bile is rubbed on the nipples. The bile was taken from the sheep that was killed at the birth to keep the mother supplied with broth. Formerly to an infant deprived of its mother's breasts chewed piñon was given; nowadays the nursing bottle is used.

For sore navel, one who has been snake bitten or has been a scalp taker (or shot at by a Navaho) will spit or blow on the navel of the baby. Lucinda stated that the navel becomes sore because a snake-bitten or Navaho-assaulted man passed by the door of the infant's house.<sup>74</sup>

The cradle board is literally a board, not made, as among the Hopi, of basketry. To safeguard the house, and presumably the baby, you should keep a poker of cactus, and on going out motion the poker in the directions.

For a crying baby there is a plant (*təraō'*) extract which puts it to sleep. The leaf is moistened and squeezed into a cloth. There is another plant, called *pe'batiraoliu* (swallow ? old woman) of which the juice looks like blood, which is given in water by the medicine man to a child slow to speak. Of a certain child who was dumb it was said that his grandfather put a darning needle (*chicu*) into his mouth to buzz, and then gave the child a piece of the insect to swallow.

Mothers will threaten naughty children with *Chapaiuna*, the bogey spirit, who lives upon a mesa to the northeast, where all about may be seen the bones of the little children he has eaten. Lucinda told me about this, which may be one of her Keresan traditions.

A woman will tell her child when he loses his first tooth to throw it to the sun, asking him for a new good tooth.<sup>75</sup>

Formerly boys would bathe in the river every morning. They still bathe two or three times a week, until the close of the solstice cere-

<sup>73</sup> Parsons, 16: 31.

<sup>74</sup> Compare Laguna, Parsons, 8: 124, n. 2; Hopi, Stephen.

<sup>75</sup> Compare Tewa, Parsons, 13: 150. This is Mexican practice.

mony in December, and begin again in April. . . . Formerly boys were not allowed to smoke until they killed a coyote, meaning a Navaho;<sup>76</sup> now they will smoke when they are 16 or so. In the presence of their parents they will not smoke until they are married. If a boy at play saw a senior kinsman passing by, he would stop his play.

Education proceeds, as ever in pueblo life, by imitation or imitative play. Lucinda would tell me of the play at being grown up of two little girls who greatly amused her. Now they would play at a woman having a baby. The "midwife" would press the expectant mother all over. "Stretch out your legs," she said to her. "Keep warm! It is coming soon." And she pretended to send everybody out of the room.<sup>77</sup> Again they played at mother and daughter. The "mother" told the "daughter" to fetch water "and put it in the usual place," to sweep the floor "so we can have everything all clean and sit down to do our work." The work was to play at being governor. (Their father had served as governor.) Now one was a man come to report to the governor trouble with his wife. "I will lock her up for five days," said the governor. "No," said the "husband," "let us keep it to ourselves. You whip her."

Boys and girls begin to attend the solstice ceremonies of their Corn group at about the age of 15. (I heard of a mature girl of 16 who had not yet attended her ceremony.) Nobody, either young or old, is forced to attend this ceremonial, for attendance must be voluntary to be of value. There is no initiation of the youth into Corn group or into moiety organization (as at Taos, for thus, as initiation into moiety, was described by an Isletan the initiation of the Taos boys).

### KINSHIP

#### LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS

|                                                     |  |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--|
| nkai, father (desc.).                               |  |
| tata, (voc.).                                       |  |
| inke', mother (desc.).                              |  |
| nana, (voc.).                                       |  |
| inu'e'i, son (desc. and voc.).                      |  |
| impyuwe'i, <sup>78</sup> daughter (desc. and voc.). |  |
| inlurei, father's mother (desc.).                   |  |
| luru, (voc.).                                       |  |
| inchi'i, mother's mother (desc.).                   |  |
| chi'i, (voc.).                                      |  |
| inte'i, grandfather (desc.).                        |  |
| tee', (voc.).                                       |  |
| inmaku (nmaku) grandchild (desc.).                  |  |
| maku, (voc.).                                       |  |

<sup>76</sup> Compare Tewa, Parsons, 13: 150.

<sup>77</sup> Despite the anecdote, at another time Lucinda opined that girls were kept completely ignorant of the nature of childbirth and of intercourse.

<sup>78</sup> Before p, b, n becomes m.

- impape'i, older brother (desc.).  
 papa, (voc.).  
 impaiyowe'i, younger brother (desc.).  
 paiyo', (voc.).  
 intute'i, older sister (desc.).  
 tutu, (voc.).  
 inkwem<sup>w</sup>we'i, younger sister, man speaking (desc.).  
 kwemu, (voc.).  
 imbachuwe'i, younger sister, woman speaking (desc.).  
 bachu, (voc.).  
 inmeme'i, uncle (father's or mother's brother), male collateral considerably senior to speaker (desc.).  
 meme' (voc.).  
 ky'uu, aunt (father's or mother's sister), female collateral considerably senior to speaker (desc. and voc.).  
 aiya, aunt, female collateral considerably senior to speaker.  
 ia, aunt, female collateral considerably senior to speaker.  
 ke'chu, aunt, woman speaking.  
 ch'unu, reciprocal to meme', man speaking.  
 t'uu, reciprocal to ky'uu, woman speaking, and applied only to male.  
 ö'awi, reciprocal to ky'uu, woman speaking, and applied only to male.  
 chabe, younger female relative, woman speaking.  
 be'humí,<sup>79</sup> junior collateral.  
 pali, younger<sup>80</sup> male relative.  
 mali, younger female relative.  
 intarawe'i, parent-in-law, son-in-law, or daughter-in-law.  
 insööiwe'i, contemporary male<sup>81</sup> connection by marriage.  
 insö'awe'i, my husband.  
 inyewe'i, contemporary female connection by marriage.  
 yeide, (voc.).  
 inliowe'i, my wife, "my old woman."  
 berla, his wife.  
 inmatuu, any kinsman or kinswoman, applied to the more remote (desc.).  
 matuu, (voc.).  
 intaiwei, my family.

## AGE AND SEX TERMS

- u'u<sup>de</sup>, infant.  
 öwaude, boy baby; upi<sup>u</sup>de, girl baby.  
 tasönwem, boy of 2 or 3; tahi<sup>w</sup>em, girl of 2 or 3.  
 ma'te'we, boy of 10; taö'wa, girl of 10.  
 takö'wewe, boy or girl from 15 to 20.  
 takautawenwe, boy or girl from 20 on.  
 ak'öwem, man or woman of 50.  
 lu'l<sup>i</sup>de, old man; lioude, old woman.  
 paye, "grandfather, te'e," pa'i refers to "something happening back."  
 chubwa'i, older (boy or girl).

<sup>79</sup> This term is said to be applied at Sandia to almost every relative.

<sup>80</sup> Presumably pali (mali) is an age term, denoting juniority. It has been compounded with a kinship term, e. g., Genealogy II, 13, refers to Genealogy II, 5, her mother's mother's brother, as inte'e pali, "my younger grandfather." (The reciprocal is impyu maku.)

One informant insists that pali, mali should be translated "dear."

<sup>81</sup> According to Juan Abeita, but Lucinda applies this term to female connections, and the following term inyewe'i to male connections, and Lucinda's applications are those of earlier informants. Compare Parsons, 9: 151.

tōaiwa'i, younger (boy or girl).

ōwade, boy before marriage.

luli, married man.

tarape'u, unmarried; i. e., celibate, including widowers of any age. The term means asking, begging; i. e., suitor. To pray is nata'rape.

ch'anide, girl before marriage.

liu, married woman.

amanjiem, married, male or female.

mashuim, widowed. The Spanish terms, viudo, viuda, more common.

inka'a nlawei, my stepfather.

inke'e nlawei, my stepmother.

melma, child.

umnin, children.

#### APPLICATION OF TERMS BY PERSONS CITED IN GENEALOGIES

##### NKAI, TATA, FATHER

###### Gen. I

12>1, father.

31>12, father.

16>1, mother's brother.

###### Gen. III

61, 63>33, mother's father's brother's daughter's son.

###### Gen. IV

22>13, husband of mother's brother's daughter whom 22 calls aiya.

22>10, mother's sister's husband.

##### INKE', NANA, MOTHER

###### Gen. I

12>2, mother.

31>8, father's brother's wife.

###### Gen. III

22>4, wife of father's brother whom 22 called grandfather.

33>22, mother's father's brother's daughter.

74-81>22, father's mother's father's brother's daughter.

###### Gen. IV

44-50>22, mother's mother's sister.

41>22, wife's mother.

##### INUE'I, SON

###### Gen. I

1, 2>12, son.

###### Gen. III

22>31, father's sister's son.

22>70, father's sister's son's son.

22>33, father's brother's daughter's son.



## Gen. IV.

22>31, 32, 33, inuwei Lipi, inuwei Tomaši, inuwei Juan, mother's brother's daughter's son. 22 calls their mother, kerchu.

22>26, 27, mother's sister's son.

22>35, sister's son.

## IMPYUWE'I, DAUGHTER

## Gen. III

22>63, daughter.

22>40, father's brother's daughter's daughter.

22>83, father's brother's daughter's son's daughter.

## Gen. IV

11>22, sister's daughter.

22>42, 43, brother's daughter.

22>36, sister's daughter.

22>44, sister's daughter's daughter.

46>22, husband's sister's daughter.

12, 14, 16>22, father's sister's daughter.

## INLUREI, LURU, FATHER'S MOTHER

## Gen. I

24, 31>2, father's mother.

32>3, father's mother.

33>6, father's mother.

## INCHI'I, CHI'I, MOTHER'S MOTHER

## Gen. I

33>3, mother's father's mother.

## Gen. II

13>2, mother's mother.

13>6, mother's mother's brother's wife.

## Gen. IV

22>2, mother's mother.

55>22, mother's mother.

## INTE'I, TEE', GRANDFATHER

## Gen. I

24>1, father's father.

## Gen. III

22>3, father's brother. "He was the oldest in the family." However, the next oldest brother was also so called.

22>5, father's brother.

## Gen. IV

22>1, mother's father.

## INMAKU, MAKU, GRANDCHILD

## Gen. I

1, 2>24, son's daughter.

## Gen. IV

22>55, daughter's daughter.

## IMPAPE'I, PAPA, OLDER BROTHER

## Gen. I

- 12>7, older brother.  
 3>1, older brother.  
 15>12, older brother.  
 31>27, father's sister's son, 27 is senior to 31.  
 12>5, mother's brother.  
 27>12, mother's brother.

## IMPAIYOWE'I, PAIYO', YOUNGER BROTHER

## Gen. I

- 12>14, younger brother.

## Gen. IV

- 22>24, younger brother.  
 42>46, 54, father's sister's daughter's son.  
 54>46, mother's mother's sister's daughter's son.

## INTUTE'I, TUTU, OLDER SISTER

## Gen. I

- 12>10, older sister.  
 15>10, older sister.  
 12>8, older brother's wife, senior to m. speaking.  
 27, 28>24, mother's brother's daughter, 24 senior to 27, 28.

## Gen. II

- 3>2, older sister.  
 13>11, mother's mother's sister's daughter.  
 11>10, mother's sister's son's wife, 10 senior to 11.

## Gen. IV

- 22>20, older sister.

INKWEM<sup>u</sup>WE'I, KWEMU, YOUNGER SISTER, M. SP.

## Gen. I

- 1>3, younger sister, m. sp.  
 12>15, younger sister, m. sp.

## Gen. IV

- 54>55, younger sister, m. sp.  
 54>43, mother's mother's brother's daughter.

## IMBACHUWE'I, BACHU, YOUNGER SISTER, W. SP.

## Gen. I

- 10>15, younger sister, w. sp.

## Gen. II

- 7>1, mother's sister's daughter, 11 junior to 7.

## Gen. IV

- 20>22, younger sister, w. sp.

## INMEME'I, MEME', SENIOR MALE COLLATERAL

## Gen. I

- 24>12, father's brother.
- 28>12, mother's brother.
- 31>27, father's sister's son, 27 senior to 31.
- 12>16, father's sister's son, 16 senior to 12.
- 19>12, mother's brother's son, 12 senior to 19.
- 31>16, father's father's sister's son.

## Gen. II

- 11>9, mother's sister's son, 9 senior to 11.

## Gen. IV

- 22>3, 5, mother's brother.
- 54>24, mother's mother's brother.

## KY'UU, SENIOR FEMALE COLLATERAL

## Gen. I

- 12>3, father's sister.
- 24>10, father's sister.
- 31>24, father's brother's daughter, 24 senior to 31.
- 28>24, 31, mother's brother's daughter, 24, 31, senior to 28.

## Gen. II

- 11>2, mother's sister.
- 7>3, mother's sister.

## Gen. III

- 22>11, father's sister.
- 22>12, father's brother's daughter.
- 22>14, father's brother's daughter.
- 22>53, father's brother's daughter's daughter.

## Gen. IV

- 31, 32, 33>22, mother's father's sister's daughter.
- 18>22, father's sister's daughter.

## CH'UNU, JUNIOR COLLATERAL, M. SP.

## Gen. I

- 12>24, brother's daughter, m. sp.
- 1>16, sister's son, m. sp.
- 27>31, mother's brother's daughter, m. sp.
- 16>12, mother's brother's son, m. sp.
- 12>19, father's sister's son, m. sp.
- 12>32, father's sister's son's son, m. sp.

## Gen. II

- 9>11, mother's sister's daughter, m. sp.

## Gen. III

3>22, brother's daughter, m. sp.

## Gen. IV

35>22, sister's daughter, m. sp.

24>54, sister's daughter's son, m. sp.

54>42, mother's mother's brother's daughter, m. sp.

## T'UU, JUNIOR MALE COLLATERAL, W. SP.

## Gen. I

3>12, brother's son, <sup>79a</sup> w. sp.

6>12, husband's sister's son.

## Gen. II

3>9, sister's son, w. sp.

6>12, husband's sister's son.

## Gen. IV

7>18, brother's son, w. sp.

22>18, mother's brother's son, w. sp.

## Ü'AWI, JUNIOR FEMALE COLLATERAL, W. SP.

## Gen. I

10>24, 31, brother's daughter, w. sp.

24>31, father's brother's daughter, 31 junior to 24, w. sp.

31>28, father's sister's daughter, 28 junior to 31, w. sp.

## Gen. II

3>7, sister's daughter, w. sp.

2>11, sister's daughter, w. sp.

7>11, mother's sister's daughter, 11 junior to 7, w. sp.

## IA, SENIOR FEMALE COLLATERAL, W. SP.

## Gen. I

31>24, father's brother's daughter, 24 senior to 31.

12>8, older brother's wife, 8 senior to 12.

## Gen. II

11>7, mother's sister's daughter, 7 senior to 11.

## AIYA, FEMALE COLLATERAL CONSIDERABLY SENIOR TO SPEAKER

## Gen. I

31>10, father's sister.

12>3, father's sister.

31>3, father's father's sister.

12>6, mother's brother's wife.

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<sup>79a</sup> Also brother's son's son.

## Gen. II

7>3, mother's sister.

13>3, mother's mother's sister.

13>11, mother's mother's sister's daughter.

## Gen. IV

42, 43>22,<sup>79b</sup> father's sister.

22>4, 6, mother's brother's wife.

## KE'CHU, SENIOR FEMALE COLLATERAL, W. SP.

## Gen. I

31>10, father's sister, w. sp.

31>3, father's father's sister, w. sp.

## Gen. II

7>3, mother's sister, w. sp.

13>3, mother's mother's sister, w. sp.

## Gen. IV

22>11, mother's sister, w. sp.

35 22, mother's sister, m. sp. (?).

36 22, mother's sister, w. sp.

22>12, 14, 16, mother's brother's daughter, w. sp.

26, 27>22, mother's sister's daughter, m. sp. (?).

## CHABE, JUNIOR FEMALE COLLATERAL, W. SP.

## Gen. I

10>31, brother's daughter, w. sp.

## Gen. II

3>13, sister's daughter, w. sp.

## Gen. III

12>22, father's brother's daughter, w. sp.

53>22, mother's father's brother's daughter, w. sp.

## Gen. IV

22>42, 43, brother's daughter, w. sp.

## BE'HUMI, JUNIOR COLLATERAL

## Gen. I

12>32, father's sister's son's son.

12>33, mother's brother's son's son.

31>16, father's father's sister's son.

16>31, mother's brother's son's daughter.

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<sup>79b</sup> Of this application 22 remarked, "I am the *old* aunt now since my sister (referring to 30) died."

## INTARAWE'I, PARENT-IN-LAW, SON-IN-LAW, OR DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

## Gen. I

- 8>1, husband's father.  
 8>2, husband's mother.  
 1, 2>8, son's wife.  
 1>11, daughter's husband.

## Gen. II

- 1>8, also melma, child, daughter's husband. 1 called his daughter melma.

## Gen. IV

- 8>23, daughter's husband.  
 23>8, wife's father.  
 22>41, daughter's husband.

## INSÖÜWE'I, CONTEMPORARY MALE CONNECTION BY MARRIAGE

## Gen. I

- 12>11, sister's husband, m. sp.  
 11>12, wife's brother.  
 12>23, mother's brother's daughter's husband.  
 8>12, husband's brother.

## Gen. II

- 3>1, sister's husband.

## INSÖIWEI, CONTEMPORARY FEMALE CONNECTION BY MARRIAGE

## Gen. IV

- 22>19, mother's brother's son's wife.  
 21>22, wife's sister.

## INYEWE'I, CONTEMPORARY FEMALE CONNECTION BY MARRIAGE

## Gen. I

- 12>8, brother's wife, m. sp.

## Gen. II

- 1>3, wife's sister.  
 8>3, wife's mother's sister.  
 11>10, mother's sister's son's wife.

## INYEWE'I, CONTEMPORARY MALE CONNECTION BY MARRIAGE

## Gen. III

- 22>13, father's brother's daughter's husband.

## Gen. IV

- 22>21, sister's husband, w. sp.  
 24>23, sister's husband, m. sp.  
 22>37, sister's daughter's husband, w. sp.

## PALI, JUNIOR MALE COLLATERAL

## Gen. I

- 12>27, sister's son.  
 5>12, sister's son.  
 6>12, husband's sister's son.  
 24>27, father's sister's son, 27 is junior to 24.



## MALI, JUNIOR FEMALE COLLATERAL

## Gen. I

- 12>28, sister's daughter.
- 10>31, brother's daughter.
- 11>31, wife's brother's daughter.
- 24>28, father's sister's daughter, 28 junior to 24.
- 27>31, mother's brother's daughter, 31 junior to 27.

## Gen. II

- 9>11, mother's sister's daughter, 11 junior to 9.

## MATUV, KINSMAN OR WOMAN

## Gen. I

- 12>20, mother's brother's son.
- 10>33, brother's daughter's son.
- 10>25, brother's daughter's husband.
- 8>2, husband's mother.
- 1>11, daughter's husband.
- 12>descendants of his paternal grandfather by a second wife. Same patronymic.

## Gen. IV

- 54>44-51, mother's mother's sister's daughter's children.

## KINSHIP TERMS APPLIED TO NONRELATIVES

An old man or woman will be addressed as *tata* or *nana*, sometimes followed by his or her name; any man or woman senior to the speaker, "a little older," as *papa* or *tutu*; any junior, as *pali* or *paiyu*, or *mali* or *kweimu* (m. speaking). . . . The Navaho may be referred to as *papa t'ainin*, older brother people. *Axa* is a "sassy word" for father,<sup>82</sup> *akye*, for mother.

Any male sacerdotalist is addressed as *ka'a* or *tata*,<sup>83</sup> and any female, as *ake'*, which are forms, inferably, of the terms for father and mother. In giving a cigarette for ritual smoking, the giver says *ka'a*; the recipient rejoins *tata'u*. The crier is called *pali* by everybody.

In general, *tat'uu* is said in ceremonial to anyone who is senior to the speaker, and *t'uu* to anyone who is junior. A man speaking to a *k'apyo* or clown (see p. 333) might call him *t'uu*, and the *k'apyo* would reciprocate with the term for aunt, *kyu*, or with *meme-kyu*, uncle-aunt. The chief of each Corn group refers to the membership of the group as *wahkuan*, "all my sons"; and the members of the medicine societies are also referred to by the chief as his sons, he being their father, and the chief woman member or *keide* (mother), their mother. She is addressed as *nke*. I noted a written reference to the chief of the Town Fathers as *tata Rey*. The terms *ke'chu* and *chabe* are used in ceremonial by women.

<sup>82</sup> See p. 246.

<sup>83</sup> His name may follow as, e. g., *ka'a P'ablo* or *tata Rey*.

Ceremonial kinship terms appear to take precedence over kinship terms, e. g., Genealogy II, 7, called Genealogy II, 5, her mother's brother, *tata shifun*,<sup>84</sup> he was her moiety father, instead of *meme*, uncle. Similarly *piba*, the term for Catholic godfather, may be used in preference to a kinship term.

The spirits are referred to or addressed as our father, *kikaawei*; our mother, *kikewei*; our son, *kimuwei*; *kikaawei turide*, our father Sun, or *kikaawei dios*, our father god; *kikewei namburuliu*, our mother Clay old woman; *kimuwei paxōlan*, our sons the stars. In a folk tale the animated house broom is addressed as *inkewei*, my mother, and responds with *inpyuwei*, my daughter. As elsewhere, Spider is addressed as grandmother (*chi'i*); men in folk tales are referred to as the sons of Rattlesnake. *Ka'an ati* is a term for "Indian spirits."

#### SPANISH TERMS; APPLICATION IN GENEALOGICAL TABLES

Spanish terms of kinship or address are in considerable vogue, even taking precedence at times over native terms—*kukuyu*(?), *tio*, uncle; *primo*, *prima*, cousin; *compadre* and *comadre* for the godparents of your child, and, reciprocally, for the parents of your godchild; and *piba*, godparent and godchild. One with the same Mexican name as yours, you address as *tokaiyu*.

#### KUKUYU

Gen. I

10, 12>9, second husband of sister-in-law (deceased brother's widow) (also *insōiwe'i*).

#### TIO

Gen. I

31>11, father's sister's husband.

#### PRIMO

Gen. I

12>20, mother's brother's son.

20>12, father's sister's son.

#### INKUMARE'I (COMPADRE)

Gen. I

12>25, brother's daughter's husband to whose child 12 is godfather.

#### INKUMARE'I

Gen. I

12>24, brother's daughter, to whose child 12 is godfather.

<sup>84</sup> See p. 261.

## PIBA

## Gen. I

12>33, brother's daughter's son, his godchild.

33>12, mother's father's brother, his godfather.

33>1, piba te'e, mother's father's father.

## TOKAIYU (KAIYU)

12>22, mother's brother's daughter. She having the same Spanish name as the daughter of 12.

22>12, father's sister's son. (See above.)

PRINCIPLES OF KINSHIP NOMENCLATURE AND COMPARATIVE  
DISCUSSION

Descent, whether paternal or maternal, is indicated only in the grandmother terms, there being distinctive terms for father's mother and mother's mother; but even this distinction was not followed with care by my informants who seemed entirely indifferent to the principle of descent. We note with interest, however, that the term for mother's mother is the grandmother term used in the folk tales. The collateral terms do not express descent. There are, to be sure, several terms for aunt, and possibly in some families these may be applied differently to father's sister or mother's sister. Here, certainly, Keresan influence might be expected, and we are led to compare the Isletan terms, ky'uu, aiya, ia, with k'uya, father's sister (Laguna), and naiya, mother and mother's sister (Laguna); yaya or ya, vocative, mother, aunt (San Felipe); iya, vocative, mother, aunt (Santo Domingo).<sup>85</sup> When the Isletan term for aunt, ky'uu, is used in connection with ritual functions, it is always the father's sister who is referred to, and Lucinda, with her Laguna associations, always used ky'uu to mean father's sister, and ke'chu (mother great) for mother's sister with reciprocals inuwei and impyuwei. Ia, she insisted, was merely short for the personal name Maria.

There are several variations in usage of kinship terms between my informants. Just as Lucinda never used the ia term for aunt, Juan Abeita never used the ke'chu term. Lucinda favored son-daughter terms for junior collaterals; Juan Abeita, brother-sister terms. Comparison of the applications from Genealogies I and II with those from Genealogies III and IV will show other minor variations. Such variation in family usage has been observed in kinship nomenclature in other towns. It suggests that kinship nomenclature is not a stable trait among the Pueblos.

The sex of the speaker and of the person addressed is frequently expressed, although not consistently, e. g., there are distinctive terms for son and daughter, but there is none for grandson or granddaughter.

<sup>85</sup> Parsons, 12: 201, 202. Note, however, that ia is the Taos term for father's sister.

Again, in the collateral terms certain terms express the sex of the person addressed but not that of the speaker, whereas other terms express the sex of both.

In the nomenclature as well as in the psychological attitude seniority is the outstanding principle. Lucinda frequently referred to somebody as the "oldest in the family" to explain the application of one term or another. Not only in the brother-sister terms is seniority expressed but in the terms for collaterals, the uncle-aunt terms being applied to senior collaterals in general and the nephew-niece terms to junior collaterals. However, the brother-sister terms may be applied, and not only to cousins but even to aunts and uncles.

There is the characteristic Pueblo looseness of usage in applying kinship terms. As noted, an uncle may be called older brother, as Genealogy I, 27, 28 > 12 or Genealogy I, 12 > 5, or an uncle may be called father or grandfather. As noted, Lucinda had the habit of calling junior collaterals by son-daughter terms. The term used by a child in the family may be used by other members of the family, as for example, in the case of Genealogy II, 2, who was called *chi'i*, mother's mother, not only by her grandchild but by her grandchild's parents.

The principle of reciprocity is observed only in marriage or affinity terms. Affinity terms in address are, as elsewhere, the terms corresponding to those used for the connecting relative, i. e., parents-in-law are addressed as father, mother, a brother-in-law as brother, etc. Genealogy II, 13, calls her mother's mother's brother's wife, grandmother, because she calls her mother's mother's brother grandfather or younger grandfather. Again, Genealogy II, 7, calls her mother's brother's wife *nana shifun* because she calls her mother's brother *tata shifun*, although the woman is actually *shure'*, not *shifun*. On the other hand, Lucinda called her father's brother's wife, mother, although her father's brother she called grandfather. Aunts and uncles by marriage are usually called by mother-father terms, probably merely as courtesy terms. Genealogy I, 5, called Genealogy I, 1, his sister's husband, *meme' tee'*. Why? I do not know.

To distinguish between one relative and another to whom the same term would be applied, descriptive words are compounded, e. g., Genealogy I, 31, referred to her father's eldest brother, as *nmeme ula'de*, my big uncle. Her mother's mother's brother she referred to as younger grandfather, *nte'e pali*.

Comparing the Isletan nomenclature with that of Taos-Picuris we may note that the term for mother's mother, *chi'i*, does not occur in the latter system which has but the one grandmother term, Taos, *anditona*, Picuris, *anletona*, which may possibly be related to the Isletan grandmother term *inturei*. Isletan nomenclature is also enriched by two terms for younger sister, man speaking and woman

speaking. In the Taos-Picuris system there is but one term for the junior, whether younger brother or sister. Again Isletan nomenclature is richer than the northern system in terms for collateral seniors and juniors, which suggests that there has been some borrowing from the Keres.

#### DRESS AND HEADDRESS

Men and women dress as in other eastern pueblos, mostly in American store-bought clothes, keeping the native woven garments for ceremonial or dance occasion. However, many women wear their manta daily. (Pl. 19, *a.*)

The black, footless stockings which are commonly worn by women in the west are worn also at Isleta. They are knit by the women. In shoes a bit of cotton is placed to indicate that, although the shoes are American, their wearer is Indian. Once at Taos, when an Isletan visitor was being taunted with being more American than Indian because he did not wear his blanket or his hair in braids, he retorted by asking his hosts if they were wearing cotton in their shoes. They were not wearing it, and they at once admitted that he had scored. As usual elsewhere, shoes or moccasins are removed by those engaged in ceremonial.

The bandoleer and pouch<sup>86</sup> for ritual meal and fetishes is used. The usual pueblo silver and shell ornaments are in use. Among them we may note the gorget of pink shell or abalone<sup>87</sup> with a silver button mounted in the center, which is worn by male dancers.

The women wear their hair unbanged, slicked across the forehead, worn left to right, and tucked behind the right ear, with the back hair belted in a queue (*w'ifi*) "like Laguna women." Once a neighbor had cut off Lucinda's hair so she could wear it banged in Santo Domingo style. "That is not our way," protested Lucinda, "that is not right." The men, less conservative, wear their hair short, except the Fathers, of whom the older wear their hair long and in queue, and the younger in a Dutch cut, which dates back at least to the end of the last century, when the banda was to be seen worn as a hat band.<sup>88</sup>

In the tale of the unfortunate deer hunters the faithless wife cuts away some hair under her husband's queue. "You took the luck away and gave it to somebody else," he reproaches her. "Now, we shall have nothing until my hair grows in again." Lucinda said there was another hamaha<sup>89</sup> of a woman who put her husband's hair cuttings in her belt to keep him home. He would go deer hunting all the time. After she did this they got very poor. That long hair is a

<sup>86</sup> *Shertai'mu*. *Sheride*, left hand; *mu*, pouch.

<sup>87</sup> *Fierupotóá*, earring bright.

<sup>88</sup> Census, 112. In 1890, in the pueblos, men still wore leggings tied by garters; to-day only a ceremonial display. In Isleta, it was noticed that the leggings were fastened not by garters but by silver buttons, buttons being used lavishly upon the costume.

<sup>89</sup> The reference in Laguna terms to folk tale.

secret of success and potency was a belief, I surmise, once held at Isleta and still held at Taos.<sup>90</sup> To make the hair long and thick, after washing, a salve of cow marrow mixed and boiled with very young tobacco leaf is rubbed on the head.

#### MARRIAGE; HOUSE OWNERSHIP; MARRIAGE CHOICES; FAMILY COMPOSITION

Girls are said to marry at a comparatively advanced age, about 18 or later. I heard of few such early marriages as are made, for example, at Jemez.<sup>91</sup> Formerly a husband was chosen for a girl by her parents—Lucinda's husband was thus chosen for her—"this was the old way," now girls choose for themselves. "A pretty man" was described by Lucinda as being tall and thin, with a dark skin and long hair. . . . There is in town a 17-year-old girl who is a deaf-mute. "Would she ever get married?" I asked. "Oh, no! Oh, no!" answered Lucinda, surprised by the very question, an attitude I have noted in other pueblos over any question of the marriage ability of the defective. It is the economic disqualification which, consciously at least, is being considered.

In courtship the boy may talk to the girl somewhere, perhaps by the river bank when she is filling her water jar.<sup>92</sup> . . . Lucinda had been surmising that a certain neighbor, a middle-aged widow, was entertaining the suit of a certain widower. One day on visiting her neighbor she found her washing the man's head. Then Lucinda was sure the widow was going to marry him. . . . If a widow or girl is obdurate, a man may go to a medicine man for help. The medicine man bids him return in the morning, for he, the medicine man, has first to ask his chief's permission to help. The permission obtained, the medicine man passes on his "power" to the suitor. The suitor visits the woman, saying only "Akuwam!" (greetings). She looks at him. That is enough. If he does not return to her, she will feel compelled to go to him and beg him to marry her. Then the successful suitor reports to the medicine man, who removes the power from him.

After preliminaries with the girl, the suitor asks her parents for her in a letter which is breathed from<sup>93</sup> when it is received. If they do not answer within three days he knows he will not get her. But if they do not reject or "pumpkin him,"<sup>94</sup> his parents will kill two or three steers and send half the meat to the girl's parents. They send for wood and half the load they also donate to the girl's parents. The

<sup>90</sup> For hair cuttings and black magic, see p. 244.

<sup>91</sup> But see Parsons, 9: 167.

<sup>92</sup> See p. 452.

<sup>93</sup> See p. 282.

<sup>94</sup> See pp. 392, 403. Also Parsons, 9: 166-168 for further details; also minor discrepancies in the accounts.



boy himself brings presents—a buckskin, one or two blankets, a shawl, two mantas and silver manta pins, a mattress and pillow.<sup>95</sup> During the betrothal period girl and boy receive no visitors lest visitors speak ill of them. Three nights before the wedding all the relatives of the boy take presents to the girl—coffee, sugar, soap, dishes, perhaps over \$50 worth. . . . The boy's father has arranged the wedding day with the padre. It is generally on a Monday. The wedding feast is in the girl's house, where the couple will remain five or six days before going to their own house.

As a rule, the man provides the house. It is usually given to him, built or bought, by his father, or with the cooperation of his kindred he may himself build or buy it. At his death he will leave the house to one or more of his children<sup>96</sup> or to his widow. The only rule or practice is that the house goes to the one not yet provided with a home. Through this course women in many cases own houses, either as widows or as daughters who inherit. Women married to nontownsmen (including men of Laguna descent) also appear as house owners. The following cases will illustrate the various practices of house ownership or inheritance by women: House 1<sup>96a</sup> belongs to the Isletan woman who has married into Zuñi, but whose first husband was an Isletan. He owned the house and at his death left it to her. They had no children. She married a man of Laguna descent, retaining ownership of the house. She separated from her second husband and went to Zuñi;<sup>97</sup> but of the Isletan house she is still accounted owner. House 11 belongs to a girl who has just been married. She inherited the house from her father, her mother having remarried. The husband of the girl owns a house which is for the time being empty. . . . House 13 belongs to the younger sister of the owner of house 11. Houses 11, 12, 13 had been one house. When the father of the family died, and his widow remarried, the house was split up, one part (now house 11) going to the older sister, another part (now house 13) to the younger sister, and the middle part (now house 12) being sold out of the family. House 13 is empty, the younger sister being still in school. . . . House 23 belongs to a woman who is married to a Navaho she met at boarding school. Her parents bought the house for her. . . . House 27 belongs to a woman married to a Hopi. She got the house from her first husband. House 44 belongs to a woman who was married to a man of Laguna descent, then after his death to a San Domingo man. House 65 belongs to a woman who was married to a man of Laguna descent. He is now

<sup>95</sup> Compare Mexican practice. (Parsons: 20.)

<sup>96</sup> I have no specific information on land inheritance. It was said, in general, that more land would be left to a son than to a daughter.

<sup>96a</sup> The map of the houses to which this and other numerals refer has been lost.

<sup>97</sup> This is the woman of whose Isletan clanship affiliation I tried to learn repeatedly, in Zuñi. At Zuñi she affiliated herself with the Pikchikwe clan. At Isleta she belongs to the Yellow Corn group (the Earth or Lizard people). Now there are no Lizard people at Zuñi.

living at old Laguna, married to a Laguna woman. House 64 belongs to a woman who got it from her first husband. She lives in it now with her second husband, who was a widower. House 78 belongs to a woman married to a man from Zuñi; and house 108 to a woman married to a man from San Felipe. She got the house from her first husband. House 138 belongs to the widow of a man of Laguna descent for whom at his marriage his father bought the house. At this time his father also gave him 150 head of sheep. To the bride a horse and wagon were given by her parents. The house belonging to Genealogy III, 1, was inherited by his two daughters, Genealogy III, 7 and 11, half going to each. The son of Genealogy III, 7, inherited her half.

The only restriction on marriage choice is blood relationship as accounted, in both paternal and maternal lines, to fourth or fifth cousinship. Just where in the kinship circle of *matu*, relations, the restriction would not apply is a little uncertain in theory and, no doubt, in practice, calling for family consultation. The restriction appears more far-reaching than that of the Catholic Church, with which it, of course, does not clash, but to which, I incline to think, it was antecedent. In Isletan opinion, also, the restriction is native. "Mexicans marry second cousins; we will not marry second, third, fourth, and fifth cousins." "People say you can not raise children when you marry cousins," and Lucinda cited two cousin marriages where the offspring have died—the marriage of Tita Lucero and Juan Trinidad Lucero,<sup>98</sup> her mother and his father (Bautista) being sister and brother; and the marriage of Bautista Lucero himself to his father's sister's daughter. This Lucero family is rich, and the cousin marriages in the two generations were to keep the property in the family. For a like reason Pablo Abeita is said to have married his father's brother's daughter. On the other hand, Fina Zuñi, "an old-fashioned woman," broke off the marriage between her brother's daughter (*chabe*) and the girl's first cousin, although the boy had already made the girl presents, his mother had paid the three conventional wedding visits, and the wedding was to be in three or four days.

Of the marriages I recorded in making a house-to-house paper canvass with our informant, about as many were within the same moiety as between moieties. The same enumeration showed a like indifference to endogamy or exogamy among the Corn groups. It verified the statement that the Corn groups are not concerned (as are Pueblo clans) with restriction of marriage choices.

Neither moiety nor Corn group is ever changed at marriage. A foreigner (Indian) marrying into Isleta will in time be taken into the moiety or Corn group of the Isletan spouse. For example, the Navaho husband of the owner of house 23 is *shure'* and Poplar, to which groups his wife belongs. The Zuñi husband of the owner of house 78

<sup>98</sup> For the benefit of the padre—I. e., to deceive him—the names were changed for the wedding.

belongs also to his wife's moiety, although, for some reason I did not learn, not to her Corn group; he is shichu, she is of the White Corn. There is also a Laguna woman (in house 91) married into town who belongs to the shichu, instead of to the Yellow Corn group her husband belongs to. "Because there are not many shichu—maybe that is why they put her in there." On the other hand, the Hopi silver-smith who is the husband of the owner of house 27, but who has been married only two years, has not yet been taken into any Corn group or properly (i. e., by getting a name) into the moiety organization; still he "plays shure'" (his wife's moiety) in the shinny games. Similarly the San Domingo husband of the owner of house 44 "played" with her moiety, Black Eyes; but he, too, got no name, nor was he taken into a Corn group. After three years of marriage he returned to San Domingo. Of the San Felipe husband of the owner of house 108 it was said that, although married two years, he belonged to no group, "perhaps he would never belong."

There is a man of Laguna descent who has been married to two Isletan women—the first died; from the second he is separated—but who belongs to no Corn group. He is shure'. Another Laguna man, married to a Mexican woman in house 52, belongs to no group. He had left the town when he was young. In house 201 lives a man from Powati who, although married to an Isletan, belongs to no group. There are no instances of white or Mexican being taken into any town organization. Of the Mexican wife of the owner of house 201 it was said specifically that she belonged to no group. According to Lucinda there is a saying that the Isletan who married a Mexican may be turned into stone,<sup>99</sup> and in illustration she told the story of the cacique's son who flirted with the queen.<sup>1</sup>

Of other foreign marriages we may note that of the son of the White Corn chief to a white woman who lives in California; of the son of the owner of house 210 to a white woman (they live near the railway station and keep a restaurant); that of the daughter of the owner of house 58 to a white man; that of the daughter of the widow owner of house 96 to a white man, an Italian whom she divorced, marrying a Mexican who left her; that of this woman's half-breed daughter to a white man; that of the owner of house 71 to a Mexican woman. Three Navaho—two men and one woman—have married into Isleta. Three Isletan men are married into Sandia. One Isletan woman is married to a man of old Laguna (they live at Gallup); another Isletan woman is married at Zuñi, where she had gone with her Isletan husband. "She sent him back and married a Zuñi man." The use of

<sup>99</sup> This consequence of breaking a sex taboo is familiar in Mexico. For example, on the road to Chalma are two stones which represent a priest and his housekeeper who erred on their pilgrimage to the sanctuary.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 374-375.

"Zuñi" as a patronymic at Isleta points to some earlier Zuñi intermarriages.<sup>2</sup>

Incidentally, we have noted several cases of conjugal separation. Others were mentioned also in the house census. In house 40 lives a woman who separated three years ago from her husband. The three children remain with her in the house which belongs to their father who has returned to his parents' house. House 82 is similarly occupied by a woman with two little children, the husband to whom the house belongs having gone to live with his parents. In house 67 lives the ex-wife<sup>3</sup> of the crier, with her grandson. The house belongs to the crier who lives separate in another house that he owns. In house 41 lives a man who is also separated from his wife. So that, although in theory—Catholic Church theory—the married "have to live together for their life" (unlike the Zuñi practice where a man can "get another one" or, such is the reputation of Zuñi marriage in the east, a woman can have five husbands at one time), in practice there is some separation, legal divorces through the Federal agent or informal separation and, one surmises, informal remating. In 1922 a youth of 22 who was jealous of his wife shot himself. In 1924 a man killed the man he found with his wife and beat her. The murderer was tried in the Federal court and discharged. One case of loose living was cited as taken in hand by the governor; a woman of Laguna descent began "to go around, making trouble." The governor put her out of town. (She went to Sandia. "They put her out." Then she went to old Laguna.) . . . Another woman was referred to by Lucinda as being the unmarried mother of five children. Child-birth is so easy for her that she will say, "It is coming now," and at once the baby is born. "No wonder she keeps at that business," commented Lucinda. Lucinda told of how once when she went to the ash pile a man standing there asked her if he could be her "husband in hiding." She refused. Just then her own husband rode by. On her return home her husband asked her what the man had been saying to her. She had to tell him. She always had to tell him everything. Formerly an erring husband would be taken by the "old people" (not the governor) and, with his arms tied in front, whipped five times "if there was five of them." To-day the governor fines. To a boy with two sweethearts somebody might say, "You want to be like Coyote old man"; i. e., to sleep between two girls.<sup>4</sup> Formerly, when presumably the hooded chimney was common, lovers

<sup>2</sup> A man from Zuñi called José Sara or José Zuñi was cited as having lived a long time at Isleta as a young man. He did not marry, but returned to Zuñi, where he died.

<sup>3</sup> She is the head woman assistant of the Laguna Fathers.

<sup>4</sup> But of the Pueblo tales in which this incident occurs no parallel at Isleta has been as yet recorded.

would make their escape through the chimney.<sup>5</sup> Young people who are intimate may be made to marry by their parents.

There appears to be no fixed time for remarriage after widowhood. Lucinda's widowed daughter-in-law remarried within a month. She still weeps, though, when she encounters her sometime mother-in-law, who no doubt weeps in her turn. For Lucinda is like many Pueblo women, easily tearful. Her son used to say to her, "Mother, you must not cry about everything." She cried in particular when he told her he was going to the war "to see what he could do to the Kaiser." . . . Lucinda is set against remarriage for herself. "I am not for men," says she. "I think only about my pottery." Art, not men. A distinguished sacerdotalist used to come courting. Once he brought her a wagonful of crops. She took them, but she said flatly, "Father, I am not going to marry you." Lucinda also rejected the suit of a man who had been governor—Lucinda rather enjoyed telling about her rejected suitors—who then married another widow. After some time these two separated—first getting in their crop and dividing it, which is the proper thing in Pueblo circles for a couple who are about to separate to do.

As in all but the western pueblos the family is of the single, not of the joint or compound type, since at marriage the couple remove to their own house. But there are some instances of families of more than two generations living together, and, of course, the old people, widows or widowers, not uncommonly have married children living with them or a grandchild. Orphans are taken into the house of some relative, perhaps their mother's sister or their father's sister.

Of all the relatives only the father's sister appears to have any specialized functions, in connection with the clowns at the pinitu dance, in naming ritual, at initiations, and at death in preparing the corpse. After salt-fetching trips salt was given to the "aunts."<sup>6</sup> The hunter takes the eyes of his deer to his oldest aunt. "She cleans his eyes," so when he hunts he can see far. A man will haul wood for his aunt. A visit paid an aunt may be accompanied by a gift. When, for example, Genealogy III, 12, visited Genealogy III, 22, her father's brother's daughter, she would bring with her a large basket of meal, to receive in turn a kerchief or shirt. "That is the way we do with our kyuuu." The boys who are going to run in the Easter Sunday race (see p. 324, n. 43) go that morning to their aunt's house for breakfast, whence they come out wearing white clothes and white banda, "to show they are not going to turn to frogs," and to sing kwa! kwa!

<sup>5</sup> Formerly a house was locked by slipping a wooden bar into a wall hole on either side of the door which opened inward. This would be done by a child who then made his exit through the chimney.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Parsons, 9: 226.



Family property, including land, houses aside, is distributed equally among offspring or descendants, at least in theory. Lucinda has a brother and sister and each of the three inherited a field from their parents. When Lucinda's mother-in-law discriminated in bequeathing her flock of sheep in favor of her daughter's children and against the children of her son, Lucinda felt outraged, and in spite of the governor's decision she still feels outraged. "Was that right? Was that right?" she vociferated.

#### GAMES

Shinny (napoaha) is played for four days after the spring work on the ditch, with practice playing late in the afternoons of that work. The course is from Ora'i'bi up to the oil well, no playing, as sometimes elsewhere, in the fields. In practice play the ball is placed in the center of the plaza, with the goal of the shure' in the southwest corner, that of the Black Eyes in the northeast. Should the ball fall among the houses in the neighborhood of the town chief's house, he or his appointee has to be asked to get it out. As suggested above, the play is by moiety. There is betting on the game, the stakes, an acre of land, a cow, a house, and the winnings are distributed within the group, only the size of the group is uncertain. I incline to think that as elsewhere betting is more individualistic than communal. This betting, rather than any ritual purpose, was the outstanding character of the game in the opinion of my informant. And yet the ball has to be made in the usual ritual way, covered with deerskin and stuffed, in this case not with deer hair, but with "the strings that pop out" in tanning the hide;<sup>7</sup> and the parties of players meet in the churchyard to sing; and, most significant of all, as the players pass by the houses the girls inside throw water on them by the dipperful, the familiar Pueblo practice to bring rain.

A girl's ball game was formerly played—ipohata'hi, rendered "they are betting po'tō (corn meal)." Two balls tied together were used, the balls covered with buckskin and stuffed with wool. The stick was of willow. The game might keep up for two weeks. The players were young girls, six on a side, east-side people (heba'i wein) against west-side people (hehnaiiwein) or welima people, which terms refer, I take it, to the Black Eyes and the shure'. As this alignment seemed a "secret" to Lucinda, no doubt the game was ritualistic.

Hidden ball (ku'wi) is played, by men, three or four to a side. It is played any time during the winter, at night, at home, not in kiva where no games are allowed. . . . The four containers are of cane,

<sup>7</sup> If the ball bursts, another ball is brought into play, which fact corroborates the view that the game is not played, as by the Tewa and Hopi, to fertilize the fields. When their ball bursts they stop playing.



with markings. (Fig. 1.) The "ball" is a piece of the bone of a deer leg. The hiding is done as usual behind a blanket which is held up curtainwise. There are songs: Bear and mountain lion are asked to help. Much betting; stakes of blankets, horses, land.

Papoahaka'piu (poaha, ball; ka'piu, burn him) is a hand ball game played by men against women, married men against married women, or boys against girls. It is played in the late autumn. The ball of buckskin is stuffed with goose feathers. From behind the



FIGURE 1.—Containers in hidden-ball game

line A (fig. 2), a woman bounces the ball out with her hand, and runs to B or C. If a man touches her with the ball, he scores. At B or C she is safe. If touched,

she may try to throw the ball into one of the set of 14 holes and, if succeeding, preclude being scored against. Three scores, to win the game. Betting.

K'qai' (cob there) is a woman's winter game, although men sometimes play it. Four, five, or six women will play. Half a corncob is set up at B with two or three bead necklaces on top. A is a stone mark. The players first throw a stone from B to A, the nearest to A having the first turn. She then throws from A to B. If she knocks over the cob, scattering the necklaces, and the stone drops on the farther side of the cob, not between the cob and the necklaces, she wins the necklaces. When men play they put up money.

Formerly, girls played a cow horn (namaite') game,<sup>8</sup> six girls lined up on each side. The only other detail that I have is that "the winner carries the loser on her back to find the horn."

The dart game is played—fiematie' (fiema, the feathered cob; tie', throwing). It is played by three boys to a side. Two targets of cardboard with a bull's eye in charcoal are attached to opposite house walls. Betting.

The kick stick or ball is not used for racing, which is of the relay type. The kick-ball (w'iv) is referred to, however, ritualistically and in tale.<sup>9</sup>

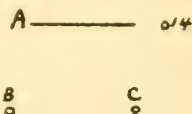


FIGURE 2.—Diagram of ball game

<sup>8</sup> Imaite' tawe, they are throwing at the cowhorn.

<sup>9</sup> See pp. 279, 368.

There is a boys' game called abalone shell (fieruku'ru)<sup>10</sup> or laburupakau'u (box shining) or maboro pakau'u (beads shining) in which the one who is "it" is called kuchi (Mexican, hog) wiq (tail) or taika (Isletan, hog) wiq.

#### SICKNESS AND CURE; WITCHCRAFT

For any slight sickness invitation to doctor is sent directly to the chief of either medicine society, the Town Fathers, or the Laguna Fathers, who will appoint one of his assistants for the case. If the case is very grave and a ceremony in the house of the medicine society is required, the request is sent to the society chief through the chief of the Corn group the patient belongs to.<sup>11</sup> This is done, too, in the case of snake scare, when the society chief will direct the Snake Father (piru ka'ade) to doctor. But in snake bite, application will be made directly to the Snake Father or doctor, who has to find the snake for the victim to spit into its mouth, thus making the snake cure the man. After the man spits, the snake bursts and dies, and the man recovers. . . . No female should approach the snake bitten lest she instantly swell up.

There appears to be no ceremonial cure for the lightning struck. A certain plant is boiled and given him to drink to get rid of the "smoke" that is inside him.<sup>12</sup> After the man is struck anyone must wait before approaching until it thunders three times (as it always does). Otherwise the stricken man might die.<sup>13</sup> And the first person to touch him, to feel him over, should be a sacerdotalist. . . . In the great river flood a girl who was nearly drowned was left "half crazy, perhaps because she got scared." Ritual was performed for her;<sup>14</sup> more than that I could not learn.

For toothache you might "feed the scalps" which are kept in the roundhouses, and even before you have sprinkled the pollen or meal your toothache is gone. A story was told of a man who had tried something without success for his toothache. "Go and feed the scalps," he was told. He asked his brother to go with him. His brother was afraid, but he said he would go and stay outside. The man himself was so afraid that when he was halfway down the ladder he merely threw the meal down and ran back to his brother, telling him that the toothache was gone. "Perhaps because he was so afraid," was the shrewd and yet not at all skeptical comment. (See p. 456 for another method of treating toothache, offering a candle

<sup>10</sup> Fieru, earring; kuru, dipper. Which etymology points to familiar but obsolescent Pueblo use of abalone for earrings; and to the use of shell as ritual dipper.

<sup>11</sup> At another time it was said that the chief of the Corn group would apply to the town chief, who would assign the case to one or the other of the medicine societies.

<sup>12</sup> Compare Parsons, 12: 275, n. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Compare Parsons, 12: 275, n. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Compare Parsons, 8: 121, n. 4.

to a deceased townsman who had great power.) The water the scalps are washed in is a medicine against "worry."<sup>15</sup>

Paralysis may be treated by sweat bath. The chief of the Town Fathers is applied to. A hogan is built in the orchard southeast of town and the patient taken there early in the morning. Special stones called *shihio'*, eye stones, are heated red hot and then sprinkled with water. The chief stays in the hogan with the patient to sing three songs. ("He's got his power; may be he don't feel the heat.") . . . One old man was cited as having been cured by this treatment, after he had been treated in the family, without success, with applications of the blood, still hot, of a coyote.

Kalaichu, a plant with a yellow bloom, is used by the medicine men to regulate the menstrual flow, but whether to promote it or check it my informant did not know. Women assistants in the ceremonial groups, if menstruating at the time of their ceremony, are expected to notify their chief and absent themselves from the ceremony. Nor do menstruating women go to church. . . . The Mexican woman who was housing my informant one day had a sharp pain in her side and asked her tenant for medicine. He recommended a plant called *hü* in Isletan, *yerba awelo* (Spanish, *abuelo*, grandfather) in Mexican, with reference to the clown masks both Mexicans and Isletans (also Tewa) call grandfather. A plaster for broken bones is made of *foala*, *jucca* root.

There is a skin disease called *pafu'na* characterized by water blisters and itch, which is said to be caused by gum running into piñons in a good piñon year. Skin eruptions may be caused by ants or by witches or by nature. "We can tell by looking at it which it is."

Sore eyes are caused by small thorns (*liföla*) sent into the body, or sticks, stones, rags, etc., by witches. They have to be removed by the medicine men, either privately or at public ceremonial. (See pp. 312, 443.) Thirty or more years ago there was a smallpox epidemic which was believed to be witch sent.

Belief in witchcraft is quite as vigorous and comprehensive as in other pueblos. Among other familiar ideas are those about the witches assembling in a cave, which is placed at *Shimtua*, in the mesa side, 5 miles to the southwest, and about the efficiency of foreign witches. Should one want to harm a relative one would commission a witch from another town. If you are bewitched, you may offer a relative in your own place. The woman who was drowned in the flood<sup>16</sup> was thus given by her own husband, "they say." . . . "If a woman is not right (i. e., a witch), her children get it"; that is, witchcraft runs in families.<sup>16a</sup> The witch comes as a light in the night

<sup>15</sup> See p. 327.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 208.

<sup>16a</sup> See p. 432, n. 27.

(duride) which we may note, incidentally, was the term first applied to the railway with its flashing locomotive lights. The witch light jumps from place to place. Witches are abroad in particular during ceremonial by the medicine societies. If an attendant at a ceremony faints, the inference is that his or her spirit has gone abroad on witchcraft. When the medicine societies initiate a new member, the witch society feels called upon to initiate one also.<sup>17</sup> After killing a person the witch society may exhume him to initiate him.<sup>18</sup> A witch will lurk about the graveyard in the form of an animal.<sup>19</sup> An animal may be sent to do harm by a witch. In one case it was a burro the witch woman sent to bite a boy. The boy's father killed the burro. Witches put on the skins of animals or birds to go to their meeting. The witch ceremony is called *na'ihu*,<sup>20</sup> meaning to pack or put below something. It is *nashau*, of their own will power. The prime difference between asking a witch or asking a medicine man to help you in any undertaking is that after you succeed the medicine man removes from you the "power" he has imparted to you, whereas the witch does not, and the "power" may abide with you for life in punishment for having resorted to it, something like the affliction of King Midas.

As in other pueblos, certain persons are reputed to be witches and more or less feared. A woman of Laguna descent was mentioned, and her San Felipe husband. "They say they are both witches." One time this woman asked Lucinda to sell her a piece of pottery. Lucinda refused. A friend of Lucinda remonstrated: "Sell it to her. She is a witch. She might hurt you." "No, she can't hurt me," retorted Lucinda. Lucinda's husband was ever very set against having visitors in their house: "They might be witches," he would say. As at Zuñi, anyone peering into another person's window renders himself suspect. Witches are abroad at night until cockcrow, when their time is up. One midnight when returning from boarding school Lucinda had to walk home from the railway station. She heard loud breathing behind her. She would take a step and then have to stop, she felt so heavy and constrained. Until cockcrow something kept her on the road; she could not reach home. Recently Lucinda had to go out one night and at the corner of her house she saw a man jumping up and down four times, as if he were starting to fly. She called, "Who are you?" No answer. Again she called. No answer. She said, "I will throw a stone unless you say who you are." "It's me," said the man. "What are you doing?" "Not your business." But it became her business because she thought of

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<sup>17</sup> See p. 430.<sup>18</sup> See pp. 249, 438.<sup>19</sup> See p. 249.<sup>20</sup> See p. 386.

it so much during the days following. She had never thought of that man as a witch before, although she had once suspected his sister,<sup>21</sup> but there was no doubt she was thinking of him now as one. She should have hit him on the chest four times, she said. When you do that to a witch "the bad goes back into him." Formerly when a witch was caught he would be placed sitting on his toes; i. e., squatting, and kept in that position, being replaced when he fell over, until he died.

At Isleta, as elsewhere, hair cuttings are buried or burned or carefully kept, lest witches work through them. Sweepings from the floor are also burned "because we have stepped on them and these bad people might get them if we threw them out." The root, *pakōli* (Mexican, *kacharna*),<sup>22</sup> is an antiwitch prophylactic which is carried in the pocket by men, in the belt by women. "When you carry it, nobody can do you any harm." One informant had been paying a visit to Taos and he observed that where at Taos ashes are used against witches, at Isleta, *pakōli* is used. . . . During his visit at Taos a girl in his host's house fell sick of a fever and a medicine man came in to see her, Santiago Kuncha or Paw'iapap.<sup>23</sup> After feeling the girl over, Kuncha (Spanish, abalone shell) looked at the Isletan visitor and straightway remarked that in that Isletan pocket were three roots with which he should doctor the girl, enabling her to recover without ceremonial. There were, in fact, three roots in that Isletan pocket: *Karli*, wolf root, which is good to be chewed for a pain in the stomach; *palefia*, which is a bear root (called *p'awa*, at Taos), and the antiwitch root, *pakōli*, which must have been particularly good for the girl who was sick because someone had envied her her employment by some white people in Fernandez de Taos. . . . All these roots the Isletan promised to send to his Taos hosts.

The well-known clay pit of the church at Chimayo which is referred to as *sanctuario* is visited for medicine. A sick person may walk to *sanctuario* in two or three days, when ordinarily it takes a week—an amusing carrying over into Catholic cult of the Isletan notion of rapid progress when on supernatural quest. San Escapu'la is the saint<sup>24</sup> of *sanctuario*.<sup>25</sup> He is the "luckiest"; i. e., the most powerful, of saints. When you ask him for something you make him a promise; i. e., vow, which you must keep to.<sup>26</sup> Recently in childbirth a woman made him a promise.<sup>27</sup> She has had a Mass for him and later she will visit *sanctuario*. Lucinda visited *sanctuario* a few years ago to get

<sup>21</sup> See p. 242.

<sup>22</sup> The practice itself is Mexican. See Parsons, 18, for this and other Mexican witch practices and beliefs.

<sup>23</sup> In Isletan, *lake* spread out. He was, I surmise, he who is referred to by Taos townspeople as the big earring man, chief of the three north side kivas. Big earrings were made of abalone.

<sup>24</sup> A *cristo* (crucifix), but formerly a *bolto*, image in one piece.

<sup>25</sup> See pp. 415-416.

<sup>26</sup> See p. 415.

<sup>27</sup> *Promesa*, as would be said in Mexico. The visitations of sanctuaries in connection with *promesas* is characteristically Mexican. (See Parsons, 16.)



the medicine clay for a rheumatic leg. Another Isletan of my acquaintance had twice visited *sanctuario* "for pains in the body and for being sad."

The notion of the evil eye, *mal ojo*, is familiar. Something is done, by a medicine man, I surmise, whereby the Mexican old woman will get a headache and for relief have to come to the sick child's house where they will besmoke or incense her and make her sweat, together with the child. . . . I heard of the case of a youth who was taken sick one night and unable to pass water. The day before he had been visiting at Jemez with a Mexican. Both the sick boy and his mother believed that he had been bewitched by the Mexican.

A sick person during ceremonial treatment will not take the medicine of a white doctor. During the influenza epidemic of 1918 which was disastrous at Isleta as in other pueblos and resulted in 190 deaths, among the strongest and best, a white doctor gave a sick girl some medicine which made her menstrual flow discharge through the mouth and she died. People said that the doctor had poisoned her. That epidemic was sent by "bad people"; i. e., it was witch sent. Lucinda had also heard that it came from Germany whence "bad blood" spread over the world. As at Zuñi and other pueblos, the white doctor is called in at childbirth only in difficult cases as a last resort. After a labor of four days he had been called in to attend the daughter of Pablo Abeita. "It was too late," said the doctor, and the girl died.

There is a tradition at Isleta against having your picture taken, because several years ago a woman on seeing the photograph of her deceased daughter in the house of a white woman exclaimed, "There she is, but she was gone long ago!" and dropped dead. "That is why some people are afraid to be photographed."

#### INSANITY; ALBINISM; MAN-WOMAN

But one case of insanity has been known to my middle-aged informant. This "crazy man" would not keep his shoes on, and he would go about hollering before it began to blow or rain or snow. "It is going to blow," people said, when they heard him holler. No reason for his insanity was given. He died at the age of 40.

There is said to be in town one albino woman with two sons aged 21 and 16, also albino. The woman has no other children. She and her husband are said to be wholly of Isletan descent. Her parents who are living are not albino, nor is her sister, nor was her deceased brother. Our informant did not know of any local explanation of this family's albinism nor of albinism in general.

There is no man-woman (*hunide*) to-day in Isleta. About 30 years ago there was one called Palure who died at a very advanced



age; he walked with a cane. Pa'lure wore woman's clothes. He was a plasterer. He always lived alone. Boys would visit him, chop wood for him, calling him "mother," and would stay late at night, until cockerow, to be scolded afterwards by their parents. They could not keep away from him. Pa'lure or Pa'lur did not like girls, but girls came to his house to meet the boys. The younger girls who had to carry the babies on their backs would come, too, to rest themselves. Nobody made such good cakes as Pa'lur and he would give them to the children. When the boys came in he would send the children away. Pa'lur was a very pretty person, and "they would sell him for a night, sometimes three or four times of a night, to some Mexican or white, fooling them." His name appears to be a nickname for this, meaning water, jump in. Jumping into the river is an Isletan phrase for sexual intercourse. But pa'lure means also water dripping or sprinkling (see p. 280), and this was the first translation of his name that I got. In spite of some of these facts, there was not in the minds of my two informants, one a man, the other a woman, the slightest idea of attributing perverse sexual practice to this man-woman. To these informants the idea of sexual perversion seemed completely unfamiliar. This ignorance on the part of the woman in particular, a woman completely without sex reticence, is the most convincing evidence I have found of the lack of perversion on the part of the Pueblo man-woman.

Another Isletan man-woman was called Axa Hose lunude, old father José man-woman. He dressed in men's clothes which were always Indian buckskin trousers and moccasins.

From Lucinda I heard again of the last man-woman who lived at old Laguna, and who was involved there in a murder.<sup>28</sup> After this "Valentino" was released from prison he came to Orai'bi to visit his mother's brother, Francisco Torres.

Valentino would tell them how he had carried the murdered husband to the railway track, crying as he told about it. (And Lucinda, the emotional one, cried too.) Valentino was a fine potter. . . . Still earlier there had been another Laguna visitor of the same type at Orai'bi—Kuyuye, who was called Naiya Huye, Mother Huye, at Orai'bi. He had been at school with Lucinda at Santa Fe. "We called him cumare." After some time he was found out at school and made to wear boy's clothes and placed with the boys. From school he went to Orai'bi, where he lived with his uncle, José Antonio Correo. He wore trousers, but he did woman's work, grinding and making wafer bread, and carrying water. He would not chop wood. He talked like a girl. After staying there three or four years at Orai'bi, he died.

<sup>28</sup> See Parsons, 12: 166, 237, 272. Dyamu (Valentino) was of the Chaparral Cock clan.

Incidentally Lucinda described a man-woman of San Felipe who is employed in a store at Albuquerque, where he wears men's clothes. At home, in San Felipe, he wears women's clothes. When he visits Lucinda at Isleta he acts shy like a girl. He talks like a girl and he will wash dishes for his hostess.

#### DREAMS; CLAIRVOYANCE; OMENS

Dream of grapes means something is going to happen to your relations (*matu*). Dream of somebody passing in a canyon means a grave, a relation is going to die. Dream of shaking hands with somebody or talking close up to them means something good for you. Dream of a medicine man brings good luck. Men would not touch the scalps<sup>29</sup> lest they dream of them. Our informant, Abeita, was himself a dreamer and attached importance to his dreams. One morning he told me of a dream about a girl of our acquaintance, a white girl, in which she was caught by a wolf and cried out; but the dreamer's neck was stiff and he could not turn around. "You dream when you worry," said Lucinda. For her part this cheerful spirit did not worry, so she said, and did not dream. But one night when she had gone to a house alone in which there was no light, no fire, she was very nervous and could not sleep for thinking of the man she had seen the week before jumping up and down<sup>30</sup> where he had no business. When she did get to sleep she had a bad dream. With another woman from Isleta she was on a cliff from which she could not descend.<sup>31</sup> She was wearing a dirty American dress. She wondered in her dream why it was so greasy.

Formerly people would talk together about their dreams and so found out what was going to happen. The old man nicknamed Football used to interpret dreams. The old people told about the white people coming before they came; also how wagons without horses would come (automobiles), and horses with two legs (bicycles). (Let us note in comparing this statement with others of the same kind among other Indian peoples that it is the power of prediction which is the main postulation; the content of the prediction will vary and be kept up to date.)

Clairvoyance is a notable attribute of the medicine men in general, and of the ritual detective in particular. But clairvoyance appears to be practiced also by persons of either sex who are referred to as *nathörde*, with power, powerful. Unlike witches, they use their power to travel long distances<sup>32</sup> or to see what is going on at a dis-

<sup>29</sup> See p. 260.

<sup>30</sup> See p. 243.

<sup>31</sup> Imprisonment on a cliff is a not uncommon folk tale incident. At Nambé it is believed that such imprisonment is a punishment after death for an unworthy ceremonialist.

<sup>32</sup> See pp. 452 and 265, 310, 321, 331.

tance,<sup>33</sup> only for good or harmless ends. A white arrow point and some pollen are all that they need.

In ritual clairvoyance or prediction the root called *lifiew'a*, presumably a narcotic, is commonly used.

Any grain of corn you saw dropped outside you would pick up and bring into the house. It will bring corn to the house. If you leave it lying, you will not grow good corn, or the corn you grow will not last long.

If your eye twitches, you will get news. The left eye of my friend had been twitching one day and he opined that he was going to receive shortly a letter from his daughter. The day following he did receive the letter, to his twofold satisfaction. A big fly in the house means company. "Let's clean up," the woman will say. On hiccoughing, Lucinda says, "Somebody thinking of me." A crow cawing is calling cold weather.

In some curing ceremonies, with a special feather the doctor will make a circle around the patient, and then circle the patient himself with the feather, five times. After this the feather flies up into the roof. When it drops, if it fall within the circle, the patient will recover, if without the circle, he will die.<sup>34</sup>

Tuesday is an ill-omened day—*mala suerte*, say the Mexicans. People would not get married on Tuesday, or hold meetings, or start on a trading journey, or hunt. For the ominousness of a deer whistle see p. 439.

#### FUNERARY PRACTICES

A kinsman, the son of the deceased, or other relative, goes to the chief of the Corn group of the deceased, who will send an assistant to the house to sprinkle meal from the feet of the corpse to the door. (There is no orientation of the corpse. Formerly the head was placed on a block of adobe.<sup>35</sup>) The aunt (*ky'uu*)<sup>36</sup> of the deceased is also summoned. (If the deceased have no *kyunin* the Corn chief will appoint a woman assistant to perform the proper functions.) With her she brings a bowl of water and cotton and a twig brush. She brushes the hair of the deceased, washes<sup>37</sup> and dries the face. The water she has used may not be thrown outside the door. She throws it within the threshold where she also breaks the bowl, leaving the pieces, that the people coming in may step on them.<sup>38</sup> The hands of

<sup>33</sup> See pp. 452 and 285, 340, 458.

<sup>34</sup> For other omens in ritual see pp. 313 and 448, 449.

<sup>35</sup> Mexican custom.

<sup>36</sup> The father's sister, as at Laguna (Parsons, 12: 195) and elsewhere.

<sup>37</sup> When I referred to this function of the aunt, Lucinda, the secretive one, was startled, and covered her mouth with her hand, the Pueblo motion to conceal emotion. Recovering, she said that the aunt had to "clean every corner" of the room "to start a new life."

<sup>38</sup> This practice seems strangely non-Pueblo. Cp. a like funerary practice among the Tarabumare. (Lumholtz, I, 36.)

the dead are placed clasped together, and between the middle fingers is placed a small cross of pertiu.<sup>39</sup> The aunt covers the corpse with a black blanket (*manta*) which is sewn together. Four men volunteer to carry the body first to the church, then to the cemetery.

In the new cemetery outside of town, as in the ancient churchyard, the burial is head to the south, facing the church, a position in which people are loath to sleep.<sup>40</sup> Around the grave a circle is drawn with an arrow point or blade, and on it a cross is marked—protection against witches.<sup>41</sup> If a person has been witched to death, he is not really dead, and after four days the witches may try to exhume him and so “get a child”; i. e., another witch member.<sup>42</sup>

The relatives remain in the house of the deceased four nights, which are referred to as four years. On the third day everybody washes his or her head. On the fourth day, before sunrise, everybody in the funerary house has to go to the river to sprinkle meal in the water and bathe. On their way going or returning, whatever sound they may hear, they are not to look backward—the deceased may be following.<sup>43</sup> From the river they return to their respective houses, when the women prepare food for the ceremony that evening which the Corn chief and his assistants are to conduct. About 9 in the evening the Corn Fathers arrive at the house of the deceased and lay down their meal altar on which are medicine bowl, arrow points, and the prayer feathers made by the chief for the deceased. A line of meal is sprinkled from the altar to the door, for the deceased to come in by. On the meal road stands a bowl, to which each relative and each Corn Father has contributed a bit of food, and any objects, such as bow and arrow, used by the deceased. . . . The Corn assistants stand in a row near the food offering. With a prayer feather the chief sprinkles all from the medicine bowl. All sing. The chief sprinkles meal on the meal road, in his song calling to the deceased to enter. Then the chief opens the house door, singing that the deceased is coming. “You can not see him, but you hear footsteps outside and fumbling at the door.” The chief bids the deceased to come and eat. Then from the Mother<sup>44</sup> to the door the chief sprinkles the road for him to leave by. Then the Fathers take out the bowl of food and the prayer feathers and “chase him (the deceased) out of the village.” With them they also take pieces out from the deceased’s clothes and personal belongings. The Fathers return on a run and close the door, making a cross on it with their arrow point

<sup>39</sup> A high bush with a white bloom which grows in the mountain arroyos.

<sup>40</sup> Cp. Parsons, 9: 168–169.

<sup>41</sup> See pp. 278, 438.

<sup>42</sup> See p. 438.

<sup>43</sup> A notion held also by the Tewa and at Zuñi.

<sup>44</sup> I do not understand this reference, as the Corn chiefs are not possessed of Mothers.

or blade, which they also pass over the walls of the room. The chief tells those present "to forget it <sup>45</sup> all; it is now four years he is dead." The altar is removed, the corn meal given to the man of the house to give to the river or to bury in his field. A Corn assistant takes out bits of food to give to Wáide and the dead. (See p. 341.) All present eat. What is left over the Corn assistants divide for themselves, leaving one basketful and one bowlful for the household. The chief gives permission for all to withdraw.

A deceased chief is painted (color unknown) on his palms, elbows, soles, and knees. As in ceremonies, red paint is put on the hair parting of the deceased chief of either medicine society. Also lighting marks are painted in white on arms and legs. On the fourth night the deceased is exorcised, not from his dwelling, but from his ceremonial house. His own Corn group chief functions as usual.

After the ceremony on the fourth night, attendants are free to go out "to do their work," but they would not go visiting during the following eight days.

The dead go to Wimda, <sup>46</sup> the underground world, whence the people came up. Shipapung, the Keresan term for this world, was referred to as a place lived in after the people emerged or again as the spring whence the Black Eyes <sup>47</sup> emerged.

## SECULAR GOVERNMENT

The secular officers who are annually chosen are the governor (tabude or piba'kaade (? wet head or baptism father)), the lieutenant governor, auki'i (the regular word for vice or assistant) or teniente, and a second teniente. There are six war <sup>48</sup> captains, wílawe, three from each moiety, besides the three war captains chosen by the Laguna colonists, but cooperating with the war captains of Isleta. There are also two sheriffs (kabeude) who alternate each week, two mayordomo to take charge of the irrigation ditch, and a crier (tòkwini'de) who has been chosen by the townspeople, but whose office is permanent. The present crier, a man of 55, has held the position for 20 years. He is exempt from other forms of community service. There is a permanent sacristan (tamide). There is no office of fiskale, as elsewhere.

In addition to the aforesaid officers there is a council of 12 men, tónyinnin, translated as councilmen. The same men have been in

<sup>45</sup> One who does not forget, but worries, may be incensed, as elsewhere, with smoke from hair combings from the deceased.

<sup>46</sup> Identified by Lucinda with welima, which is the wenima of the Keres, the western home of the kachina. See too p. 239. By another informant wimdaat was translated "dead, gone to the land of the dead."

<sup>47</sup> See pp. 263, 360.

<sup>48</sup> According to one informant "the little captains" (wílaweun) are always 12, 6 from each moiety.



the council now for five years; before that three or four men, the less useful members, would be replaced each year, the new members being appointed by the governor. "Smart young boys who know more than old people in some ways" are eligible as well as ex-governors or ex-lieutenant governors. The present incumbents are: President (chumi'), José Hohola (chief assistant White Corn); vice president (ebe'shiwei), Bautista Zuñi (some time governor, Town Father, chief of the Magpies); Simon Zuñi (some time governor, thrice in office); Dabi (David) Lucero (some time lieutenant governor); Erudiz Hohola (some time second lieutenant governor); Remez Serafico; Domingo Churma (chief of Earth people); and, referred to as "boys," Domingo Hohola (assistant, Magpies. Erudiz is his father's brother, meme); Rumaldo Hohola, Pasqual Abeita, Lazaro Abeita, Joe Abeita (son of Pablo Abeita).

After Christmas there will be two or three meetings at the governor's house to discuss new officers. The night of December 31 there is a final meeting at the house of the town chief to decide on<sup>49</sup> three candidates for governor. All the Fathers are present. On January 1 there is a public meeting at the courthouse or public kiva to vote on the candidates. Any married man, whatever his age, may be a voter. "Boys" or unmarried men must be 22 or so. Out of the three candidates one will probably be left behind on the first vote. Then the town chief makes an address, telling the men they must choose between the two with the highest number of votes. Sometimes there is a big fight, and the agent is called in as arbiter. The town chief will advise with him. There are two candidates also for the office of head war captain. The man who is elected war captain chooses his assistants. The newly elected governor asks the town chief to choose the lieutenant governor, but the town chief will say, "No; you have to choose him yourself." Then the governor chooses him, but he says to the meeting if they do not like his choice, to choose for themselves. But the meeting will accept his choice. The appointee will say to the town chief that he does not want the office of lieutenant governor, but the town chief will insist upon his acceptance. All present choose the *teniente* and sheriffs.

After these elections, which may take from one to three days, the town chief, kumpa, and the war chief meet in the ceremonial house of the town chief "to bless the canes," like the padre, by sprinkling with their own pakwimpa (medicine water). What else they may do "to get power for the canes," which are used in all secular cases as well as in the ceremony of general exorcism,<sup>50</sup> was not known. The town chief takes the canes to the courthouse where he gives them to the new

<sup>49</sup> In the account which maintains that there is a vacancy in the town chieftaincy, it is kumpa (kumpawitawe ch'umida (? presiding)) who nominates the governor. (Parsons, 9: 159.)

<sup>50</sup> See p. 307.



officers, kneeling before him, to the governor, lieutenant governor and teniente, and to the war captains. (The sheriff has his badge.) Now in the public kiva all meet to give thanks to the outgoing officers.

The first business of the new officers is to decide whether the dance on Kings' Day and three days afterwards will be performed by Isletans or by the Laguna colonists. . . . In this dance, as in others, the war captains appoint the dancers. The war captains call out orders for the ritual hunts; they enforce the exclusion on ceremonial occasions of Mexicans and whites; they clean the roundhouses and the churchyard. For a general street cleaning the governor takes responsibility. Permission to leave town on a visit must be had from the governor, whom one also notifies on returning home. Arrest and punishment for crime, exclusive of crimes of witchcraft, are functions of the governor and his officers. Murder, in the rare cases which occur in the pueblos, is a matter for the Federal court as a rule, but in 1904 there occurred at Isleta a case of murder in self-defense which did not get into the Federal court and which illustrates how the governor and his officers may act. One night a drunken man in town was being baited by some boys. To one of them he took a strap and then grabbed him to choke him. The boy picked up a rock and hit him. He fell dead. The boys ran away. Somebody notified the dead man's father, who notified the officers. They made the rounds of the town, arresting all the men who were outdoors. Next day in the bush they arrested the murderer, whom the governor fined \$350 and a team of oxen, the fine going to the murdered man's widow. The agent was informed of this settlement and agreed to it.

The governor acted also in a recent murder case of which the story is as follows: One day a townsman told his wife he was going out after his horses. He went and did not return. His wife thought he had probably gone to cut adobe for a Mexican at Los Padillos about whom he had told her. When, after three days, he did not return, she sent word to the governor. This was Saturday night. The next Sunday morning after the race the governor had the crier call out for all the men and boys to ride out and search. A boy had seen the missing man and another man riding the same horse. The searchers found horse tracks across the river and a place where two men had been sitting and smoking. Then the tracks were lost in the bushes. The governor had the other man arrested. He said his friend had gone to Los Padillos to cut adobe. They kept the suspect in jail five days. After he was released he was seen several times on the bridge, crossing and recrossing. The governor was informed and the man was rearrested. Twenty-two days after the disappearance of the man, white engineers saw his body lying in the river with a rope around legs and neck, showing the body had been weighted. The white doctor who was sent for said the skull had been broken by a

shovel. The governor had the crier call out to the men to bring in the body. Meanwhile the suspected man had been asking the murdered man's widow to marry him. She told the governor about it. For the third time the man was arrested and jailed, this time for three months. During this period his brother had to support the widow and children. When the suspected murderer was released he had to support the family. He still supports it. The agent wanted to keep the suspected murderer in prison, but the governor said, "No; better have him out and supporting the family."

The above stories indicate that the idea of compensation for murder is familiar at Isleta as it is at Zuñi and probably in other towns where murders are, however, so uncommon that little or nothing has been recorded on the subject. There are two other murder stories at Isleta which corroborate this conclusion about an existing theory of compensation. On San Juan's Day two boys who were "playing rooster" and slapping at each other got angry. That night when they went out to sing at the ash pile one boy said to the other, "That is not the way to be a man!" The other rejoined, "How should you be a man?" And they fell to. After fighting, one boy went home and to bed. Along came two boys and shot into the wall over his head. He snatched the Winchester above the door and fired and killed a third boy who was coming toward the house. The parents of the killed boy would not agree to settle the case—i. e., receive compensation—so the murderer was sent to prison at Santa Fe for 13 years. "And the father of the murdered boy got nothing. They had thought that by appealing to the agent they would get more than by settling it together. But they got nothing!" The second case was that of the father of this murderer who had himself killed a girl, unintentionally, firing off a gun which he thought was not loaded while dancing on Kings' Day before the house of the town chief. After the accident the killer ran away to the mountains to the south, where he stayed by day, going to a Mexican house at night. After 10 days his people came for him. They had settled the matter with the victim's family, giving them a team of oxen, a horse, and some money.

Over houses and lands the governor has some final jurisdiction, in cases of absenteeism or of dealings with nontownpeople. For example: When Juan Rey Churina, of the Laguna colony, went to live at Sandia his title to house and land at Oraibi was considered to lapse; and when Juan Rey's daughter<sup>51</sup> returned to Isleta after her father's death to claim the property she found that the governor had "handed" it to Bautista Hohola, an Isletan, and one of the Town Fathers. (See p. 356.) This, of course, was a peculiar case, for Juan

<sup>51</sup> Another daughter was married to an Isletan whom she left to marry into San Felipe. Subsequently she returned to her Isletan husband.

Rey, a notable ceremonialist, had removed to Sandia against the wishes of the townspeople. The confiscation and disposal of his property, however, exemplify gubernatorial functions.

Probably most disputes over property are taken to the governor. At her death Lucinda's mother-in-law left her whole flock of 1,000 sheep to the husband of her deceased daughter. With him and his son the old lady had been living. She left nothing to the widow and children of her deceased son, Lucinda and her children. So Lucinda appealed to the governor. As it happened, the governor was uncle to the heir and decided in his favor.

As elsewhere, the governor is the go-between for Washington and the hierarchy. Were any important question to the fore, as was, for example, the introduction of the office of Federal judge, the governor would call a meeting of the chiefs and others (presumably the council), a public meeting (*shuna natöyim*), in the Mexican term, *junta*, in the public *kiva*. The office of Federal judge was introduced, we should note; it was held by Pablo Abeita for five years. For two years now (1926) the office has been vacant. While in office Pablo Abeita was severe. I heard of his fining four women for tale bearing—one \$20, two \$15, and one \$5—the last for saying that two years before she had seen the husband of her niece-in-law visiting another woman. The wife had come in crying about her husband to her aunt-in-law and spent the night with her. Gossip goes that the judge kept the fines for himself. Such would be the gossip, I surmise, about any judge in any pueblo.

For two years (1924–25) Juan Trinida Abeita has been governor. He is cousin to Pablo Abeita, who is himself lieutenant governor. One of Pablo Abeita's sons, as noted, is in the council. His brother-in-law, Felipe Abeita, has also served as governor. For Pueblo circles the Abeita family is remarkably self-assertive. Of Pablo Abeita, people say that he wants to keep up his own ways (i. e., White Corn ceremonial, see later), but that he wants to destroy the others. . . . In 1927 José Padilla (chief of the Corn people, *iet'ainin*), was governor.

## CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

### CEREMONIAL GROUPS

Succession to office in the ceremonial groups appears to be based mainly upon the principle of apprenticeship; the successor to office is the trained understudy. He is the *auki'i*, or, as we shall call him, the chief assistant. The next or second assistant is called *töap-tadełöpi'i* "following him." The chief or first assistant sits at the right hand of the chief; the second, at his left hand.<sup>52</sup> Among the other assistants the one most recently taken in, "the last helper,"

<sup>52</sup> Compare right-hand man and left-hand man in the ceremonial organization of the Tewa and at Jemez.

sometimes has particular functions assigned to him.<sup>53</sup> The groups are ever guarded by the war captains, but within the group itself there are two who serve as guards. Neither in theory or practice is there any expression of hereditary principle in the ceremonial organization other than the theory which is barely pertinent that the office of town chief is filled in rotation from the Corn groups in the regular color circuit.

Group membership proceeds through dedication in infancy (as always in the case of the moieties and of the Corn groups) or through self-dedication in later life, generally as a result of a vow in sickness. In the Corn groups the chief may appoint an assistant.

Women members or assistants perform the particular services for the group which are associated with women—water-fetching, cleaning, cooking, hair washing, grinding—i. e., of ritual pigments—spinning of cotton thread for prayer feathers. Ritual may attach to these services and the women may engage in independent ritual, but because the women do not join in the song ritual they are not thought of as occupying the same ceremonial position as the men. They are economic assistants rather than ceremonial colleagues.

All the ceremonial offices are lifelong. On joining any group or coming into office a person receives a name. In general, the medicine men are referred to as toynin, and the Corn group chiefs and assistants as penin.

The ceremonial chiefs or groups are as follows:

1. t'aikabede, people chief, or cacique. We refer to him as town chief. Two women called mafornin do the housework in his ceremonial house. They also "feed the scalps."
2. kumpa, assistant to t'aikabede and prospective successor; one assistant, kabew'iride. Nos. 1 and 2 might be considered as a single group—that of the t'aikabede and two assistants.
3. wilawe, war chief, with several assistants.
4. a'uku'wem, scalp takers.
5. humaxu, hunt chief; one assistant.
6. shifun kabede, Black Eyes chief, chief of the moiety of the Winter people, with three assistants.
7. shure' kabede, chief of the moiety of the Summer people, with two assistants.
8. te'en, grandfathers; six clown masks, besides the t'aikabede who is their chief; three belong to the Black Eyes, three to the shure'.
9. chakabede, tiwa or kachina chief; one male assistant; one female assistant.
10. tõe'ka'ade, Town Father, medicine society chief; referred to as tutude, elder sister; one assistant; seven other male members of group and three female.
11. birka'ade, Laguna Father, medicine society chief; referred to as bachude, younger sister; one assistant, who is also childbirth doctor, with one woman assistant; eight other male members, three female. Among the specialists are piru ka'ade, Rattlesnake Father, intu ka'ade, Ant Father, the fire builder, the thief catcher or detective or seer of lost objects.
12. Chief of White Corn people; with one assistant; two other male members, and three female.

<sup>53</sup> See pp. 299, 300, 446.

13. Chief of one of the two Black Corn divisions, Magpie (k'qara), with assistant, and one other member. Chief of the other Black Corn division, Poplar (naride), with assistant, and one other member.

14. Chief of Yellow Corn people, with assistant, and one other member.

15. Chief of one of the two Blue Corn divisions, pachiri, with assistant, and one other member. Chief of the other Blue Corn division, tutenehu', with assistant.

16. Chief of All Colors Corn people, who are referred to as ictainin (Corn people), with assistant.

17. Chief of Eagle (shyu kabede), All Colors Corn people, with one member. Chief of Goose (kōj kabede kōñide), All Colors Corn people.

18. shichu kabede, chief of shichu, All Colors Corn people, with assistant.

#### 1. TOWN CHIEF (T'AIKABEDE)

The office is not hereditary nor is it associated with or filled from any ceremonial group, although, as already stated, there is a theory that it is filled in turn in the usual circuit from the Corn groups. The present town chief belongs to the White Corn group and so does his assistant and prospective successor, referred to as kumpa. When I pointed out the failure of the theory of succession, I was told that should kumpa not wish to take the office, then the chief of the White Corn group would seek for a successor in the Black Corn group, the group next to the White Corn in the color circuit.

The present town chief is Dolores Hohola or raptōa (Bapthur) or Pollen. He is between 65 and 75 years old and has been in office from 13 to 14 years.<sup>54</sup> He had been kumpa to his predecessor, Luo, Arrow, who belonged to All Colors Corn group.<sup>55</sup> raptōa belongs to the Black Eyes moiety.

The town chief is constantly referred to as the source of all the ceremonial life, in the sense that permission to hold ceremonies or dances must be sought from him, and reports of ceremonies are made to him. On his own initiative he may ask for ceremonies, as when he asks the medicine societies for their spring ceremony to quiet old man Wind, or their summer ceremony to enliven him against excessive heat; or to perform ritual against grasshoppers. The summer rain ceremony the town chief appears to conduct himself.

<sup>54</sup> That the office of cacique (town chief) is now filled is generally denied by Isletans. I presume this is camouflage, just as when I referred to the t'aikabede to Lucinda she murmured, "T'aikabede, t'aikabede, what is that word?" However, Felipe of Laguna, who had no reason for concealment, also stated that the office was vacant (Parsons, 9: 158, n. 3). . . . According to one account, the last town chief was Antonio Montoya or Turiuo (Sun Arrow), probably identical with Luo above named, of the Blue Corn people (pachurnin). He died about 1896, so old he could not walk. His successor died before he was installed. (See, too, Parsons, 9: 158, n. 3) . . . According to this same account, a considerable period, 10 years or so, is allowed to elapse before installing the town chief, during which the candidate is in training and the widow of the deceased town chief is looked after and worked for by the people as if she were town chief . . . The predecessor of Turiuo was his father, Turshan, Sunrise, of the Blue Corn people. Turshan was town chief "before the railway came through," i. e., 1880. A descendant relates that once Turshan broke the "t'aikabede rules" and was whipped. (See p. 365.)

<sup>55</sup> The houses of raptōa and Luo were adjacent.



The town chief keeps sacrosanct supplies which the ceremonial groups<sup>56</sup> may draw upon, as the native grown tobacco,<sup>57</sup> or flint-made fire. His own sacrosanct property or paraphernalia consists of his mother or corn fetish, buckskin moccasins (fig. 3), buckskin pouch or naw'iri,<sup>58</sup> and hair feathers (lawashie').<sup>59</sup> The animals which he "uses" in his ritual (see below) he may not kill. The same taboo is laid upon kumpa, the hunt chief, the members of the medicine societies. It is not laid upon the chiefs of the Corn groups. Antonio Montoya, the defunct town chief, is said to have been "very powerful." He could bring in a rabbit, and he could make wheat grow under your eyes, with his five songs which he had learned from a Mexican captive among the Navaho.

The town chief of Isleta appears to be thought of as the head of the hierarchy more consistently than is the town chief in other pueblos. "His iema'paru (Corn mother) is head of them all." In the folk tale about the town chief of Berkwitoe'<sup>60</sup> is expressed the conviction of how dependent upon their town chief is the welfare of all the people



FIGURE 3.—Regalia of Town chief (hair feathers, moccasin, bandoleer, as drawn by townsman)

and of all the animals. So intimate is the relationship that the town chief may not leave the town. In the aforesaid tale the sun feeds the town chief marooned in the eagle nest. The races for the sun are called the town chief's races. There appears to be a particular relationship between the town chief and the sun.

The land of the town chief is planted and harvested for him by the townsmen at the time set by the war chief. On these days the women contribute food which the men workers, on their return from the fields, eat in the house of the town chief. The town chief is supposed not to chop wood or do any but ritual work. He may not kill anything, "not even an insect."<sup>61</sup>

The two women referred to as mafornin, who feed the scalps in the roundhouses "once a week" and work for the town chief in his cere-

<sup>56</sup> See pp. 335, 337, 449.

<sup>57</sup> Compare pp. 337, 361. See Parsons, 19: 110.

<sup>58</sup> Referring probably to his tobacco supply, w'iri meaning cigarette.

<sup>59</sup> Compare pp. 331, 368.

<sup>60</sup> See pp. 381, 384.

<sup>61</sup> Compare pp. 364-365 and 286, 448.



monial house, are Dominga Benabides or Kepap (mother, spread out), aged 30; and Rufina Abeita or Koawa (spruce), aged 22. The latter was vowed in sickness.

Possibly these mafornin represent the girl who originally brought up from winda to the town chief his mother and sacrosanct paraphernalia.<sup>62</sup>

## 2. KUMPA AND KABEW'IRIDE

They serve as assistants to the town chief; but as they conduct a distinctive ceremony and are possessed of distinctive ritual it seems proper to classify them independently. Besides, kumpa has a warlike character, and he is sometimes referred to as kumpa wîkawe or war chief. Kumpa is associated with the horned serpent, ikaina, from whom he gets his power and who is "his father" (înkabere), and bringing in the serpent constitutes kumpa's ceremony. (See pp. 301-302.) In kumpa's distinctive paraphernalia, a bandoleer bag called auti'wehimai in which his power is contained,<sup>63</sup> there is a powder which he applies to his eyes with his index finger, making him clairvoyant (as the medicine men become with their crystal), and making him act like a snake, turning and twisting and hissing. Scales from ikaina are in this bag.

Kumpa takes a prominent part in racing ritual (see pp. 325, 329), also in witch finding (see p. 431), both functions significant of his warrior character. Besides, kumpa can handle a snake of any kind and, sprinkling the snake with pollen, make him withdraw from the town.

In his prayers kumpa talks "corners way," instead of naming the cardinal directions he names the points between: northeast (he'uhebai), northwest (he'uhenai), southwest (hekuhenai), southeast (hekuhebai).<sup>64</sup> For the fifth direction, up, down, and middle (kyenai pienai) he says middle, down and up (pienai naikye). He mentions the sunset before the sunrise. Also he refers to a kiva (tula) as ñikön, and instead of saying karnide for horse, the usual word, he says pakimu hashan pe'de, (mist, breathe out, made). And he refers in his prayers to what the other chiefs do not refer to—snow, hail, frost, north wind, south wind, and the scalps. Some people like to go to hear his talk, it is so different.

Kumpa's personal names are Tupsi (tup, whistle) and Turashan, sunrise. Also Pæwere, road, red, digging.<sup>65</sup> His Mexican name is

<sup>62</sup> See pp. 367-368 and 331.

<sup>63</sup> And from which, our informant suggested, the term kumpa is derived—kôn, pod, pa, rubbing (? weaving) strands of cotton together.

<sup>64</sup> This we recognize as Hopi usage.

<sup>65</sup> Perhaps both the names road maker and sunrise are in reference to the tale in which the prototype of kumpa made a road for the sun with his kick stick. See pp. 368-372.

Ramihon Lucero. He is between 65 and 70. He belongs to White Corn and to Black Eyes.

The kabew'iride (chief, bow)<sup>66</sup> is possessed of the ritually used k'oata (a blade a foot long) and is referred to as the guard of kumpa. He succeeds to the office of kumpa.

The kabew'iride is Antonio Hohola or Kabalö (tip shining or opalescent).<sup>67</sup> He belongs to Yellow Corn<sup>68</sup> and to shure'. (? Gen. III, 13.)

### 3. WAR CHIEF (WILAWE)

The office is lifelong, but the assistants are the annually elected wilawe. From one of these the office may be filled. This is Juan Abeita's account, which does not correspond to the accounts of other informants who refer to the war chief as paide<sup>69</sup> and state that he has several<sup>70</sup> lifelong associates. It is a war society in short, which is recruited through sickness<sup>71</sup> by way of a vow—paiwilawe or kumpawilawe the members are called. I felt that Juan Abeita was not being frank on the organization of the war chieftaincy or society, so that I am inclined to credit the existence of the war society as reported by other informants. Because of the variety of terms used, however, it remains in doubt whether or not the society attaches to kumpa (who may or may not be the same as paide)<sup>72</sup> or to another war chief, the war chief of the cane. My guess is that the war society attaches to kumpa,<sup>72a</sup> and that the annually elected war captains function with the war chief of the cane.

As elsewhere, the chief functions of the wilawe or war captains, permanent or annual, are safeguarding the ceremonies against intrusion by white or Mexican and against native witches. War captains will accompany the doctors on leaving their ceremonial room in pursuit of witches, and all suspicious witch cases are reported to the war chief, who in case of general sickness may ask the medicine societies

<sup>66</sup> Why not tobacco, tobacco chief? See p. 257.

<sup>67</sup> One informant stated that the office was vacant (see Gen. III, 13); also that the kabew'iride succeeds to the office of T'aikabede, not kumpa whom she called paide. Should the kabew'iride not want the office, then it would be filled from the Corn group next in rotation.

<sup>68</sup> Here again is evidence that the theory of succession to the town chieftaincy by Corn group is unsubstantial, at least if kumpa and kabew'iride are the potential successors. Given the present incumbents of the offices of town chief and assistants we would get as successive town chiefs a White Corn man, again a White Corn man, a Yellow Corn man.

<sup>69</sup> Pai meaning "from the beginning of the world to its end," i. e., everlasting, the same word, commented my informant, as is found in the term for folk-tale (paishie').

<sup>70</sup> Eight or nine (Parsons, 7: 63); six (Parsons, 9: 159); or by last report, twelve male and two female, one of whom declared she was "the tail of them," the paide having asked for her when she was sick. "My family said if I recovered, they would give me up." This woman, who is of a very masculine type, referred to herself as a kind of tyt'uude (see p. 363). With two others she was expelled from the war society by its chief. The other two he has called back. The trouble was over Pablo Abeita. The woman had said that there were "some good things to him."

<sup>71</sup> Parsons 7: 63; Parsons 9: 159.

<sup>72</sup> The paide referred to was named Dolores. Dolores Hohola was kumpa about the time in question.

<sup>72a</sup> And see Lummis 2: 221.

to conduct a ceremony of witch exorcism or finding. The war chief himself has no ceremony. Nor does he ever make prayer sticks or feathers.<sup>73</sup> He is possessed of the cane fetish called *tue'funituti*, cane prayer stick black old man, which in any ceremony of general curing lies on the altar to be sprinkled, and he is sometimes referred to as *tuwilaawe*, cane war chief.

The present war chief is Merihildo Chiwiwa or Leide ("he stays"). He is between 50 and 60 years old. He belongs to the Poplar division of the Blue Corn and to the shure'.

#### 4. SCALP TAKERS (A'UKU'WEM)

In English the reference to the three old men who survive from the sometime larger group of scalp takers is "they kill Navaho (*teliebni*).<sup>74</sup>" Their function is in connection with the sporadically performed war ceremony when they lead the war party and for four weeks take care of the scalps (*pikō'i*). At other times they are not concerned with the scalps; nor do they appear to cooperate in any way with the war chief in his guardianship of the town.

As already noted, the woman assistants of the town chief are the regular purveyors of food to the scalps. Men are told to offer them food, and they do, sporadically. Should they do so regularly, once a day, the dead Navaho would show themselves, with a rope around the waist, in the mountains, or at night in town. At night the scalps are said to be very noisy and clamorous. If you are out at night with food they will follow you, crying, until you drop crumbs for them. Sometimes passers-by hear them crying inside the kiva, and will say, "Guess a Navaho has been killed somewhere; they were crying last night." The town chief tells about the noises they make.

One of the scalp takers who knows all the scalp songs is quoted as saying that if you keep thinking of these songs you always dream of the scalps. . . . In one of these songs there is mention of the chief of flies, *pyōlade*.

The scalp taker had to remain on his return 12 days outside of town. . . . When they first tanned the scalp they would bite it, making it soft with their teeth as well as hands. The idea of kicking the scalp, as at Zuñi, was unfamiliar. There appears to be no rain-making association with the scalps, and no reason could be advanced for keeping them.

The scalp takers, all of whom are described as 90 years old, are: Chief, José Tomas Padilla or Luao (arrow); Juan Domingo Lucero or Nafa (feather down); Lorenzo Olgen or Kapeo (tip designed).

<sup>73</sup> In view of the function of prayer stick making and depositing, a highly elaborate function, of the war captains of the Keres, this statement seems questionable.

## 5. HUNT CHIEF (HUMAXU)

The hunt chief conducts annually a ceremony in the autumn (see p. 336), and individual hunters go to him at any time to get prayer feathers.<sup>73a</sup> The prototype of humaxu lives in Paw'iennowai, the lake of emergence at Taos. The tale about him is paralleled by a Taos tale. In both tales the chief is thought of as in control of all the animals (and birds), actually the hunt chief of Isleta is so thought of. Perhaps he were better called chief of the animals.

The hunt chief is Manuel Chiwiwa, brother to the war chief. He has been in office three years, having been assistant to his predecessor. He is about 40 years old. He belongs to (?) Yellow Corn and to Black Eyes.

The assistant (auki) to the hunt chief is Manuel Hohola or Shyetō (prayer feather mark, referring to the paint on the cotton string); but like the hunt chief himself, he is always referred to as humaxu. He is 24. He belongs to White Corn and Black Eyes. There was a second assistant who died.<sup>73b</sup>

## 6, 7. THE MOIETY ORGANIZATION

The moiety organization is all inclusive; everyone is either shifuni'de or shure're, belonging to the Black Eyes (shi, eyes, fun, black) or to the shure'.<sup>74</sup> A child belongs to the moiety of his or her parents, if the parents belong to the same moiety; otherwise the children are assigned (by parents) alternately in order of birth to both moieties, the eldest child to the father's moiety. Thus in theory. In practice such regularity of assignment seems to be considerably broken into. Isabel Abeita (Gen. I, 31), a first born, is of her mother's moiety because her mother, a Black Eye, so requested of her father, a shure'. Again, a sickly infant may be given to the moiety other than the one in order, as was Tranquilino Abeita (Gen. I, 7), who was given to his mother's moiety, although he was a first born and his father belonged to the other moiety. If for any reason a child is promised or vowed to any ceremonial group, he is given to the moiety to which his ceremonial father belongs. Again, if any one, relative or even nonrelative, desires a new-born child to become a member of his own moiety, he has but to spit into the infant's mouth to ensure the membership.<sup>75</sup> A former Black Eyes chief did

<sup>73a</sup> And predictions for hunt or journey. (Lummis 2: 216.)

<sup>73b</sup> According to Lummis there were seven members in the Hunt society. They conducted, each in turn, a series of seven weekly rabbit hunts, beginning in May. (Lummis 2: 211.)

<sup>74</sup> The pocket gopher is similarly called, but our informant did not think that the ceremonial term had this meaning. The term "gophers" for the group must have been of some popular use, however, for Lummis mentions it (Lummis 1: 45). Another derivation occurs to me, from shurmuyy, turquoise. The Isletan shure' are the homologues of the Keresan Turquoise kiva people, or kashare. See p. 262. In English, the shure' are referred to as Red Eyes, no doubt from the red pigment they use in contrast to the black of the other moiety.

<sup>75</sup> Reminding us of the usual method of obtaining a ceremonial father among the Hopi.

this to his sister's child (Dolorita Hohola) who afterwards called him tata shifun, and his wife, nana shifun (although this woman was a shure'). Ordinarily, any member of the chosen moiety may be selected as "father" to the child, to spit into the child's mouth four days after the birth and later during the ditch-opening ceremonial or the spring or autumn moiety ceremonials to carry the child to the moiety kiva for his adoption into the moiety. No particular distinction is required of this "father." He might be a little boy. . . . A man might have a dozen moiety "sons" or "daughters." . . . After the adoption or initiation the moiety may not be changed. . . . Obviously the moiety classification has nothing to do with marriage (there are about as many marriages without the moiety as within), nor with affiliation in any other group, nor with residence. All of which statements will find support in the map of the houses where the moiety affiliations of the heads of families are noted.

The moieties are referred to as tuwinide (winter) (shifun) and tawinide (summer) (shure'),<sup>76</sup> the Winter moiety taking charge at a transfer ceremony in late October, the Summer moiety at the corresponding transfer ceremony in late March. On November 2 and April 8 moiety ceremonies are held. On these occasions infants may get their moiety name.

The chief of the Black Eyes makes use ritualistically of the feathers of the tiriure, a bird which from the description<sup>77</sup> must be, I think, the sparrow hawk, and in dance make-up the Black Eyes use this feather, while the shure' use the turkey feather. In equating the groups with the Keresan or Jemez or Zuñi groups, kwirena or tsun'ta tabōsh' or ne'wekwe, using sparrow hawk,<sup>78</sup> and kashare or tabōsh or koyemshi using turkey—this detail is of much significance. . . . The Black Eyes use a turtle shell rattle, the shure' a gourd rattle.<sup>79</sup> With the water turtle the Black Eyes are associated; the shure', with the land turtle.<sup>80</sup> The Black Eyes talk backward, to one another and to others,<sup>81</sup> "saying no when they mean yes." Their chief might say to the shure' chief, "I don't need you at my place." That is the time he wants him to come. The shure' talk straight." . . . As noted before, each moiety has two kivas, its rectangular ceremonial chamber and its roundhouse. The moiety chief is in charge of both. There is not even a subordinate manager for the roundhouse.

<sup>76</sup> See Parsons, 7: 57; Parsons, 9: 150. With this latter reference according to which the shifun are the Summer people and the shure' the Winter people, agrees the narrator of the tale about the origin of the *ñiwa* or *pinitu* dances. (See p. 373.)

<sup>77</sup> Spotted black and brown. The name tiriure refers to the quick motions the bird sometimes makes as it remains in one place in the air.

<sup>78</sup> See Jemez, Parsons, 16: 64, 98, n. 1.

<sup>79</sup> See Parsons, 16: 136.

<sup>80</sup> For associations between animals and moieties in the southwest, see Strong, 48. Also *passim* for moiety traits in general.

<sup>81</sup> Like the *tsunta* tabōsh of Jemez and the ne'wekwe of Zuñi.

In all moiety ceremonial the two groups act separately, with the Black Eyes taking the lead, they being thought of as senior to the shure', their "elder brothers." At the emergence, shifung kabede and his people came out first—from the spring Shipapu, being followed by shure' kabede and his people—from the spring Kailirepe'ai.<sup>82</sup>

Chief of the Black Eyes (shifun kabede) is Bautista Lenti or Narfa' (feather down). He is 30, but he has been in office six years. He was a companion to the deceased chief; but he was not his formal assistant; he was not even "in the ceremony." There had been no auki or chief assistant. The present assistants are three men, all about 20—Pedro Luján (White Corn), he is chief assistant, Severino Zuni or Turbaña' (sunshine) (White Corn); and José Luján or Pækui (road good) (Yellow Corn).

Chief of the shure' (shure' kabede) is Andres Hohola or Kõibatõ (goose white). He is between 40 and 50, succeeding about seven years ago Tomas Padilla. Hohola belongs to White Corn. His two assistants are about 25—Felipe Karpui or Py'enaõ (mountain leaf) (Yellow Corn), and Romero Abeita or Shukye' (eagle wing feather) (White Corn).

It will be noted that there are no women assistants. But in their ceremonial the moiety chiefs appoint four girls, aged 6 or 7, to serve them, fetching water, etc., and it is these little girls who are called liun, old women, who wash the men's hair.

#### 8. TE'EN (GRANDFATHERS)

In each moiety there are, theoretically, four Grandfathers; but at present there is a vacancy among the shure'. The position is life-long. Vacancies are filled in the usual way as a result of a vow in sickness. The town chief who is at their head installs or initiates. With yucca blades he whips the initiate three times, the initiate calling out yayaya! This whipping is "like when they make k'atsina" (in the Laguna colony). The first time the grandfather is "finished" he has to go himself to the mountain for spruce for his collar and for yucca for his whip. "At a dance somebody might ask him, 'Where did you come from?' He would show on his fingers. 'Where from?' He would point to the mountain.<sup>83</sup> 'How many deer did you kill?' He would show on his fingers." The Grandfathers may not speak.<sup>84</sup> At the beginning of their play for a while, their head, the town chief, is with them.

The masks worn by the Grandfathers are kept by the moiety chiefs in their kivas. They alone can put the masks on the Grandfathers.

<sup>82</sup> See p. 260.

<sup>83</sup> Manzano Mountains. Compare Parsons, 7: 58. Equated by Pedro Martín' of Isleta=old Laguna with the chapio' bugaboo of Laguna. Compare Tewa (Parsons, 11: 150) where the tsabiyu are moiety representations, one from the Winter people, one from the Summer people.

<sup>84</sup> Compare the pantomime of the leader of the kachina at Cochiti. (Dumarest, 177.)



The masks are of buckskin with long ears;<sup>85</sup> they are painted all white or all yellow or all red. (Fig. 4.) The Grandfathers wear a coat and trousers of buckskin; and a collar of spruce, and, as noted, they carry a whip of yucca blades. The Grandfathers are referred to in English as watchmen.

The Grandfathers of the Black Eyes are: Domingo Martinez, aged 30, belonging to the Blue Corn (tutenehu); Ramón Zuñi or Pəpałō,

aged 25, of the Laguna Fathers (see p. 268) and of the White Corn; Crescencio Armijo or Kapu (tip small), aged 30, White Corn; with the town chief, as noted, making the fourth.



FIGURE 4.—Grandfather (te'e)

Patasio Zuñi or Tau (shuttle), aged 30, White Corn; Francisco Martinez or Mati (scooping in, grinding), aged 24, Blue Corn (tutenehu) (he is brother of Domingo Martinez, the Black Eyes Grandfather); Lelo Montoya or Shiupətō (eagle road marked), aged 20, All Colors Corn (shichu).

#### 9. LIWA OR KACHINA CHIEF (CHAKABEDE)

His ceremony includes the Spruce or pinitu dance of September 25–October 5, with the advent by night of the supernatural liwale. Chakabede appears to have no other function.

The chakabede is Iala'kab (willow tip) or Pablo Polaka. He is commonly called by his title chakabede; he is 40;<sup>86</sup> Yellow Corn; Black Eyes. He was assistant to his predecessor, Juan Rey Montoya. His male assistant is José Trujillo or Pabu, 30; Yellow Corn; shure'. His female assistant who grinds his prayer stick paint is Paxō (water grain).

#### 10, 11. MEDICINE SOCIETIES

Curing by cleansing or exorcising is the distinctive function of these two groups, with minor functions of weather control, jugglery, and thief catching. In general they have the powers of clairvoyance and of prediction, powers which are attributed to them so insistently and in such high degree in comparison with any like references in other

<sup>85</sup> The Black Eyes of Taos were once possessed of such masks.

<sup>86</sup> At another time he was said to be 60, having held office 20 years or more.

pueblos that their exercise should perhaps also be considered a major function. Going a far distance and returning within a short time is another of their distinctive powers.<sup>87</sup> Sometimes they are requested to fetch spruce from the mountains. Within a quarter of an hour their representative will arrive with the spruce, and on it and on his head there is snow. In witch catching a doctor will also travel a distance in short time.

The societies or their members individually have to be ritually invited to perform. In the case of an individual cure, the doctor (toyide, medicine man; pl. toynin) goes to the house of the patient, unless a full or big ceremony has been asked for by the patient or his family in the society's house. For this full ceremony as well as for ritual at childbirth the doctor is invited through the chief of the Corn group the patient belongs to.

A convalescent does not necessarily join the society. The doctor is paid otherwise. On the other hand the sick man may take a vow to join the society. He need not choose the member curing him for his ceremonial father. Also a man may join the society without any experience of sickness.

Besides their ceremonies of curing and of initiation, the medicine societies perform ceremonies in the series of solstice ceremonies, likewise a ceremony of general exorcism, the ceremony of bringing down the moon and stars and ceremonies to quiet the wind, to bring rain, to expel grasshoppers.

Moreover, either the town chief or the war chief may ask the societies to perform special ceremonial. A case in point occurred in November, 1925. A delegation<sup>88</sup> from Zuñi arrived in Isleta to ask for medicine men to come to Zuñi to cure their "coughing sickness." There was a meeting in the house of the town chief who asked the Town Fathers to consider the matter. The same night the chief of the Town Fathers performed his ritual to discover what was happening at Zuñi. He learned that the sickness was a "punishment" to the Zuñi for letting whites and Mexicans see their ceremonial.<sup>89</sup> So the Fathers refused to go to Zuñi, and the Zuñi delegates had to go on to Jemez

<sup>87</sup> The power to make long distance flights is possessed by Keresan shamans also, as it was also possessed, it may be of interest to note, by the nun Maria de Jesus who told Benavides of her flights from Spain to the Indians of New Mexico, beginning in 1620. (Benavides, 276-277.) Benavides relates that the Xumanas, a Caddoan tribe neighboring the southern Pueblos, reported that they were visited from the hills by a young woman who preached to them and for this reason they wanted to be converted. The padre who went to them was Father Salas who was to go later to Quarai (Benavides, 58-59), whence there were immigrants to Isleta.

<sup>88</sup> Pitasio and Leopold were mentioned as delegates.

<sup>89</sup> The ceremonial in mind was undoubtedly the shalako in which the kachina masks appear. During the past few years there have been visitors to Zuñi during the shalako from the eastern pueblos, San Domingo, San Felipe, Isleta, among them Pablo Abeita of Isleta. And these visitors are critical of the admission of whites (Mexicans are excluded) at Zuñi to the equivalent of what in their own towns whites are rigorously excluded from. And so the Zuñi sickness is interpreted as the hand of God.

to ask help from the doctors there. With them went from Isleta that influential townsman, Pablo Abeita.

Between the two societies there is no specialization. Of specialization within the society there appears to be more among the Laguna Fathers than among the Town Fathers. A would-be patient or client can apply directly to the specialist practitioner in the Laguna society; if applying to the town society, you must apply to the chief who assigns the case. The ceremonial of the Laguna Fathers is said in town to be "stronger" than any other. This was an *ex parte* statement. However, at the emergence, *bachude*, younger sister, from whom the Laguna Fathers are named, also had more power; it was she who brought everything up. *Tutude*, elder sister, was the greedy one. This reference points to that competition between the sisters or Mothers which is fully set forth in Keresan myth.<sup>90</sup>

In each society there is a *koatamide*, a specialist for pregnancy and childbirth, with a woman assistant.

One of the Town Fathers is a veterinary. Before undertaking the cure of an animal, say a horse, he decides whether or not the animal will recover. Sometimes he states that a horse is sick from the sickness of its owner having been transferred to it. On the other hand it is said by the Fathers that once a year a horse is possessed of the will to kill its owner, so the Fathers advise people to treat their horses well.

In each society there is a thief catcher or detective (*nanuka'ade*).<sup>91</sup> This Father is invited by the loser of property with a cigarette. He goes to the loser's house to perform his ritual or office (see p. 449) which is very much like that borrowed from the Navaho at Zuñi.<sup>92</sup> The house or the appearance of the thief is described, but his name is not mentioned. After the property is recovered the detective may be given a present; but like the other medicine men he does not ask for pay. Isletans "know that if they steal they will be found out." Once the ladder was stolen from the roundhouse of the Black Eyes. There was talk of performing the detection ritual. Perhaps it was a townsman who had sold the ladder. Within the week the ladder was brought back and left in front of the church. The thief was afraid of being found out by the ceremony.

The fireman (*fe't'aide*) for all (?) the kivas, in which matches are taboo, belongs to the Laguna Fathers. He gets his fire from the town chief, fire which has been made with flint and cotton. (There is no drill.) The fireman can handle fire and stand on coals without being burned. The fireman exercises his office at the request of the town chief or the war chief.

<sup>90</sup> See Boas, 224-225; Dumarest, 212-215.

<sup>91</sup> Parsons, 1. See, too, Dumarest, 196.

<sup>92</sup> Noem, night time, was the suggested etymology.

Among the Laguna Fathers are cited a Snake doctor (*piruka'ade*) and an Ant doctor (*intu ka'ade*), a hunt doctor (*shö'ka'ade*, *shömiwe*, hunter) who works for hunters, also one who performs ritual for a new house, setting out his Mother in it and an arrow point (no altar design), and burying in the middle of the floor, also hanging in the midmost place in the roof, behind a beam so as not to show, three tied prayer feathers (?sticks) (*nato'ye*) such as are used in the *ñiwade* ceremony. . . The Ant doctor was taught by Juan Rey, of the Laguna immigration.

Although among the Laguna Fathers there are now no Laguna men or even men of Laguna descent it seems probable from its name and other facts that the society was originally organized by Laguna immigrants;<sup>93</sup> a fact which would explain the greater degree of specialization, since the original Laguna members must have belonged, in accordance with what we know of Laguna history and ceremonial organization, to different Laguna societies. Of one Laguna member of the Laguna Fathers we have an interesting history. This was Juan Rey or Sheride (Laguna name).<sup>94</sup> He was one of the original Laguna immigrants and one who was especially desired to remain at Isleta because of his power. He was an Ant doctor and a stick swallower (*taköonin*).<sup>95</sup> In 1923 he planned to move from Isleta to Sandia where he sent on ahead a box containing his swallowing sticks as well as the canes of office of the sometime governor and officers of the Laguna colony. A woman told somebody about this, who told the governor, who told the cacique of the Laguna colony. "They had a meeting about it. They would not let Juan Rey go to Sandia until they got back his box. They sent some men for it. Then Rey went to Sandia. After a year he died. He did not last long because he broke his promise to do his ceremony at Isleta." . . . Rey had used the house of the Laguna Fathers for his ceremony to which only Laguna people went, no Isletans. There is no stick swallowing now. It was Juan Rey who made the pictures on the walls of the kiva of the Laguna Fathers. It was Casildo of Laguna who taught the present fire maker his ritual of fire building and of exposing himself to fire.<sup>96a</sup>

Chief of the Town Fathers is Rey(es) Zuñi or Turshanpaw'iepuyu (sunrise lake light), aged 60, Black Eyes, White Corn. His chief

<sup>93</sup> This origin is denied, as might be expected, by the townspeople. "They had *birka'an*, Laguna Fathers, at Isleta before the Laguna people came. When they came up (i. e., at the emergence) they were already named *birka'an*." Possibly the organization does antedate any particular migration from Laguna, merely showing Keresan influence.

<sup>94</sup> Possibly from the *shahaiye*, the Laguna society of which the Ants and the Giants (*shkuyu*) were subdivisions or orders.

<sup>95</sup> *Takö* is the shuttle used in weaving. This is the kind of stick that is swallowed. Compare Lummis 2: 83.

<sup>96a</sup> Compare Lummis 2: 80.

assistant is his brother's son, Bautista Zuñi or Churma (yellow, call), aged 30, shure', White Corn.

He is the doctor for pregnancy and birth. The woman assistant to Bautista Zuñi is Pefeita Ansara or Kepap (mother spreading), aged 30, shure', Yellow Corn. This woman is the wife of the hunt chief. The other male assistants are José Chiwiwi or Pa'wi (water pine), aged 40, shure', White Corn; Francisco Armijo or Paxöla (star), aged 30, Black Eyes, White Corn (he is the veterinary); Crescencio Carpio or Pawire (water digging), aged 25, shure', Yellow Corn; Bautista Martinez or Kapuyu (tip light), aged 24, shure', Black Corn (Magpie); José Carpio or Luabatö (arrow white), aged 25, shure', White Corn; Bautista Hohola or Atita (metate, grinding motion, shuttle), aged 22, Black Eyes, Yellow Corn; Crescencio Lucero or Kimbatö (mountain lion white), aged 20, shure', White Corn. The other women assistants are: Hetrudes Chiwiwi or Turpap (sun spreading), aged 22, Black Eyes, White Corn; Canda Lucero or Shiekire (prayer feather prone), aged 25, Black Eyes, White Corn.

Chief of the Laguna Fathers is José Chave(z) or Turuu (sunny), aged 30, Black Eyes, White Corn. His chief assistant, who is also the doctor for pregnancy and childbirth, is José Armijo or Lurtö (rain), aged 30, shure', White Corn. Armijo's woman assistant is Marcellina Lucero or Berkwî (rainbow), aged 25, shure', White Corn. The other male assistants are: Bautista Padilla or Fiema (corn cob dart), who is the Snake doctor, aged 25, shure', Blue Corn; Remigio Maruxo or K'oatasön (war blade young man) who is the Ant doctor, aged 26, Black Eyes, Black Corn (Poplar); Juan Chato or Takîta (cotton seed), who is the fire builder<sup>96</sup> (see p. 356), aged 40, shure', Yellow Corn; Lorenzo Padilla or Pienpuyu (mountain light), aged 30, Black Eyes, All Colors Corn (ietai); José Istibula Hóhola or Teriwipalöa (parrot tail bright), who is both government police officer and the thief catcher or detective, having studied under José Chavé, the society chief (he held the office of detective before he became chief), aged 25, shure', White Corn; Ramón Zuñi, or Pəppatö (road shining), who is the house-finishing ritualist, also a Grandfather (see p. 264), aged 25, Black Eyes, White Corn; Juan Hiron or Po'u (cane), aged 17, shure', All Colors Corn (shichu). The other female assistants are: Reyes Lucero or Shieshōni (prayer feather blue), aged 30, shure', White Corn; Maria Lujan or Iōu (corn little), aged 20, shure', All Colors Corn (Eagle) (Gen. III, 62).

<sup>96</sup> He has a 6-year-old boy "given" him by the boy's parents as apprentice.



12-18. THE CORN GROUPS (WAKUAKABEN)<sup>97</sup>

These groups are also all inclusive; everybody belongs to one of the seven. Theoretically he or she belongs to his mother's group, but not merely from birth; as in the case of the moiety, he or she has to be adopted ritually into the group. And a group, not the mother's, may be selected for the child by the parents, as in the case of Genealogy I, 10, whose parents, themselves belonging to the Black Corn group, gave her to the Yellow Corn or Earth people. Initiation or adoption ritual is performed at either the winter or summer solstice ceremonial following the birth.

The Corn groups have nothing to do with marriage. From the house census<sup>98</sup> I made there appears to be about half as many marriages within the group as without, which would indicate, if anything, an endogamous tendency. But about half of the marriages within the group are within the White Corn group, which from its numerical preponderance might be expected and which offsets somewhat the impression of a general endogamous tendency. The prestige of the White Corn group may possibly affect marriage choices.

Each group has a chief (kabede), a chief assistant (auki'i) and a varying number of other assistants (k'abnin) or helpers as my informant always referred to them in English. The women assistants are called keide (mother). One of them is thought of as the head. In particular they fetch the water used in ritual, they wash the hair of the male members, they grind the paints for prayer feathers or sticks, and they have charge of the sacrosanct bundles and of the basket of sacred meal. They perform dance steps in ceremonial, but they do not sing.

Penin is a collective term for all members of the group. The chief, or rather chief assistant who is in training for the chieftaincy, may come into the position from a vow in sickness, as may also the other male or female assistants. Also the chief when he is in need of another assistant may call a general meeting of all his sons (wakhuan) to choose an assistant. The Corn Fathers or Mothers, as they may be referred to in English, "work for the whole world," including Mexicans and Americans.

<sup>97</sup> Wakuan, members of the group; imwaku\*, my Corn group; wakukabede, Corn group chief. Awakua, cornstalk with ears; wa, all, kua, the alternating ear.

<sup>98</sup> My informant, I should state, was in many cases self-contradictory in regard to a person's Corn group affiliation. He was not willfully mistating; I think he was merely guessing at the affiliation, and he would forget what his guess had been. As Corn group affiliation does not affect marriage choices, the affiliations are not generally as well known, I surmise, as are clan affiliations, at least in the western pueblos. The usual way of knowing what are the affiliations of people not of your own Corn group is by noticing where they go in at the solstice ceremonials. Of one family of Laguna descent Lucinda remarked, for example, "They are all meyn hano (Lizard people or clan; i. e., in Isletan terms, Earth people or Yellow Corn group), because we see where they go."



These Corn groups have no Corn mother fetishes, but "mothers"—i. e., fetishes—I infer, they do have. A black cane was referred to as the Mother of the Tutenehu Blue Corn people.

The Corn groups are named and are associated conceptually and ritually with the corn of the five color directions as follows:

12. tō'tainin, Day people: our mother white corn, kikewe'i iabatō (ie', corn, batō, white), east.
13. narnin, Poplars }  
kōaran, Magpies<sup>99</sup> } our mother black corn, kikewe'i iefūni, north.
14. namtainin, Earth people: our mother yellow corn, kikewe'i iechuri, west.
15. pachirnin, Water-bubbling (people) }  
tutenehu', Cane blowing through. } kikewe'i iechōri, south.
16. ietaide, Corn person }
17. {shyu, Eagle }  
{kōi, Goose } our mother mixed corn, kikewe'i k'uabo-tim. Up, down, and middle.
18. shichu }

#### 12. DAY PEOPLE (WHITE CORN)

This group takes precedence of the others in so far as its chief (natōyim) goes into retreat at the solstices one day in advance of the others. The group is the largest of all the Corn groups.<sup>1</sup> Its chief is the leading man, as it happens, in town, distinguished by his wealth, American education, and no doubt by his character. He is Pablo Abeita or Turw'iv (sun kick stick); aged about 50. He belongs to the Black Eyes. His assistants are: Chief assistant, Jose' Hohola<sup>2</sup> or Na'batō (whiteness), brother of the chief of the shure', aged 35, shure'; Patricio Lujan or Shiepuyu (prayer feather light) (Gen. I, 11), who was vowed in sickness by his father, aged 35, Black Eyes; Juan Rey Lucero or Paw'iapuyu (lake light), aged 22, shure'; and as women assistants or keide, Beatris Orgen or Kītū (meal altar design, see p. 279), aged 25, shure'; Maria Maruxo or Ia' (corn silk), aged 30, shure'; Juana Batista or Toyo (prayer stick little), aged 25, Black Eyes.

#### 13. MAGPIES (K'QARAN) AND POPLARS (NARNIN) (BLACK CORN)

These divisions alternate in taking charge of the ceremony. It is optional with the parent to which division the child may belong.

Chief of the Magpies is Bautista Zuñi<sup>3</sup> or Turshan (sunrise), aged 70, shure'; his first assistant being Domingo Hohola or Narw'iv

<sup>99</sup> Identified through Spanish term oraka.

<sup>1</sup> Yellow Corn is the next largest group. Practically all the hierarchic offices are filled by representatives of the White and Yellow Corn groups.

<sup>2</sup> Not kin to the chief.

<sup>3</sup> In December, 1925, he died, and the solstice ceremony was not performed by the group. It was said that at the following June solstice ceremony the first assistant would be installed chief.

(poplar kick stick), aged 30, Black Eyes; his other male assistant, Salamon Lenti or Turshure (a red bird, see p. 274), aged 25-27, Black Eyes; his female assistant, Predicana Abeita or P'ienbese<sup>4</sup> (mountain, terrace cloud design), aged 27, Black Eyes.

The skin of a magpie is displayed on the altar in their ceremonial.<sup>4</sup> But in their prayer feathers no magpie feather is used. Our informant insisted that k'qaran (fig. 5) did not mean magpie which was k'oara'de. There is another very similar sounding word for bluebird, koara'de, and it is by this term that a child belonging to the group might be jeered at.<sup>5</sup>

Chief of the Poplars (narkabede) is Vicente Wanchu or Naride (poplar), aged 40, shure'. His assistants are: Chief, Alcario Harmio or Tufuni (cane black),<sup>6</sup> aged 22, shure'; and Juan Bautista Lucero or Ati (a, me-tate; ti, grinding motion), aged 22, shure'. The women are: Dominga Armijo or Pæchuri (road, yellow), aged 35, shure'; Lolita Carpio or Koawa (spruce branch), aged 30, shure'; Josefina Jiron or Shiepap (prayer feather spread), aged 25, shure'.



FIGURE 5.—K'qaran (unidentified bird)

#### 14. EARTH PEOPLE (YELLOW CORN)

The chief is Domingo Churina or Turbatōa (sun bright), aged 40, shure'. His assistants are: Chief, Lelo Abeita or Kukuyu (Laguna word), aged 35, Black Eyes; Jose' Abeita, brother to Lelo, aged 30, Black Eyes. The women are: Josepita Ansela or Iechuri (corn yellow), aged from 60 to 65, shure'; Marcellina Abeita or Maxō (circle), aged 40, shure'; Rufina Lucero or Mapō (ear of corn with glumes, see p. 217), aged 35, shure'. (Gen. I, 10.)<sup>7</sup>

#### 15. WATER-BUBBLING PEOPLE (PACHIRI)<sup>8</sup> AND CANE-BLOWING PEOPLE (TUTENEHŪ')<sup>9</sup> (BLUE CORN)

These divisions, like the Black Corn divisions, are alternately in charge of the ceremony; and here, too, the divisional membership is optional with the parent.

<sup>4</sup> We recall the bird skins on Hopi altars.

<sup>5</sup> Compare p. 273, n. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Referring to the Mother; i. e., fetish of the Pachirnin.

<sup>7</sup> Discrepancy in family name is deliberate.

<sup>8</sup> Or pachirnin, meaning, according to one informant, water red shell.

<sup>9</sup> Another etymology tu, cane, tene, long, did not seem convincing to the informant. The chief of the group has no cane. See pp. 372 and 270.

Chief of the Water-bubbling people is Juan Lucero or Ūpuyu (leaf light), aged 35, shure'. He took office in December, 1925. His chief assistant is Romaldo Abeita or Shietō (prayer feather marked) who is 50, conspicuously senior to his chief, the explanation given that he was perhaps vowed to the group but lately. He is Black Eyes. The other assistants are, male, Macellino Hohola or Kietō (standing mark), aged 18, shure'; female, Reyes Zuni<sup>10</sup> or Kyena (I place it), aged 40, shure'; Oloxia Montoya or Hōakire (hōa, sacrosanct bundle, kire, lay), aged 32, Black Eyes; Lupita Churina or P'ienaō (mountain leaf), aged 40, shure' (Gen. IV, 14).

Chief of the Cane-blowing people is Juan José Usolo or Po'u (cane), aged 40, shure'. His chief assistant, and he has but one male assistant, is Tomas Chabe (Chaves) or Kimu (mountain lion), aged 20, Black Eyes; his female assistant is Rehina Lenti or Wjwia (tail plaque, referring to the plaque girt with feathers worn in dances).

#### 16. CORN PEOPLE (IETAININ) (ALL COLORS CORN)

This group may serve as a kind of omnibus group for disaffected members of the other Corn groups. Were a man to fall out with the chief of his own Corn group—he may have been chided, for example, for revealing the religion—he might go to the chief of All Colors group who would advise him to go back to his own Corn group or, if his own chief is to blame, would retain him in All Colors group. Such a situation rose within the family of the group's chief. His son,<sup>11</sup> a Blue Corn man, having quarreled with the Blue Corn people, now participates in the ceremony of the Corn people, the ceremony of which his own father is chief.

Chief of the main group, the ietaide kabede, is José Padilla or Iebatō (corn white), aged [?] 40, shure'. His chief assistant is Felipe Vilardi or Berseu (kiva cloud terrace design hearth), aged 30, Black Eyes. He has no other male assistants. His female assistants are: Maria Torres or Nabatō (whiteness), aged 50, Black Eyes; Hertrudes Vilardes or Berkwj or Rainbow, aged 25, Black Eyes.

The group has three subdivisions or splits-off: Eagle, Goose, and Shichu.

#### 17. EAGLE AND GOOSE PEOPLE (ALL COLORS CORN)

Eagle and Goose alternate in taking charge of their ceremony. These groups separated as recently as 1923, from the Corn people, the present Eagle people chief (shyut'aikabede) taking with him, on his withdrawal, his ceremonial children; i. e., those members of the mother group to whom he had been ceremonial father, 15 persons;

<sup>10</sup> Her mother belongs to the White Corn people.

<sup>11</sup> One of the two Padillas among the Laguna Fathers.

and the present Goose people chief (kōit'aikabede) taking with him, similarly, 7 persons. Of the withdrawals all that our informant would say was "perhaps they quarreled."<sup>12</sup> The subdivisions, Eagle and Goose, existed in the Corn people group before the separation.

Chief of the Eagle people is Domingo Lujan or Shyubatō (eagle white), aged 35, Black Eyes (Gen. III, 42). He has no chief assistant. He has a little boy assistant, José Hiron or Piempuyu (mountain light), aged 8, Black Eyes; and one female assistant, Felicita Hiron (no relation to the foregoing child) or Iechuri (yellow corn), aged 30, shure'.

Chief of the Goose people is Nicolas (?Juan) Lenti or Kōiw'i (goose, tip of tail), aged 30, Black Eyes. He has no male assistant; one female, Petra Valdes or Kir'u<sup>13</sup> (spreading or laying).

#### 18. SHICHU<sup>14</sup> (ALL COLORS CORN)

The Shichu group is of a much older<sup>15</sup> establishment than the above group, and their chief has particular functions. He takes part in the racing ceremonial, at which time (see p. 325) the infants of his group may receive their Corn name. At the liwa ceremony in February the Shichu present a night dance (see pp. 318 and 373), and at this time also the infants of his group may receive their name. From these infants in later life he selects the dancers. Shichu kabede is mentioned as cooperating in planting ritual and in the ceremony of bringing down the moon. He seems to be closer to the town chief than the other Corn Fathers, a relationship which is explained in the folk tale about the town chief of Berkwijtoe.<sup>16</sup> Here, too, we learn that from Bat the Shichu chief gets his power.

The solstice ceremonies of the group are the same as those of the other groups; but they are the last in time, by one day. When the Pecos Eagle Watchers Society was fitted into the calendar at Jemez their retreat was placed at the close of the series of both solstice and rain retreats. Also the Pecos immigrants introduced a dance. It is tempting to speculate that the Shichu group was founded by immigrants, perhaps from Berkwijtoe.

Chief of the Shichu is Bautista Wanchu who is referred to by title, shichu kabede. He is aged 30, and a shure'. His chief assistant is Migueli Lenti or Pa'u (the plain or in Spanish llano), aged 30,

<sup>12</sup> Corroborated by another informant. Juan Lenti, chief of the Goose people, who quarreled with José Padilla, chief of the Corn people.

<sup>13</sup> Her mother belongs to Yellow Corn.

<sup>14</sup> The word means rat or mouse, but our informant was insistent that as applied to this Corn group the word did not mean rat. I am not certain, however, that it was not a nickname given to the group. The term (shichure) may be used as a jocular insult to any contemporary or as a term of ridicule to a child who belongs to the group. You big Shichu (Mexican, raton)! See, too, p. 372.

<sup>15</sup> Before the memory of our middle-aged informant.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 384.

shure'. Two female assistants: Olaia Lenti or Tö'kum (day rising), aged 35 to 40, shure'; Lupita or Klechiu' (rain little), aged 30, shure'.<sup>17</sup>

## RITUAL

### PRAYER STICKS AND FEATHERS

Only the chiefs (hunters excepted) make prayer sticks or feathers which are referred to indiscriminately<sup>18</sup> as nashie' or shie'.<sup>19</sup> I get the impression that prayer feathers are used more commonly than prayer sticks. For example, the Hunt chief makes only prayer feathers, never prayer sticks; and prayer feathers only are made for the dead or to secrete in a newly built house or to tie to the "sun." The prayer feathers offered to the sun are called lawashie' (lawā, fringe, shie',<sup>20</sup> tied), which is also the term for the ritual hair feathers of the town chief. To similar prayer feathers for the moon are attached red beads.

The prayer stick made by the chakabede for his spruce gatherers is called to'ai. It consists of a joint of cane and two turkey feathers. A to'ai<sup>21</sup> is also made by the chief of either medicine society to be deposited in the river by the woman assistant who fetches water, and a to'ai is made for the sun (fig. 6); by whom I did not learn. During their solstice retreats the medicine societies make prayer sticks called mapōtowai (mapō, ear of corn with glumes), with which are included the crook stick type of prayer stick familiar at Jemez, at Laguna, and at Zuñi. These are buried in the corn fields.<sup>22</sup>

Besides turkey (piendirude) feathers, which are thought of as having preeminence,<sup>23</sup> duck (p'apire) and goose (kō'uire) feathers are mentioned as well as feathers of the humming bird (w'əutu'shureure), tushöre, an all red bird, and tujumare, a yellow bird. Humming-bird feathers are used on the stick for the stillborn. Blue bird (kow'alöaken) feathers are used by the shure'. . . . Among the prayer stick feathers none is referred to as mantle or blanket or dress for the stick as is the practice elsewhere. The midribs of feathers may be painted. (See p. 292.) Ritual feathers are kept, as elsewhere, in oblong boxes of cottonwood. Domestic turkeys are kept for their

<sup>17</sup> Her mother belongs to Yellow Corn.

<sup>18</sup> Compare a like indiscriminate use of pe, stick, for prayer feather among the Tewa.

<sup>19</sup> Possibly the etymology is the same as in the term for folk tale (see p. 359) and means talk, referring to the messagelike quality of the offering (compare Parsons, 17: 55) or the term may mean "tied." See below; also compare Parsons, 16: 100.

<sup>20</sup> See p. 292. The term lawashie' refers to hair prayer feathers at large, I infer, like the Zuñi term lawshawane. "With lawashie' we clothe the sun," meaning dress or rather headdress. Compare Parsons, 16: 137. The lawashie' referred to are painted, for the directions.

<sup>21</sup> The term for medicine man, toyide, may possibly be related to this term for prayer stick.

<sup>22</sup> Parsons, 7: 60-61. According to Parsons, 9: 160, the chiefs of the Corn groups make these prayer sticks for the fields. The medicine societies make them during their ceremony of general exorcism. (1b. 162.)

<sup>23</sup> See p. 291.

feathers, three by the chief of the Laguna Fathers, and four or five by the chief of the Blue Corn group. (Wild turkey is eaten at Isleta.)

The wood commonly used for prayer sticks is willow (iaġa). Red willow is used by the Black Eyes and referred to in ritual as *tupahiwa* (tu, cane, pa, water, for *hiwa*, see pp. 343-344). Yellow willow is used by the *shure'* and referred to as *paw'iaġa* (lake willow). Willow is used also by the town chief and by *kumpa* for their prayer sticks. The stick is worked but little; the representation of a face through a facet at the tip was unfamiliar to my informant. The usual hand measures are followed: From base of thumb to tip of middle finger, the length of the middle finger, or the last two joints. The pigments used are *koafuntō*, dark blue mineral (? malachite) which is also described as black, used on the sticks of the Black Eyes; *natōpe'*, a red pigment; *pari'*, also a red pigment, used in the sticks of the *shure'*, also on the face.

Feathers are tied with native grown cotton. (For the ritual of this tying see p. 292.) As elsewhere, the tie string may be painted. (See p. 292.)

Prayer stick or feather is not buried;<sup>24</sup> it would bring misfortune. Nor are there shrines.<sup>25</sup> The sticks or feathers are placed out of sight under bush or rock, Laguna fashion, or thrown into spring or river.

In a folk tale a large bunch of prayer feathers, together with a cigarette, is referred to as *wəmi* (*w'emi*), *pay*, suggesting that at Isleta as elsewhere, prayer feathers or sticks are thought of as compensation to the spirits for what is asked of them.



FIGURE 6.—Prayer stick for Sun. Willow, from wrist to tip of middle finger. Black, and spotted with various colors. Feathers, eagle, turkey, duck, red bird, yellow bird, *k'grade* (black, spotted white)

#### OFFERINGS<sup>26</sup> OF CORN MEAL OR POLLEN; ROAD MAKING; FOOD OFFERINGS

Corn meal or pollen (our informant uses the terms indiscriminately)<sup>27</sup> is in very general ritual use. It is sprinkled by everybody

<sup>24</sup> But see p. 374.

<sup>25</sup> Again see p. 374, where a hunter's shrine is clearly indicated.

<sup>26</sup> Any gifts to the spirits, including prayer sticks or feathers, are called "pay."

<sup>27</sup> This failure to discriminate should be held in mind in reading the accounts of ceremonies.



to the sun at sunrise.<sup>28</sup> In ceremonial it is sprinkled to sun, moon, stars. It is sprinkled in all the directions, or in the direction of any spirit that is being addressed. It is sprinkled on prayer feathers, on the altar, and on the sun spot. It is placed in the basket or on the hand where sacrosanct objects are to be placed or given. It is thrown into the river or buried in the field. The meal and pollen are contained separately in buckskin in the pouch of the bandoleer. Corn pollen only is used; not as in some other places pollen from flowers. Corn pollen may be gathered by anybody, "with a song," asking one of the cornstalks in the row for it. "We always ask for what we gather."

Ritual road (p'æide) making by sprinkling corn meal occurs as elsewhere. Persons are led in or out of the ceremonial room by sprinkling meal before them. The chakabede makes a pollen road for *ñiwale* when he leads him into town. Similarly, the chiefs lead a returning war party, or an irrigating party, into town by sprinkling meal. (See p. 326.) The town chief sprinkles meal for the sun in a line from east to south when the runners name the sun in their song, which sprinkling is "like calling him"; i. e., making a road for him. Similarly by meal road making, the deceased is summoned, as well as dismissed.

Food offerings are made at meals, when men go for wood or go hunting, and on various ritual occasions, to *Wæide* and to the dead. The crumbs are dropped on the ground from the right hand for *Wæide*, from the left for the dead. In the solstice ceremonies these offerings are made on the nearest ash pile. "Let us remember the fire," said Lucinda, "by throwing into it the crumbs of the cake we spilled."<sup>29</sup> The offerings to the scalps are dropped below the niche in the roundhouse where the scalps are kept. On the fourth night after death a bowl of food is taken out for the deceased. . . . All such food offerings are taken in bits from the bowls and baskets of food provided for the performers of the ceremony or the attendants.

On All Saints Day the mothers of deceased children bake meal in the form of animals, rabbits, horses, etc.,<sup>30</sup> thinking the children (Mexican, *angelitos*, *Isletan*, *nawí'eu*) would like them. The dough images are placed on the church altar. The women also put food in a bowl for the dead, believing that the dead come for it. On this day *responsos* (*namahu*), responses for the dead, are paid for, in grain and bread. The padre is said to keep the grain; the bread he sells to Mexicans.

Crumbs may be sprinkled outside of town, by anyone, to the ants.

<sup>28</sup> See p. 368.

<sup>29</sup> She added, "Food you don't like you are sure to spill, just as I am sure to spoil my pot (in the making) if I don't like it."

<sup>30</sup> Compare Laguna, Parsons, 3: 260.

## FETISHES

Each member of the medicine societies is possessed of a Corn mother (kei'de, mother; or iema'paru), likewise the town chief. This fetish is wrapped with cotton and dressed with beads<sup>32</sup> and feathers, among them two parrot (terikya) tail feathers which are obtained from a sacerdotalist in San Domingo who keeps a live bird. Of the composition of the Mother our informant professed to be ignorant, insisting that she was "just born," born ready made. (See p. 367.) But there is little doubt that the Mother is an ear of corn, probably of perfectly kernalled corn (iekap, corn, tip, or kaimu, kai, corn in husk, mu, cover). Such ears when found at husking are kept in their husk in the store room for planting. They are placed first in the stack—i. e., they are under the stack—and they are placed with a song. Curiously enough, kaimu are said not to be used as elsewhere in naming ritual. . . . At his death a man's Mother is given to his widow to look after, if she is able to, and until she remarries. Then it is taken from her, and "they send it back"; i. e., whence it came.

The corn ear with a double tip is called twin (kuyude), but there is no special use or treatment for it, whereas if there are several tips to an ear they are broken off, because this kind of ear (kike'wei maxō tene, our mother fingers greedy or monopolistic) "would send all the rest of the corn out of the house." This from Juan Abeita, but Lucinda said, drawing perhaps from her Keresan lore, that such an ear (berupehim'ai, baby to have) is given to cattle to have a big family, with the words, "I want you to have as many children as are on the corn," perhaps five or six. There is a form of ear where the cob is grainless in spots near the grain covered tip. Whoever planted this ear, it is said, was hungry, and the ear is called kike'wei hañiuu, our mother hungry old woman.

In this connection of corn fetishism I will give the beginning of the song that has to be sung whenever anybody picks up the grains that drop from the ear (xörlur, grain dropped) in harvesting.<sup>33</sup>

natixörlur

I am picking up dropped grains

waiide

life

natinatha

I find

natixa

I am finding

koam

cleaning

nakua

health

There are animal fetishes (ke'chu),<sup>34</sup> of whom mountain lion (kymide) is the first, "the first helper." The others are bear (köide); eagle (shiwile); badger (karnade); rattlesnake (charara're). These

<sup>32</sup> Mahoro. Possibly this is the etymology for iema'paru, corn, beads, or it may be ia, corn silk, mapō, corn with glumes. (See p. 274.)

<sup>33</sup> See p. 248.

<sup>34</sup> Ke' or ker means a defensive, protective, town wall. Ke'chu also means great mother (see p. 230), and the usual Pueblo term for fetish is "mother."

ke'chu are to be found, together with stone arrow points, under any tree that was struck by lightning seven or more years before.

Stone arrow points or blades (kōshi, ko'anshi'e), thunder knives, are also coughed up by the deer which the hunt chief draws in with his ceremonial. The hunt chief takes the point from the deer's mouth.<sup>35</sup> Points, most particularly white arrow points, are used considerably in ritual. One occupies an important place on the altar, and an arrow point may be carried for personal protection or power<sup>36</sup> by any one—by a racer in his mouth, for example. When a certain Isletan, now an old man, once raced as a youth at Taos, he ran with an arrow point in his mouth. (And he beat the Ute he was put up against. "Heavy betting on that race.") Lucinda had an anecdote of how her two little girl neighbors, frightened at being left alone in their house, came into her house late one night. Each little girl carried an arrow point in her hand. And Lucinda remembered that a spear point was stuck in the rafters of her grandfather's house. Around a new grave a mark may be made with a point to keep away witches or, perhaps, to keep the dead in place, just as in ceremonial a circle is drawn around a live rabbit or deer "to tie him." In exorcising the dead a point is passed over the door and walls of his house. Again in exorcising against witchcraft a cross may be made on the door with a point, and a witch's bundle is cut open with a point. The "witch" who is caught and brought into the ceremonial chamber is himself killed with a stone knife.

In the solstice ceremonies figures a stone called veryu tainin, representing all the animals, tame and wild; there are still other stones (kənim) which represent animals and birds. Every medicine man has two or three which he keeps in the bag containing his corn ear fetish,<sup>37</sup> and sets out on his altar. These kənim ask for power from the animals whose shapes they resemble. They are natural, not carved. Some, the people brought up with them; some have been found in the mountains.

Other stones, oblong with rounded top, resembling a mountain, are called shunai. Each is named for a particular mountain, as, for example, tutur'mai,<sup>38</sup> San Mateo Mountain. They represent the mountain homes of the animals or kənim.<sup>39</sup> They are a few inches high.<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 16.)

An anthropomorphic fetish stone, representing a legendary hunter, is said to be in the keeping of the Town Fathers. (See pp. 373-374.) The hunt chief is possessed of an irregularly shaped stone, "shaped

<sup>35</sup> That medicine stones are found in the stomach of "medicine deer" is a Taos belief.

<sup>36</sup> See pp. 452 and 302. Compare Parsons 8 : 121, n. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Whatever sacrosanct things are referred to collectively as hōa.

<sup>38</sup> Also tuturmap'ai.

<sup>39</sup> Also, presumably, as such stones do on Hopi altars, the abodes of the chiefs of the directions.

<sup>40</sup> Compare Parsons, 12, Figure 19.

like a man," called k'oata<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 7), of which it was said that "perhaps they brought it up with them." I take it that the k'oata is an antique war club. Kumpa or kabew'iride is also in possession of one. (See pp. 259, 301, 331.) In the keeping of the town chief is a stone kick-ball (w'iv) which in time of war, against whites or Mexicans, not against Indians, would be used to send lightning and thunder against the enemy.<sup>42</sup> In connection with the kick-ball was mentioned a stone whistle (tur) to call the rain. A lightning stone (upini), described as an opalescent stone from water, figures in the solstice ceremonies; also a stone called leachi tainin, rain people, described as a spiral-shaped stone about 4 inches long. All the stone fetishes figuring in the solstice ceremonies are referred to collectively as wahtainin,<sup>43</sup> all the people.

A very notable, and as far as I know unique, fetish at Isleta appears in the sun calling or "pulling down" ritual. The object is described in vague terms as opening and closing and, presumably when open, glittering with the white brilliance of the sun. It is thought of as the sun himself, with power of flight. Presumably there is a like fetish of the moon.<sup>44</sup>



FIGURE 7.—K'oata

Inferably (see p. 302) there is a fetish of the horned serpent, ikaina, of the animal mask type found in other pueblos.

The cane of the war chief which is called tue'funituli, cane prayer stick black old man, is "the one that came out with them." It is the "father" of the war chief. As elsewhere, the canes of the governor and officers have also somewhat of a fetishistic character.

In this connection may be mentioned the clay figurines of the domestic animals and of chili, corn, and melons, which are made by the women, and on the morning of December 29 taken by the senior male of the household and buried in the corral, "so there will be more of them," that the household may be "never short."<sup>45</sup>

#### ALTAR

Of the medicine societies the altar (nake'e) consists of the terrace cloud design in white meal at the base of which are set in clay the Mothers.<sup>46</sup> (Figs. 16 and 17.) This design is called kitu, meaning

<sup>41</sup> The only etymology my informant could suggest was koa, sheep (but koa also means rabbit stick), ta, "all right," but this, he insisted, no doubt quite properly, was not the right etymology.

<sup>42</sup> See p. 368. In the tale the kick stick is also thrown to help the sun's daily progress.

<sup>43</sup> Compare Parsons, 7: 60.

<sup>44</sup> See p. 330.

<sup>45</sup> Compare Parsons, 6; Parsons, 3: 260; also Gruening, illustration opposite p. 249.

<sup>46</sup> Compare the altar of the pekwin of Zuñi (Parsons 14: 17) and see p. 331. According to another informant there are painted wooden frames on the altars of the medicine societies, as at Laguna and Zuñi. (Parsons 7: 60.)

village.<sup>47</sup> Other sacrosanct objects are set out on the altar—the bowl of medicine water, the fetish stones, arrow points, bear paws, prayer feathers, meal basket, and crosses which are called by the same name as the cloud terrace design, *be'se*. The altars of the moieties and Corn groups are still simpler, as there are no mothers—only the meal design (*kitu*), bowl, stone fetishes, arrow point, and prayer feathers. (Fig. 10.)

In certain ritual, instead of a meal design, a buckskin serves on which to set paraphernalia, as when the thief finder goes into trance, or when kumpa brings in the horned serpent (fig. 14), or when the town chief blesses, as we might say, the seed corn with his medicine water.

#### MEDICINE WATER (PA'KWIMPA)<sup>48</sup> AND BOWL; ASPERSING AND WATER POURING

Medicine water is made by every ceremonial group or chief and the bowl figures on every altar. The fluid is used to pour out in the directions or to sprinkle with in the directions as well as on sacrosanct objects<sup>49</sup> and on persons, and it is given to persons to drink or take home. Also the chief may squirt the water on persons from his mouth. The song used in sprinkling is referred to as *pa'ore*. . . . Members of one moiety may not drink the medicine water of the other moiety. No doubt the composition of the medicine water of any group is peculiarly esoteric.

In ceremonial the stone fetishes are dropped into the medicine bowl, and the supernaturals that are "called in" during ceremonial—thunder, lightning, rain, as well as the animals—appear to be directed into the medicine bowl. They are whistled or sung for. As the dance chief steps before the altar, the assistants sing, mentioning in the middle of their song what is wanted—"they are calling it in." At this point the dancing chief makes passes of drawing something in and of throwing it into the bowl—"working with his power."

Duck feathers and the sacrosanct ear of corn are used as aspergills.

The medicine bowl is also used as a kind of clairvoyant mirror, to reflect the outside world,<sup>50</sup> also the dead.<sup>51</sup>

#### SMOKING; CIGARETTE; TOBACCO OFFERING; PIGMENT OFFERING

Ritual smoking is referred to as *paki'mu*, mist or fog; *chichi*, give. Native tobacco (*lepa'b'*) is used, and there is the expression *lepa'b'*

<sup>47</sup> Or tribe. *Kitun t'annin* are the village people, i. e., all the Pueblos.

<sup>48</sup> *Pa*, water; *kwimpa*, whirling, boiling. A spring is also described in English as "boiling." My guess is that bubbling is meant and that, as elsewhere, the medicine bowl and water represent a spring.

<sup>49</sup> And even on merely ornamental glass beads.

<sup>50</sup> For a charming account by a San Juan townsman of such reflection in witch finding, see Parsons, 17: 45-47.

<sup>51</sup> See p. 316.

paki'mu. The town chief is the custodian of the supply of this tobacco.<sup>52</sup> Corn husk wrapping is used; also cane. A small stone pipe is said to be used in the medicine societies. As usual, the smoke is puffed in all the directions which are accounted five—east, north, west, south, and, as a single direction, up and down and middle—the circuit beginning, as we see, in the east; and smoke is puffed in the direction of any supernatural who is being addressed, as for example toward the river, for the Water people—"he thanks the Water people with smoke"—or upward again to the sun in the solstice ceremonies, or when the sun is asked to help in the race.<sup>52a</sup>

Sacrosanct objects are also smoked, e. g., the "mothers" on the ground altar, the bowl of medicine water, ritual water from the river, the scalps.

There is the same belief as elsewhere that ritual smoking produces clouds and rain.<sup>53</sup> Also that by smoking, game, deer or rabbits may be blinded or bewildered.

In ritual smoking, on giving the cigarette the giver says ka'a; the recipient rejoins tatu'u.

All ceremonial requests are made by the offer of the cane made cigarette, e. g., the application for services of a medicine man or, in the emergence tale, of him who is to become town chief,<sup>54</sup> and a request thus made has, as elsewhere, a compulsory character. For example, a medicine man who is thus asked by a runner to give him power<sup>55</sup> apparently has to give it, although it is against the rule to aid one townsman against another.<sup>56</sup>

A cigarette may be offered with prayer feathers<sup>57</sup> or after being smoked the remainder may be left in offering,<sup>58</sup> as in the folk tale of how they began to race for the sun were the three cigarettes for the patron spirits of the Laguna Fathers. Tobacco of itself may be offered with crumbs of food as in ant-curing ritual. When a man attends the ceremony of a Corn group not his own, he presents the group with some tobacco.

The black and red pigments<sup>59</sup> of the moiety groups are offered to the sun in the irrigation ceremony. (See pp. 319, 320.)

<sup>52</sup> Compare p. 237.

<sup>52a</sup> Compare Boas, 297.

<sup>53</sup> Compare pp. 361, 387, 389, 390.

<sup>54</sup> See p. 364.

<sup>55</sup> A medicine man can also affect a race by throwing a powder toward the one he would have lose. (Cf. Lumbolz, I: 284.)

<sup>56</sup> See p. 328. And yet sick cases can be refused. I heard of a certain man who having severe pain in one eye applied for treatment which was denied him because "he was a mean man." He was told to go to the white doctor who would cure him by taking out his eye. He did go; his eye was removed, and now he has a glass eye.

<sup>57</sup> See p. 275.

<sup>58</sup> Jemez and Zuñi practice. (Cf. Benavides, 46.)

<sup>59</sup> Offering of pigments is both Tewa and Plains Indian practice.



We have noted <sup>60</sup> that a sickly infant may be promised or given to a ceremonial group moiety or Corn group other than that it would normally belong to. Membership in the medicine societies or in the war society may also be the result of a vow in sickness.

A sick person or the parent of a sick child may promise San Agostin "to take him out." On recovery, the image would be kept overnight in the house of the vow taker (Mexican, *belorio*), and taken around the plaza the next day.<sup>61</sup> Vows are made also to San Escapula.

#### BREATHING RITES

Meal that is to be sprinkled in offering is breathed on. The sacrosanct ear of corn is breathed on (*ham'bewe*; the term for ordinary breathing is *haniwe*). The clasped hands are breathed on or from (*wa'shihan'*, *washi*, "give long life,"<sup>62</sup> *han>haniwe*, breath), in *Zuñi* fashion, with the left hand folded over the right, the thumbs parallel, when the sun materializes in the solstice ceremonies or when other fetishes are exposed; or the clasped hands are breathed from, when the hands have been passed over a dead deer. The eagle feathers of the medicine men are breathed from.<sup>63</sup>

Lucinda breathed from her hands when she passed a church, or when she received a present of any kind—*iwashihakura nakamu* (good luck) she called it. A present, by the way, said Lucinda, you must never demur to taking.

#### SONG AND DANCE STEP (ALTAR RITUAL); RACING

A considerable number of rites are mentioned specifically as having songs attaching to them: "work on the prayer feathers"; i. e., grinding ritual paint, painting the feathers or string, grouping and tying the feathers; offering prayer meal in the directions; sprinkling the altar with pollen; making medicine water; calling the sun; calling deer. In general we get the impression that the ritual songs are a very important part of ceremonial, as elsewhere. It is to be hoped that opportunity to record the text of these songs may sometime be given.

Dance steps, more particularly by the chief, are performed with some of the ritual songs. As when the Corn group chief dances during the sprinkling of the altar—the women assistants dancing

<sup>60</sup> See pp. 261-262 and 272 n. 10, 273 n. 13, 274 n. 17.

<sup>61</sup> Compare an account of curing through saints by Mexicans in Santa Fe in 1857. "Upon one occasion, when visiting a family, a member of which was quite ill, a number of friends came in with a small image of a favorite saint, altar, and other necessary apparatus. They were placed in the middle of the room, when a few coals of fire were brought from the kitchen and put in the vessel that contained the incense which ignited and filled the room with its odor, the whole party the while performing some ceremony that I did not understand." (See Davis, 225, 226.)

<sup>62</sup> Children are told not to blow on food, such as rabbit or deer, to cool the meat, lest the animal come alive again and get away.

<sup>63</sup> See p. 444.

also—or when kumpa dances in calling the horned serpent, or the medicine society chief on gazing into his medicine to learn of the world outside. In these dances there is some dramatic action also. . . . There is an interesting reference <sup>64</sup> to dancing as a form of “helping” or, as we might say, of compulsory magic.

Ritual racing is thought of similarly to help the sun’s progress.<sup>65</sup> This racing is of the relay type, which is Tanoan in distinction to the kick stick or kick ball race type of the Keres and of the west. The kick stick is known ritualistically at Isleta; <sup>66</sup> but it is associated with the sun, not, as elsewhere, with rainfall.

#### RITUAL GESTURES AND POSTURES

An antisunwise circuit made with the eagle feathers or with the clasped hands seems to have the meaning of gathering in some influence, either for oneself or to bestow it on others, as when the chief waves his feathers toward the Mother on the altar and then waves them toward the audience, or when, after breathing on his clasped hands, he moves them in circuit and says, “The water people are sending you all long life and health.” The runner will make this gesture, asking help from the scalps or from the sun. (See p. 329.)

There is still another motion of drawing something to oneself—the hands held cuplike and moved to and fro.<sup>67</sup>

There is an antithetical motion of discarding, an exorcising motion, in which the palms are passed together quickly to and fro in a slicing movement. This rite is also performed with eagle feathers. The two eagle feathers are also tapped one against the other at right angles.<sup>68</sup>

The eagle feathers are used in conducting or leading persons to ceremonial places, as when “his father” leads a patient to the society’s room. The Father crosses the feathers; the patient takes hold of them by the tips; then the Father swings them over his head, leaving the patient still holding the feathers in a position behind the Father.

Sacrosanct objects, more particularly the corn fetishes, may be held in the right hand resting in the crook of the left arm, which is folded over the right forearm. The corn ear or the eagle feather may be held by butt and tip, in both hands, to breathe from them.

In this connection we may note that, as elsewhere, bare feet and flowing hair are associated with ritual performance. Also we note that a kind of massage by pressing is practiced as a restorative for one

<sup>64</sup> See p. 318.

<sup>65</sup> See pp. 324-325, 388.

<sup>66</sup> See p. 368 and Fig. 25.

<sup>67</sup> See pp. 292, 296. Compare Laguna, Parsons, 8: 125.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

who has been through ritual stress or exertion, a practice which has been noted also among the Keres.

#### CIRCUIT AND ORIENTATION; RITUAL COLORS; FAVORED NUMERALS

The circuit is antisunwise and begins in the east. There are three sets of terms for the directions, long ceremonial, short ceremonial, and vernacular.

|                            | Ceremonial          |             | Vernacular |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-------------|------------|
|                            | Long                | Short       |            |
| East.....                  | pathuwe töe'        | töbao.....  | hebai.     |
| North.....                 | k'oafawe töe'       | töou.....   | heui.      |
| West.....                  | fieruwe' töe'       | tönau.....  | henai.     |
| South.....                 | pachinwe' töe'      | töxuu.....  | hekui.     |
| Zenith, Nadir, and Middle. | k'ienai pyenai..... | pyenai..... | k'ie.      |

Through corn there is an association of color with the directions: (n)batö'i, white (east); (na)funi'i, black (north); (na)ch'uri'i, yellow (west); (na)shuri'i, blue (south). Terms for all colors are thörjun or kərim (mixed). Ritual points or blades are also associated with color direction.<sup>69</sup> The white arrow point is the favored one. There appears to be no color-direction association, as elsewhere, either with the kachina (hiwa), except in one folk tale, or with the animals.

The townspeople are sometimes referred to according to the direction of their houses as: hebaihun, henihun, henaihun, hekuihun.

The directions, we have seen, are counted as five instead of as six as in other Pueblo circles (Taos perhaps excepted). The same directions as elsewhere are considered, but curiously enough, the zenith and nadir are counted together with the middle point between. Another notable anomaly is the use of three instead of the characteristic Pueblo four, for specific ritual acts.<sup>70</sup> But the most notable numeral for ritual repetition, as well as to indicate mere plurality or indefinite repetition, is five. Five figures constantly, whether in ritual or secular counts or estimates of time.<sup>71</sup> For example, it is every five years that the piñon crop is supposed to be very abundant. In 1921 I was told that the cemetery had been removed five years earlier; in 1926 I was told the same thing. One December day, in 1927, there was to be a council in regard to the distribution of some funds from leased pasture lands, and the question came up whether or not the children should share. Even 5-year-old children (i. e., little children)

<sup>69</sup> See pp. 295, 297.

<sup>70</sup> See pp. 291, 292, 313, 444.

<sup>71</sup> See pp. 237, 248, 252, 319, 363, 365, 433, 437, 440, 442, 444, 449, 452, 454.

should share, opined somebody. . . . Conforming with Pueblo practice is the use of 12, as a count for ritual days, etc.<sup>73</sup>

#### CRYSTAL GAZING

A crystal (pöshikö) belongs to each medicine society chief and he uses it repeatedly in his ritual, to determine who are sick and in need of attention, what the witches are doing abroad or have already done in the way of sending obnoxious things into the persons<sup>74</sup> of those present at the ceremonial, or in case of an epidemic, in the town at large. (See pp. 339, 340.) Other immoralities or improprieties are learned of in the same way. Perhaps a runner has got power from a medicine man to win his race against a fellow townsman, by causing cramps, or perhaps strings have been sent into a runner's legs by a witch. Injurious things on the race track are seen through the crystal, also who will win the race. Weather—winds, rain, or a hail storm—is predicted similarly through a crystal.

The crystal hangs as a pendant from the neck of the curing chief.

It is firmly believed that medicine men, whether or not through their crystal, are possessed of second sight. A recent curious development of this belief in second sight finds expression through a certain townsman who has boldly set himself to find veins of gold and ruins<sup>75</sup> which may yield old pottery for trade. As a blind he takes digging tools along, but he makes his discoveries, he believes, through his ritual work at night.

#### MEDICINE

There is a notable use of the root medicine which is called lifewah. It is spat over the altar,<sup>76</sup> over or toward attendants at a ceremony, and by the thief-finder who goes into trance. That this medicine is thought of as very powerful,<sup>77</sup> as an Isletan would say, is evidenced by the fact, among others, that only the chief (in the Corn group) may swallow it.

There are, of course, medicines other than lifewah, but of them we have no particulars, except a reference to wolf root (karli) and to bear root, an association between the animals and disease through roots similar to that observed at Zuñi.

Curing at a distance or performing anything magical at a distance is very much of a criterion of magical power. One of the observations on the kachina cult of a much-traveled Isletan woman was that the kachina had no power as they did nothing at a distance.

<sup>73</sup> As at Taos (Parsons, 22) and Picuris (Harrington and Roberts *passim*.).

<sup>74</sup> Compare Laguna practice (Parsons 8: 119).

<sup>75</sup> Looking for gold and ruins is said in Isleta to induce blindness. May there not have been some cultural clash between the Mexican tradition or practice of seeking buried treasure which is ghost guarded (see Parsons, 20) and the Indian aversion to disturbing the ancients?

<sup>76</sup> At Zuñi a root medicine is spat over certain prayer sticks (Ruth L. Bunzel, personal communication).

<sup>77</sup> See p. 419.

## CONTINENCE; FASTING

Continence is required before engaging in a ceremony, for four days, whether staying at home or in retreat. One informant refers also to four days of continence after the ceremony. "We have four days inside getting ready; on the fourth night we perform the ceremony; then we have four outside days, during which we may not touch a woman or kill anything, not even an insect, or hurt anybody's feelings." This abstinence at home is associated with a daily emetic and is referred to as *ibewaeyue*, outside fasting (fasting from sexual intercourse, not from food). Such abstinence may be practiced not only by sacerdotalists but by lay members who want "to help," i. e., increase the efficiency of the ceremonial.<sup>78</sup>

Were a man to break his continence taboo he might turn into a rock or log or into an animal. (See pp. 374, 448.) In the folk tale about the Corn girls and the kick stick player<sup>79</sup> who is "working" for the sun, to aid his daily progress, we find a most interesting expression of the familiar idea that breaking taboo precludes ritual efficiency.

In retreat, i. e., segregation in ceremonial room, there is fasting from food (*naw'æyim*), and our informant was very insistent that the fast consisted of total abstention from food and drink, for the usual four days. With this fasting is associated also the taboo on killing anything, "even a spider or fly."

The initiate into the medicine societies fasts from wheaten<sup>80</sup> dishes. Dishes eaten during retreat<sup>81</sup> are round cakes of blue corn meal (*shekôyl*, she, tied; *kôyl*, round); a mush called *w'æ'opaku* made of a wild water plant; and corn meal tamale (*nata' mare*).

The padre would have the people fast from wine and meat in holy week (*semana santa*) and two days each week for seven weeks before. Some fast, some do not. In holy week the padre would also have the people "keep still," *pæ'wæ*, not chopping wood or making use of wagons, just as in the "keeping still" time at Taos, remarked my informant.

## HAIR WASHING AND RITUAL BATH

The hair is washed in connection with ceremonial conducted both by the medicine societies and the Corn groups. As elsewhere, yucca root (*pala*) suds are used.

Funerary attendants have their hair washed, on the third day; on the fourth they take a ritual bath in the river. In the solstice ceremonies hands and face are washed in the river. The *k'apyo* wash off their face and body paint in the river. A woman sick of tonsillitis

<sup>78</sup> Compare pp. 290, 367.

<sup>79</sup> Pp. 369, 371.

<sup>80</sup> Whereas for "dances" cakes of sprouted wheat (*nadeka'*) are made.

<sup>81</sup> During the 12-day fast of the medicine men.

told me she was recovering because she had taken a very early morning bath in the river.

OTHER RITES OF EXORCISM: BRUSHING OR WIPING, SUCKING, RUBBING WITH ASHES, WILLING, WHIPPING, PURGING, SPITTING

To "clean" houses, corrals, plaza, or river, the slicing and discarding motions are used with eagle feathers, and the feathers are also used to brush out whatever bad thing there may be inside the body—stick, stone, bit of cloth, thorn (*nalöa pöare*, *nalöa*, witch bundle, *pöare*, brush). The disease-causing ants are also brushed out. Similarly there is brushing or rather wiping out with the bear paw, or with cotton. Sucking out <sup>81a</sup> is practiced in the ant cure, in which ashes are also used in exorcism. (See p. 444.)

Sometimes the chief, sitting in front of the altar near the large stone blade, draws out the injurious things from the bodies of those present merely "by wishing," and makes a big pile of them.

Sometimes a sick person might ask the town chief to send a Grandfather (see p. 263) to whip him to get well. For this my informant himself used the term penance which I had, of course, carefully avoided. It was the first time I had ever heard ritual whipping thus referred to, either nominally or conceptually, by a Pueblo Indian. But I was to hear of it again, as a rite and as a form of punishment after death. Lucinda opined that if she betrayed the customs of Laguna people perhaps her deceased Laguna husband who had been so strict with her in life would be waiting for her after she died with a whip.<sup>82</sup> The willows carried by the *kyapiunin* are thought of as whips to inflict punishment.<sup>83</sup> The town chief who broke his taboos of office was whipped by invisible agents, whipped in punishment. In referring to the ceremony of whipping the boys at Jemez,<sup>84</sup> my Isletan informant said it was done as a punishment for having been in school and disbelieving in Indian ways. Punishment was her word rather than the usual word for exorcism, cleansing. Even the concept of sin or sinner is expressed in English by rendering the term *nabürlade* "sinner in this world," i. e., living in a state of sin. Illustrations of the use of the term indicate that it means failure to qualify to use magic power.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81a</sup> Lummis describes a rite of sucking through a feather, the tip against the patient and the quill in the mouth of the doctor. (Lummis 2: 79.)

<sup>82</sup> See, too, p. 202, n. 1.

<sup>83</sup> Pp. 334, 362, 365.

<sup>84</sup> It occurs, according to this account, every four years, in February, and it was due again in 1928. All the boys who are not returning to school are whipped. Before the whipping the boys know nothing about the costumbres, after it they may know everything. The whipping is not with yucca, but with cactus, and the mother of a certain boy was described graphically as engaged in picking the thorns out of his flesh. There is a dance.

<sup>85</sup> See p. 399.



The practice of emesis at home was referred to above. In the solstice ceremonies there is an elaborate purging rite.

In the ceremonial of general exorcism there is a rite of spitting into a jar on the altar or toward it, or toward the witch bundle or the "witch" himself.

## CALENDAR

### LIST OF MONTHS

|           |                                                                                                                |
|-----------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| December  | nopepa, night fire <sup>88</sup> (i. e., Christmas) moon.                                                      |
| January   | tawinchibena (tawinide, samples of year's prospective yield, in crops or rabbits; <sup>87</sup> chibena, new). |
| February  | kōshapai, raising, coming up, moon.                                                                            |
| March     | kapai, bury (?) moon.                                                                                          |
| April     | lita kaai, wheat pile or litapaai (wheat pile moon).                                                           |
| May       | paxōrai, water (? grain, month). <sup>88</sup>                                                                 |
| June      | pepa, nape', ceremony of Corn groups moon.                                                                     |
| July      | pahōnminai, moon, sucked in. <sup>89</sup>                                                                     |
| August    | tilpaai, grind moon.                                                                                           |
| September | nakyenepai, motion up and down moon.                                                                           |
| October   | kōwepai, brown-yellow moon.                                                                                    |
| November  | p'ōypai, dead <sup>90</sup> moon.                                                                              |

### SOLSTICE DETERMINATION AND CALENDRIAL EVENTS

All the ceremonial groups contribute to the year's calendar, systematically or as certain occasions arise. But the winter and summer solstice ceremonials of the Corn groups set the calendar, so to speak, and these ceremonials are correlated, not with solar observation, of which there is none,<sup>91</sup> but with the Augustan calendar, December 1 to 20 and June 1 to 20 being the periods assigned to them. The White Corn group goes in one day in advance of the others, and the shichu Corn group is the last to go in, otherwise there is no rule for dating the various retreats or for their sequence. Evidently all the retreats might be concluded several days before the 20th of the month, or the series might be prolonged to the 20th. At any rate from the first to the 20th there are taboos on hunting and bird-trapping and on dancing. The other "staying-still" taboos which are observed at Taos at the corresponding ceremonial season which is prolonged at Taos and Picuris to January 6 are not observed at Isleta.

<sup>86</sup> See p. 303.

<sup>87</sup> See pp. 262, 313, 318, 319. Also referred to as what the ceremonialists "bring up."

<sup>88</sup> Referring to rain-calling ceremony. See p. 331.

<sup>89</sup> Or swallowed, as is something floating after getting water soaked. But I am wondering if pahō does not refer to the "water grain" rain-calling ritual of July.

<sup>90</sup> Referring to All Souls observance.

<sup>91</sup> The common Pueblo concept of the "Sun's house," some mesa or hill fixed point on the horizon, also seemed unfamiliar. Nor is there any observation of the moon for timing ceremonies.

|                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| December 1-20 <sup>42</sup> ..... | Winter solstice ceremonial of Corn groups and medicine societies.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| December 12.....                  | Guadalupe day. Boys dressed as Navaho or as girls, and girls dressed as boys visit the houses of the Lupes to dance and be given bread, etc.                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| December 15.....                  | Bringing in the horned serpent.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| December 24.....                  | Lanterns on the roofs, and fires in the plaza and elsewhere. Dance (nupōa shōrti, Christmas dance going in) within the church, before the midnight Mass.                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| December 24-30.....               | Households possessed of saints set them out at night, with candles, and people are invited in (Isletan, ixiwe'; Mexican, belorio).                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| December 25-28.....               | Various dances, mostly by moiety, distinctively hawinaa'ye (named from song word).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| December 29.....                  | Clay models of the domestic animals, also of produce, are buried in the corrals, for increase.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| January 1.....                    | Election of secular officers; canes blessed.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| January 5-10.....                 | Kings' dance.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| January 10-14.....                | Shunad, general exorcism of fields: Retreat by medicine societies. Rabbit hunt.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| January-February.....             | Kachina dances by Laguna people.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| January-February.....             | Kachina basket dance.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| February.....                     | Season for initiation into medicine societies.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| February.....                     | Liwa dance by moiety: Dance by shichu, for snow or rain.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| February-March.....               | Irrigation ditch ritual and dance.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| February-March.....               | Shinny played by moiety for four days.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| February-March.....               | Dark liwa dance, for weather and crops. Rabbit hunt.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| March.....                        | Shure' take charge. Ceremony of transfer.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| March.....                        | Ceremony to quiet wind, by medicine societies.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| March-April.....                  | Races: War ceremonial (sporadically, performed in 1925).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| April 8-11.....                   | Shure' ceremony.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| April.....                        | Rain ritual.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| May 25-June 5.....                | Ceremony of bringing down the moon and stars.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| June 1.....                       | San Escapu'la carried in antisunwise circuit four times around plaza by girl who was given to him at birth. Family keeping this saint makes a feast. <sup>43</sup>                                                                                                                                                                          |
| June 1-20.....                    | Solstice ceremonial of Corn groups.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| June 20.....                      | Laguna people dance kachina.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| June 25, 29.....                  | San Juan's Day, San Pedro's Day. Boys carry from church blue flag of San Pedro, red flag of San Juan, three times around town and to the fields. On return carry corn stalks to church. Visit houses of Juans, Juanas, Pedros, Paulas, etc.; given roosters, bread, and cheese. First rooster placed near altar for priest. Rooster "race." |
| July.....                         | Lechide, 12-day rain ceremony.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

<sup>42</sup> In accordance with the calendar in other pueblos we begin with the winter solstice ceremony, although I have heard it referred to by an Isletan as "the last ceremony of the year." For another Isletan calendar of a more Catholic cast, see Parsons, 9: 160-165.

<sup>43</sup> On Corpus Cristi (June 6, 1926) I heard of another private saint being brought out.

- August 28----- San Agostin. Mexican dancing in courthouse and in tents. Fair. In drought, prayer and song all night, then Indians (or Mexicans) carry San Agostin out to the fields. In 1926 the saint was carried out to the Chikal fields. Two days later it rained so much "they got scared."
- September 4----- San Agostinito. Fiesta of Taikabede and Chikal. Chikal people sweep the plaza. Dance (nupōas-hōrti), to thank the saint for the crops he has given. At night, dance by all around fire (nahūlpōa, circle dance). Feast for visitors in public kiva, where San Agostin is placed on a table altar. In drought, image carried out to the fields, in charge of mayordomos.
- September 25-October 5 (sporadic).<sup>94</sup> Pinitu dance for frost, preceded by night ceremony of bringing ḷiwane into town, followed by rabbit hunt.
- October (end) sporadic-- Ceremony of bringing in Salt old woman.
- November 2----- All Saints (pō'yana or dia de todos santos). Mexicans visit, making "responsos" and receiving left-overs from what has been given to the priest from whom they will also buy the bread given by the Isletans, who first carry the bread around their graves, four times, in antisunwise circuit.<sup>95</sup> The graves are or were sprinkled with holy water by the padre. Candles on the graves.
- November 2-5----- Black Eyes ceremony.
- October-November after harvest. Ceremony of Hunt chief.

### CEREMONIES AND RITUAL COMPLEXES

#### SOLSTICE CEREMONY OF THE CORN GROUPS (NAPE'Ŭ)<sup>96</sup>

The chief summons his assistants to his house to talk about beginning their ceremony, saying inkaawei turide miwə wəkui (wəui), our father Sun is going south (December solstice), or north (June solstice). One assistant goes to the town chief to tell him they are going to begin their ceremony in four days (December 4 or June 4), for during the ceremony the town chief will remain in his ceremonial house. The evening of the third day a Corn group assistant goes to the houses of all the men of the group, of all the wakuan, "his sons," to summon them to a meeting at the chief's house, at which he will tell them that he is going to begin to fast the following morning, for four days. If any wish to fast for this time or for a shorter period, one, two, or three days, they are to prepare for it. The following morning three men are chosen to go to all the houses of the group to tell the people that their wakukabede is going to fast and to say that if they wish they can

<sup>94</sup> Danced in 1926.

<sup>95</sup> Compare Census quoting Lummis, 112.

<sup>96</sup> The attendants at the ceremony are called penin. Pe' means bed for planting.

help and fast for a day or a half a day. . . . There is a rabbit hunt managed by the war captains for the Fathers, but whether it is held after or before their retreat begins I am somewhat uncertain; probably the second day of the retreat as the rabbits are destined for the supper feast at the close of the ceremony. . . .

The chief takes a seat by the fireplace with his assistants. Of the attendants the men are on one side, the women on the other. The chief sings one song; then he gives permission to his assistants and to any attendants (*amuwe'i*) to sing. The chief summons his women assistants (*keide*, mother), who stand in front of him.

He gives them permission to work with him, to get water and have their bowls ready for the purging and the head washing. (He has sent a man out the day before to get soapweed.) The women set out three bowls. Three by three the assistants kneel in front of a bowl, the chief assistant (*auki'i*) taking the middle bowl. Each sprinkles pollen to one side of the bowl and from the dipper drops some water to the east, north, west, and south, and at the south point up and down. Then he drinks, his hair having been unbelted by the Mother as he knelt,

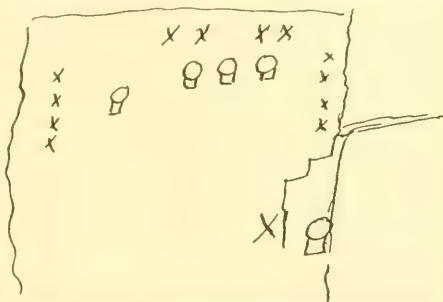


FIGURE 8.—Diagram for head washing and emetic ritual of Corn group. Chief at fireplace, and bowl for emesis. Three bowls for head washing, another for cold water. Women to left, men to right

since he may not drink without loose hair. After drinking each withdraws back of the fireplace and in the bowl set there vomits the warm water he has drunk. (Fig. 8.) The chief is the last to perform the rite. There is a song for this purging rite. Head washing follows.<sup>97</sup>

Now the chief stands in the middle of the room and throws pollen toward the east. Prayer feather making follows. The chief bids the Mother to set out the basket, and a man assistant to bring down the box of ritual feathers from where it hangs to a beam. A feather is placed in front of each assistant, there are to be 12 feathers, the turkey feather, "the oldest one," in front of the chief. All sing the song that belongs to work on the feathers. The Mother begins to grind the ritual black paint, with a duck feather dropping some water from her little bowl on to her stone<sup>98</sup> for grinding. A song is sung

<sup>97</sup> There is some confusion here in my notes.

<sup>98</sup> With grinding stone or pebble called *ak'o'o*.

for this grinding, in which the grinder is called *kōamaku'de*. An assistant carries the paint to the others, each putting some of it on his index finger. Then each paints the midrib of his feather, all singing the song of the black paint and the feather. . . . The chief assistant gathers up the feathers, taking first the turkey feather of the chief and placing the feathers one on top of the other. Another song for this. The assistant tells a Mother to take to the chief some cotton string which he will measure off by holding the end between the tips of his middle and fourth fingers and stretching the string to his wrist, doubling this measure three times and then cutting the string with his flint knife, leaving 12 ends. The chief assistant brings him the grinding stone of black paint, of which he takes some on his index finger and thumb. Holding one end of the string in his left hand, he rubs the paint from his index finger and thumb on to the other end of the string and on the middle. Turning the string, he then paints the other end, thus in three places he has painted the string. For this painting of the string there has been a special song. And now, again, as he ties the feathers there is a tying (*shie'*) song. . . .

A Mother takes a basket<sup>99</sup> of meal of the color characterizing the group to the chief. Facing the east, he breathes out on the meal three times and then waves it in the antisunwise circuit. This rite, to which there is a song, is repeated in turn by the chief assistant, the other assistants, and any others present. Then the Mother returns the basket to the chief. On it he lays the prayer feathers, to a song, and sprinkles the feathers with meal.

Follows the rite of drawing down the sun (*turide*, sun, *amchawe'*, pulling down) by the power the chief has asked from the town chief. In the roof of the ceremonial room there is a hole through which at noon the sun shines on to a spot on the floor near where the chief now stands. In front of the chief stand his assistants, then the row of the other men present, and then the row of women present. All turn to face the east, singing to call the sun. This is repeated in the antisunwise circuit, before each song each sprinkling meal from the meal basket or pollen received from the chief assistant. All return to their places, except the chief, who makes drawing-in motions from all the directions from the corn mothers, throws pollen up toward the roof hole, and points upward with his stone knife. All sing the song of "pulling down the sun," while the chief makes the motions of drawing something toward himself. Now the sun drops down on the spot of sunlight on the floor. It is a round object, white as cotton, which opens and closes.<sup>1</sup> To this the chief ties the prayer feathers,

<sup>99</sup> *Toakoalicha*, corn meal basket.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly a ray of light has been refracted with a crystal into the chamber, as is done in Hopi altar ritual. On Easter Saturday the sun's rays are refracted by mirror to the altar, in the church of Santa Ana Xamimilúco, Puebla, Mexico. (Parsons 20.)

as all sing. All stand and throw pollen toward the sun object. The chief waves the sun object which shines so brightly you can hardly look at it. (The room has been darkened by closing windows.) All breathe on their clasped hands. As the chief waves the sun around his head the sun goes back through the roof hole.<sup>1a</sup> This is noontime when for a little while the sun stands still. Elsewhere in the town at this time, knowing the work that is going on (in the ceremonial houses) people withdraw indoors or stay in and ask the sun to help. . . .

After the sun leaves, the chief takes his place by the fireside and his chief assistant comes and presses him all over, restoratively. The chief is tired from holding the sun and from all he has been doing. His assistant gives the chief a cigarette to smoke, first in the directions for the help he has had from all the Corn mothers, then to the sun. Now the chief gives permission to all to stand up and walk about and rest. After a while the chief makes an address, advising the people to be good to their parents and wives, and to help one another. He tells them about old times. He tells them not to think about food and drink, to think only about their ceremony. Then he tells his assistant to see that all resume their regular positions and practice their songs. The Mothers who care to go out to attend to their own work now may go. They are not fasting, they may eat at home. The assistant tells them when to return. Toward sunset when they do return, permission is given to others to stop practicing and walk about.

Now the chief sends out a Mother to call in the first boy or man belonging to their group whom she may encounter. At the door the one summoned takes off his shoes. "Aukuwam! Greetings!" he says, as is usual on coming to a house. He helps himself to meal from the basket, unless he happens to have meal with him; he breathes on it, waves it in the directions; throws it toward the sun. He approaches the chief, saying *api'we*, do you need me? The chief answers that the last ceremony of the year is coming; as one of their sons he asks him to help them and go out into the hills and get some yucca in order that they can wash their heads on the fourth morning. He will say all right, he is glad to help his Fathers. . . . Now they resume their places and start song practice.

After dark, about 7 or 8, the chief assistant says, "All right, my sons, it is time to go out." All take meal from the basket. The chief starts out, his assistant follows, all follow. They stand in line, facing the east. The chief says ready. Then all breathe out on their meal, wave it in the directions, throw it to the east, throwing it to the moon and stars, praying and giving thanks for their first day. They return indoors to their set positions, to be given permission to walk about.

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<sup>1a</sup> Compare the Navaho rite of moving the sun. (Lummis 2: 86.)



Now is the time they will sit around, telling tales. If any one is sleepy, the chief gives him permission to sleep.

The second and third days and nights are passed similarly. Each morning, at sunrise, the women will fetch water from the river, the chief giving to the senior Mother a prayer stick (fig. 9) to cast into the water when she asks the water people for their water. On the return of the Mother the water jar is placed in the center of the floor, and from his usual seat by the fireplace the chief thanks the woman, also the water people. Then one of the male assistants gives the chief a cigarette to smoke in circuit and toward the river, thanking the water people with smoke. The chief concludes with breathing on



FIGURE 9.—Prayer stick for woman to give Water people when she fetches water

his own clasped hands and with them making the ritual circuit, saying that the water people are sending all present long life and health.

The third evening the messenger for the yucca returns. The chief makes a road of meal for him from the door to the meal basket and on it the messenger follows the chief to the basket where he gets meal, waves it in the directions, throws it toward the sun. The chief takes his seat by the fireplace, beside him, the messenger. The chief thanks him and the chief assistant gives each of them a cigarette. Both smoke in the directions and to the sun. All present are

now given permission to walk about and smoke. The messenger may leave and rest, if he wishes.

It is the fourth day. In the morning between four and five the chief starts for the river, the others following in line. In line they stand on the river bank. Each breathes on the meal he has taken with him and throws some of it to the sun; the rest he moves in the directions and throws into the running water. This rite is to ask the sun when he turns southward<sup>2</sup> "that they will be living" (? i. e., live long). They wash their faces and hands and return in line to their house.

<sup>2</sup> Pachi'uretöe; or northward, kofinuwetöe.

Now the Mothers are to go for water. The chief leads the Mothers out of the house, sprinkling meal, as the assistants sing. At the river the senior Mother stands in the middle and throws meal into the water. Then she places in the water the prayer feathers the chief has given her for the water people. Returning to the house they step into the center of the room and the senior Mother relates to the chief assistant the whole episode, from the time she received the prayer feathers from the chief to their return. The chief assistant gives thanks. Two water bowls are placed in the center of the room, the third in a corner. Then the Mothers wash the heads of all present, including themselves. The rite of purgation is performed.

Prayer feather making is in order. Five bunches of prayer feathers are to be made. The turkey feathers are put down first, in front of the chief and four assistants, next a duck feather, next a goose feather, next a tushure (unidentified red bird) feather, next a turshumari (yellow bird) feather. All this to a song. Follows the rite of painting the string. This time red paint is used.

Follows the ritual of medicine-water making. A Mother places the water jar in front of the line of assistants. The chief assistant takes meal from the basket and sprinkles it in the directions. From the water jar, with a shell, he sprinkles a few drops of water in the directions. He bids the Mother pour water from the jar into the medicine bowl. All this to singing. He bids the Mother fetch the wahtainin (all the people)<sup>3</sup> from the buffalo skin bag which hangs from the beam to which the ceremonial properties or supplies are hung. Among the wahtainin are the ke'chu tainin. As the chief assistant takes these he breathes in his own hand, as does every one present. The assistant drops the ke'chu tainin into the bowl, beginning with one on the east side and so on in circuit, the one for the fifth direction of up and down being dropped in the middle of the bowl. . . . The Mother takes up the upini or lightning stone, dips it into the water jar, rubs it on her small metate, letting the drip from it fall into the medicine bowl. The chief assistant tells the Mother to fetch the leachi tainin,<sup>4</sup> rain people. Wetting this stone, she again grinds, letting the drip fall into the bowl. And this grinding and dripping is repeated with the stone called veryu tainin, all the animals, wild and tame; also with the stone called tör'ju tainin, tör'ju meaning in between or in the center to top and bottom, pienai, but what "people" were being referred to I could not elicit. Again the grinding and dripping is repeated with points white, black, yellow, blue, spotted, each ground in all the directions, for this rite refers to all the Corn mothers, who are mutually helpful. Any one of their

<sup>3</sup> Compare p. 320. In the folk tale the term refers to all the animals and birds. Lummis gives wahr as a generic term for supernatural. (Lummis 2: 243.)

<sup>4</sup> Ceremonial term for rain; luride is the usual term.

"children" can drink of the water. . . . The chief assistant smokes in all the directions, reverses the cane cigarette, holding the lit end in his mouth, and blows the smoke into the bowl. He passes the cigarette on, and so it circulates, each assistant smoking in the directions and swallowing the smoke.<sup>5</sup> From the assistants the cigarette passes to the other men who may be present and from them, if anything of the cigarette is left, to the women present (who always hope that none of the cigarette will be left over for them to smoke).

The chief assistant drops two duck feathers into the medicine bowl. He takes up an ear of corn of the color of the group, holds it in both

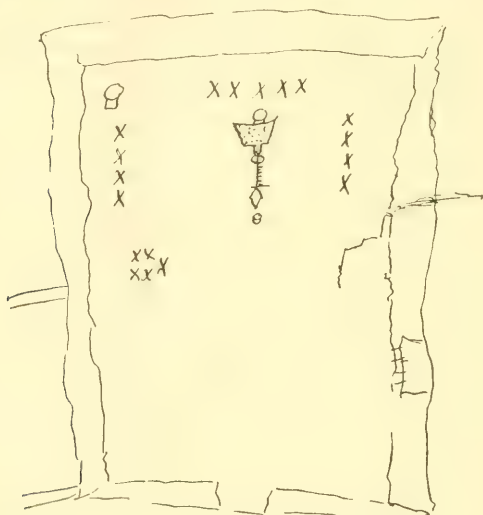


FIGURE 10.—Altar and water jar in Corn group ceremonial

hands by butt and tip, blows on the butt as he circles the bowl with it three times. Then he dips the tip in the water and sprinkles with it in circuit, everybody breathing in from their clasped hands. The assistant passes his hand over the bowl as if gathering something in which he gives to himself and then waves in circuit as if bestowing upon those present. This rite is called wakautu, a ceremonial term meaning imparting understanding or virtue, as well as the informant could express.

Now the meal design of the altar is to be made. The chief assistant bids the Mother fetch the meal basket. She also removes the

<sup>5</sup> A favorite incident in Pueblo folk tales to test a person's power.

water jar to upper left corner and takes out the wahtainin. As the chief assistant sprinkles meal for the *nake'e* or *nakitu'* (village), as the design proper is called, the others sing. The meal is of the color which characterizes the group. (In the case of the All Colors Corn groups meal of any color is used.) The arrow-point or blade on the altar is of corresponding color. The wahtainin are placed around the *kitu'*, and the prayer feathers laid down. On each side of the *kitu'* several ears of corn are stacked (for the name-getting infants), and at the foot of the *kitu'* is placed the medicine bowl. (See fig. 10.) Now the chief assistant chews the ritual root (*hifewah*) and spits out all over the *kitu'*. Chewing another piece, he spits out over those to the left in the room, beginning with the chief, then over those to the right. A Mother gives him some water to rinse his mouth, since he may not swallow any of this root, only the chief may swallow it. With the two duck wing feathers from the bowl the chief assistant sprinkles the *kitu'*, tapping one feather against the other. Similarly he thrice sprinkles the chief, who responds *ka'a*, father. All present he sprinkles in one circuit, saying,

|           |             |                  |
|-----------|-------------|------------------|
| awa       | shie        | uköweje          |
| your life | arrow-point | may you grow old |

All respond, *ka'a*, *ka'a*, *ka'a*.

Now the chief takes the place of his assistant, sprinkling the altar with meal, and, with water from the duck feathers, his assistant who says *ka'a*, to which he responds *tatu'* (my son). The chief chews the root which he has to swallow. He picks up the arrow-point with his left hand, and in his right holds some pollen.

Facing the east he begins to dance, the others singing. To help him the Mothers dance also. At a certain word in the song the chief sprinkles the pollen on the altar, saying *ha'i*, *ha'i*, *truhi*, *truhi*. Then in turn facing the north, west, and south he repeats this rite. Finally, for the fifth repetition he faces toward where the sun is shining through the roof hole; it is noon. The chief puts the prayer feathers in the basket, breathes from them and passes the basket on for each to breathe from as was described before. If there is not time for all to do this while the sun is shining through, from their seats they will merely throw meal toward the prayer feathers. (Fig. 11.) Now the Mother ties back the hair of the chief with corn husk. With basket in left hand and arrow-point in right he dances, pointing the stone up toward



FIGURE 11.—Chief of Corn group sitting on his blanket with meal basket in hand

the sun and calling out, ha'i, ha'i, truhi, truhi. They conclude this song.

Putting down the basket, the chief dances with his arrow point, drawing down the sun. Another song. Now the "sun" comes down and the ritual already described for this solar advent is repeated. The five prayer feathers are tied to the "sun" by the chief and his assistant. With the "sun," the chief dances again, waving the "sun." When the "sun" opens, the people breathe in. The "sun" goes. The chief takes his seat by the fireplace. Same ritual as before at this time.

Everybody rests. About one, the errand man (tōashiu'de)<sup>6</sup> arrives, at the door removing his moccasins and knocking. The Mother opens the door. Akuwam! says the man. The chief assistant bids him approach the medicine bowl and gives him a mouthful which he spits over himself. He sits down near the men attendants. There is general talk except on the part of the chief who is silent because he still has his power in him. The errand man reports that he went around town among his wakuaunnin (members of the group) to tell them to come in and get the water of their Corn Mother and to bring out their infants for the Mother to fetch. . . . The chief assistant gives a cigarette to the chief. Smoking ritual. Now in his talk the chief states that this is their last day of fasting.

Now the people begin to come in, to get their drink, at the door removing their shoes or moccasins. Each woman brings a basket of bread and a dish of beans or stew, setting the food in a corner of the outside room. This is the time they sing the song about the emergence, giving the names of all the springs, beginning with those "from which we were born," shipapu', and kailirebe'ai,<sup>7</sup> and of the mountains. . . . About four they begin to bring in the infants. By sundown all have come in. The chief tells his assistant to lay on their side all the wahtainin. All the men present smoke, in the directions and on the altar, giving thanks to the wahtainin. A Mother restores the wahtainin to the bag. With duck feathers the chief assistant sweeps up the meal of the kitu' of which every one has to get some to wrap in a corn husk. The chief assistant says they are to take it home to their corn storerooms to bury in their field in the springtime or, if a person has no field, to throw into the river. Then every one receives a drink from the medicine bowl and puts some of its contents in their own small bowl to take home. The chief addresses them all, thanking them, and releasing them.

The Mothers bring in the presents of food, including the large bowlfuls from the women of the house. The largest basket with a bowl of stew in front of it are placed where the chief had stood in

<sup>6</sup> Toa, call; shiu'de, "he this time."

<sup>7</sup> See pp. 359, 360.

front of the altar. Then a basket and bowl are set out for each assistant and behind these are rows of baskets all edged around the bowls of stew. (Fig. 12.) The chief assistant and the assistant next to him start from different sides to go around these baskets and dishes, each carrying a tortilla into which he puts bits of the food, the first man carrying the tortilla in his left hand and picking up the bits with his right hand, the second man reversing this, carrying with his right and gathering with his left. Both men go up to the chief who puts some tobacco on each food collection. The first or right-hand man takes some meal from the basket with his right hand, the second, or left-hand man, with his left hand. They return to the farther end of the baskets and wave their food collection in circuit. All present perform the exorcising slicing motion. Then the two assistants go out to the ash pile where they pray, the right-hand man feeding Wæide, the left-hand man feeding the dead. They return and tell the others what they have done and that Wæide and the dead have sent them their washihā, they have got their food, what is left "their sons" may eat. The chief goes to the basket and bowl of the first assistant, takes a little, prays to Wæide, for permission to feed "his son," and puts the food in his mouth. This he does for each assistant. Then he takes his own seat and the chief assistant in turn feeds him, while the others give thanks to Wæide and to the people and ask that all may get more food, for themselves and for all the town. Then the chief gives permission to all to eat. After eating, the last assistant (tōaiwe'i) divides all that is left between attendants, appropriating one basket and dish for the people of the house, another basket and dish, as is usual, for the town chief to be taken to him the following morning by a Mother, and another basket and dish for the stillborn. Now the chief gives permission to all to go home and take their food with them, after joining their relatives who have been waiting outside in another room for them.

The last assistant will have told one of the attendants to return early in the morning, before sunrise. When this man returns he finds the chief and his assistants sitting around the fireplace (fig. 13), where they have been making for the stillborn (yōimaŋ) a prayer stick, which consists of an unpainted piece of willow, measured on the last two joints of the middle finger, and tied to the end several humming

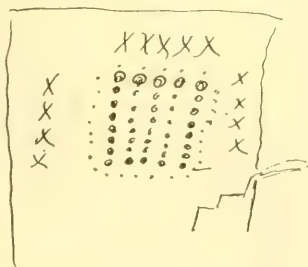


FIGURE 12.—Food distribution in Corn group ceremonial



bird (w'əotushuriure) feathers. Now the group stands. (Fig. 13.) The extra man or outside helper, we may call him, is instructed to take some crumbs from the basket and bowl that have been reserved for this purpose, i. e., to feed the stillborn. The chief sprinkles meal in the directions and then sprinkles a meal road to the door, over which the last assistant and the outside helper pass and leave the house, the one carrying the food offering, the other the prayer stick. The two are referred to as *tökumi'we* which may mean "they who are going to feed the stillborn." The last assistant tells his companion not to turn back or look to one side.<sup>8</sup> When the two arrive at *Nam'pekōto'ade*<sup>9</sup> they find there a bank with a hole in it, through which the last assistant throws meal, then goes in a little way, extending his hand with the prayer stick, praying, and waiting for the still-

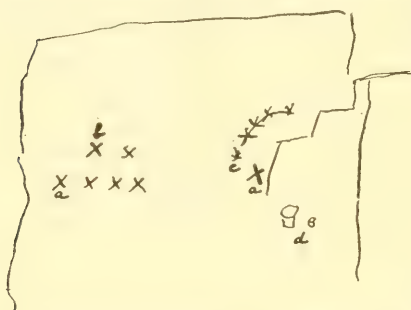


FIGURE 13.—Positions of Corn group in ritual for stillborn: a, Chief. l, Last assistant. c, Outside helper. d, Bowl and basket

born to take the prayer stick from him. This they do. Then he withdraws and calls to the outside helper, who has been throwing his meal and burying his crumbs under a near-by bush. Both men run for a little way and then walk back to their ceremonial house. As usual, they say *akuwam!* then, after entering, the last assistant tells the story of the

whole affair from the time they made the prayer stick to their return, what they met on their way, how the stillborn took the prayer stick, how they ran, and then walked back.

By this time the sun has risen. All go out and throw pollen to the sun and give thanks. When they reenter the house they dismiss the outside helper who carries with him (as pay) the basket and bowl from which he had taken the crumbs. Now the chief and his assistant go to the ceremonial house of the town chief<sup>10</sup> to tell him all about the ceremony they have accomplished. Returning from the town chief they tell the waiting assistants of how they made their report. All thank one another. The chief gives permission to all to leave. The ceremony is finished.

<sup>8</sup> As in feeding the dead at Nambe' (Parsons, 19: 236).

<sup>9</sup> See p. 318. There has been a proposal to run a highway near this sacrosanct place, to which the townspeople will not agree.

<sup>10</sup> During the days of the ceremony the town chief has remained in his house to receive reports, but he has not himself engaged in ceremonial.

The ceremonies of all the Corn groups are said to be identical. The White Corn group go in a day ahead of the others. No order of retreat is set for the other Corn groups except that the shichu group is the last to go in.

The medicine societies also observe a retreat, performing their own distinctive ceremonial of which in so far as it may differ from their other ceremonies I have no account, except that, like the Corn groups, they send up prayer feathers to the sun through the opening in the roof of their room and also early on the fifth morning send out prayer feathers to Yömaupienai, as the place of the stillborn is also called. The medicine societies go in two days after the White Corn group go in.

#### CEREMONY OF BRINGING IN THE HORNED SERPENT

Kumpa talks at night with the town chief about the time for bringing in ikaina. On the set night, about December 15, all the fathers will be present—kumpa and his assistant, kabew'iride, the town chief, the war chief, the hunt chief, the chiefs and chief assistants of the two medicine societies, the chiefs of the Corn groups. The only outsiders allowed in are the three scalp takers, and it was from



FIGURE 14.—Horned serpent altar and horned serpent. *a*, Mother. *b*, Ke'chu. *c*, Pollen bag. *d*, Meal basket

one of these that my informant had his account of the ceremony.<sup>11</sup> No women would be present, nor youths, and those present sit with bowed heads, "thinking about having a good heart," lest ikainare jump at them. "People had to have a big heart to go into that room."

There the fathers sing all evening, until about 10 when they go home to return about 3 in the morning. By that time kumpa has his altar in place. On a buckskin are set his Mother, his stone point, ke'chu, pollen bag, and a meal basket, under all some meal. Lighting designs are painted on the buckskin with "powders." (Fig. 14.) Kumpa is nude but for breechclout and bandoleer, his auti'we himai, the bag he keeps his power in. Kabew'iride is dressed in buckskin (like the Grandfathers); in his left hand his k'oata stone (see p. 259), in his right, a small black gourd rattle. Kumpa dances, calling out,

<sup>11</sup> Which should not be taken as an accurate account.

ahi ahi truhi truhi, the familiar call. The others present help with their song. Kumpa sprinkles pollen in the directions, he dances, calls out, hisses. He is going to work to bring lightning. He tells somebody to open the door, then as he throws pollen toward one of the two lightning designs on the buckskin altar, lightning actually flashes in through the doorway.<sup>12</sup> Kumpa says, "Upiri tūpū," lightning, (?) see! He throws pollen on the other lightning design and again the lightning flashes in. Kumpa says to lightning, "Hu'pitanin'!" Stay still! and lightning stops at the two altar designs. To those present kumpa says, "The road of ikainare is now cleaned up," i. e., opened.

Kumpa is dancing and calling, looking toward the door. Kabew'iride is singing: Ikanare kaare atur'jire (ikanare father drawing him?). In comes ikainare, short and chunky. He hisses, shooting out his tongue. All stand up; kabew'iride says, Hu'pitanin'! hu'pitanin'! Stay still! Stay still! They throw pollen to him which he sucks into his mouth. He lies down on the back of the buckskin as if asleep. The two chiefs of the medicine societies come and sprinkle him with pollen and meal. Kabew'iride bids ikainare to feed from the basket of meal and he proceeds to suck in the meal. All smoke in the directions and to ikainare. Kumpa makes an address, giving thanks that the dangerous one did not beset them. The town chief gives his medicine bowl to the war chief who gives it to kumpa who spits from it on ikainare, saying,

|                               |            |                 |                   |
|-------------------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| hōwaiawa chiache              | kikaawe    | wai'ide         | upiri sōmba       |
| that you may have a long life | our father | antelope-deer   | lightning man     |
| a'pisheche                    | kikaawe    | shia            | muōye             |
| cleans up for you             | our father | stone point     | guards            |
| papthur                       | weba       | aōkō'weche      | aki'beche         |
| pollen                        | actually   | (?) reaches you | takes care of you |

Now all leave but kumpa, kabew'iride, the town chief, the war chief, the hunt chief, the medicine society chiefs, all of whom go on with the ceremony of which they alone know until the following noon, when, after paying ikainare with beads and turquoise around his neck, they send him up to the sun.<sup>13</sup>

In the ceremony, whenever ikainare has hissed he has been cleaning up the town, washing away whatever is bad. This night the elders tell you not to go around outside, lest ikainare catch you. And the women close the doors and windows.

<sup>12</sup> Compare Tewa, Parsons 17: 89. See Lummis 2: 83.

<sup>13</sup> In the folk tale he who was to become the horned serpent was the son of the sun, throwing the sun's kick stick. (See p. 372.)

## CHRISTMAS EVE AND CHRISTMAS DANCES, 1925

As we crossed the town about 10 p. m., rows of lanterns were to be seen on the roofs of <sup>14</sup> several houses, a dozen or more, and there were small bonfires, one in the plaza, one in the church yard, one on the outskirts, on the farther side of the drainage canal. These are the night lights or fires which give the name to the season—nofe, night fire, i. e., Christmas.

The dance was to be by moiety, and the Black Eyes came out first, from house 13, their house. Into the church, crowded with visitors from Albuquerque and with townspeople, the dancers walked, a space in the center of the church having been cleared for them by five or six men, each wearing a red blanket and holding aloft a candle. A dab of white paint was on their cheeks. Among these men I recognized the chief of the White Corn people and the sheriff. The choir of five or six men and the drummer stood near the entrance of the church and from that point the 12 dancers started to dance step toward the altar, in single file, men and women alternating. The line turned, danced back to the choir, turned again and repeated its single file movement. Then the men and women separated into vis-à-vis lines, the men on the east side, the women on the west. A forward bending dance step and a fourfold repetition of the movement by the opposing lines in antisunwise circuit, i. e., in the second movement the men faced south, the women north, etc. In changing position the men shook their rattles. After this quadrillelike figure the dancers went individually, first the men, then the women, to the bower for Mother and Child set near the altar rail, each kneeling in turn, some of the men removing their banda as they said the prayer. The single line reformed and danced back to the choir, to disperse. The shure' group was waiting to come in, with their choir. Between the two dance groups, Black Eyes and shure', there were no distinctions either in their dancing or in their appearance.

The men wore the Hopi dance kilt, with pendent fox skin and girdle of bells; also moccasins and leggings with red and green belting. Their nude chest and back were painted with a Y-shaped design in white, their forearms and hands were whitened, and there were white zigzag lines on forehead, cheeks, and chin. Each wore a red banda, his hair in queue. In the left hand, a bow; in the right, a gourd rattle. The women wore the native black dress, over the usual cotton slip, and the silk kerchief pendent across the shoulders. Wrapped moccasins; hair in queue, with a downy white feather on top; cheeks dabbed with white and hands whitened; two stiff eagle feathers in each hand.

<sup>14</sup> On Christmas Day on the roofs of many of the Mexican houses on the road from Isleta to Albuquerque paper bags were set out, containing, it was said by a white man, "offerings to Jesus." These were not observed in Isleta.

After the two groups had finished dancing, each making only the single appearance, Pablo Abeita, the White Corn chief, gave a talk in Isletan, telling the people to stay to Mass; but only a few did stay either for the Mass or for the talk in Spanish by Father Dozier, who noted the fact that it was the thirty-fourth anniversary of his coming to Isleta. Meanwhile outside of the church the sheriff was busy. A Mexican had stolen the hat of one of the town boys. Some girls saw the hat under the Mexican's coat and reported to the sheriff, who opened the thief's coat and proceeded to take him to the jail, refusing on the way a bribe of \$15.

The following morning, Christmas Day, about 10.30, the shure' dancers came out first, from their house. The men walked with the choir, the women followed in a group behind, until all reached the middle of the plaza, whence in a line, the sexes alternating, they danced-stepped into the churchyard. Four men in red blankets went ahead, clearing the way, picking up stones, making one of the sightseeing automobiles move from the churchyard gate, motioning to a photographer not to take pictures. One man in particular with a wand stick appeared to be in charge of the dancers. The dance figures in the churchyard were somewhat more complicated than those of the night preceding in the church. The dance make-up was the same. One man was wearing black shoes and trousers with the kilt over the trousers. He wore a green banda over closely-shaven hair—a "progressive!"

In the churchyard stood a row of women who one by one would approach one dancer or another and put something into their right hand, which the recipient tucked away in his or her belt, perhaps corn meal, perhaps money. Toward the conclusion of the groups' dancing, bulkier gifts were made—I noticed a large water jar and a large paper parcel.

The shure' group withdrew to give place to the Black Eyes, and all day, with a break for dinner, the groups would alternate, I was told, dancing always in the churchyard.

Thanks to the secretiveness that so often expresses itself in odd turns among Pueblo Indians, the name or names of this Christmas dancing I was unable to learn from my host—perhaps he thought I might use the Isletan term casually in town, and so betray him. But in other circumstances he had given me the names and descriptions of four dances which form the usual Christmastide program, to none of which did the dance as I observed it entirely correspond. These four dances are:

1. Nopöashörti (night dance ?). Six men alternating with six women, on entrance, three in opposite lines. Men wear dance kilt, fox skin, bells; body whitened; two parallel lines of white on cheeks; bow and arrow; feathers in fan at back of head, turkey tail for shure',

sparrow hawk (tiriure) for Black Eyes. The women wear the white manta. The Black Eyes carry two turkey feathers in left hand, one in right hand; the shure' carry eagle feathers.

2. Lijapō'aro, basket dance.

3. Kai'lirepō'aro, corn husk hot dance.

4. Tumdakpōar, morning dance.

In the description given me there was little or nothing to distinguish the last three dances from the first—all are by moiety, with men and women in quadrillelike figures; but possibly the night dance was No. 1; the morning dance No. 4. I did learn at a later date that the usual program had been curtailed because of the death, early in December, of Reyes Zuñi, the tutude or chief of the Town Fathers. A part of the hierarchy had wanted the Christmas dancing omitted altogether.

There are still other dances which may be programmed for the usual four days of Christmas dancing: Kumanche (Comanche), danced as elsewhere by a few men, five or six (not by moiety); tōapōre,<sup>15</sup> danced by men and women in two lines, men behind women, men dressed in buckskin, danced by moiety; nabepuw'i'apōre, giving thanks dance, or Santa Maria pōre because the dance song begins with Santa Maria kike'we'i (our mother), men dressed in white cotton shirts and trousers wearing bandoleer and carrying bow and arrow, by both ends in both hands, women moving up and down, their arms held in the familiar dance position, at right angles to body, danced by moiety; maw'apōre, jumping dance, danced by men wearing cotton belt, bell girdle, and pendent fox skin, spruce armlets, and carrying bow and arrow and gourd rattle, and by women carrying spruce, danced by moiety. In all these dances presents are "thrown" to the dancers—bags of meal, pottery, calico, buckskin, silk kerchiefs, belts, beads, bracelets—by relatives, it was said, or by those in the houses the dancers danced in front of, as in the final fourth day dancing by the children who dance first in the churchyard, then in turn before the houses of the town chief, kumpa, Black Eyes chief, shure' chief, chief of the Town Fathers, chief of the Laguna Fathers.

Certain animal dances, buffalo, deer, eagle, customarily danced at other pueblos, at Taos, and at Tewa and Keresan pueblos, at Christmas time, are not danced then or at any time at Isleta. "Because we have them (buffalo, deer, eagle) in our ceremonies,<sup>16</sup> we don't want to make fun of them outdoors."

During Christmas week (December 24-30) the younger boys and girls visit at night from house to house to dance Navaho (teliefpör) or chierapör in which they wear feathers on their head like the crest of the bird chiera, a brown and yellow bird, and feathers, including a bird's tail tied in corn husk to their arms. "Navaho" will be danced

<sup>15</sup> Tūa means angry, but not in this case.

<sup>16</sup> Presumably a reference to the animal fetishes of stone.



by three boys and three girls; chierapör by two boys with a girl between them.

KINGS' DANCE (NAREIPÖA), JANUARY 5-10

Some Laguna man <sup>17</sup> will go to the newly installed Isletan governor for permission to hold reininad, permission which he gets unless the governor and officers happen to be meanly inclined toward the Laguna people. Permission received, the Laguna town chief visits the houses of the Isletan town chief and of the Isletan moiety chiefs. Each will say to him, "All right, you are my son. Whenever you need anything, come to me." When the people see him going around making these visits, they are glad, for they know they will be having kings' dance for five days. The Laguna dancers will practice in the ceremonial houses of the moieties. To practice with them the new Isletan war captain will choose six Black Eyes and six shure', because to represent Isleta these have to start the dance. But the night of January 5, in the church, the Laguna dancers perform. The following day, in the churchyard, the Isleta Black Eyes dance first, then the Isleta shure'. After that, the Laguna dancers, six in each moiety set, dance outside the houses of the governor who has been notified by the Laguna town chief, and of the war captain, lieutenant governor, and second war captain. Presents are thrown to the dancers by the officers—food, a quartered sheep, a hog, chickens, rabbits, tobacco, cloth. Once a man threw a cat arrayed with silver earring, a necklace, and ribbons. This was taken, of course, as a huge joke. On the second day there will be 8 dancers in each alternating set; the third day, 10; the fourth day, 12; the fifth day, 15.<sup>18</sup> On the second and subsequent days the dancers meet in the house of the Isletan town chief to dance first in the churchyard, then in the street south of the town chief's house. A few Isleta women or men may have been invited by the Laguna dancers to dance with them; but only a few, because this is a ceremonial dance which the Isletans do not know. My Isletan informant held this opinion about the dance being ceremonial because of the head feathers worn by the women which are the same as those worn in ceremonial by the Isletan medicine men, a bunch of varied colored feathers called in Isletan nafiechure, root yellow, and because of the oblong tablets of sun and moon worn on the back<sup>19</sup> by the men. The men dance without shirts and carry spruce.

<sup>17</sup> This from Juan Abeita (see p. 355), presumably it is the governor of the Laguna colony.

<sup>18</sup> According to another informant the dance is for four days.

<sup>19</sup> To Lucinda it was this position of the tablet or plaque which distinguished the dance from the fiesta dance at San Domingo on October 4, in which the tablet is carried on the head.

CEREMONY OF GENERAL CLEANSING (SHUN'AD)<sup>20</sup>

The evening of the day they conclude the Kings' dance, January 10, the town chief summons all the chiefs and the war captains to his ceremonial house to tell them they are going to look after the crops and, if they see anything bad coming, to take it away. He says he has chosen the chiefs of the medicine societies to help him and he bids them to go to their ceremonial houses and wait there for the war chief and kumpa to come. They go to their houses to stay in them all night.

At sunrise the town chief takes meal from his bowl, faces the east, waves the meal in the directions, wraps it in a corn husk, breathes out on it three times, shows it to the sun, lifting his hand, and praying, moves it in the directions. He gives the husk of meal to kumpa to repeat the ritual. Kumpa passes the meal on to the war chief from whom it passes to the hunt chief and to each Corn group chief, shichu kabede being, as usual, the last. Each chief mentions his own name in his prayer. The town chief divides the meal into two packets to each of which kumpa ties a cigarette. The town chief chooses four men, two couples of kumpawilawe and wilawe, each to carry the request packet to one of the medicine societies. In each house the chief and his assistant are waiting to receive these messengers. The war captains also notify the governor and lieutenant governor who will go, the governor to the house of the Town Fathers, the lieutenant governor to that of the Laguna Fathers. This is the occasion on which with their canes the officers participate in ceremonial.

Now for four days the two medicine societies will be in retreat each in their ceremonial house—ka'anitaib, "the fathers are in." The Fathers will fast entirely from food and drink. Of tōakoa (i. e., iema'paru and Wāide) they ask the power to cleanse the ditch, the fields, the plain, to cleanse the townspeople, the animals and birds, and against weeds the growing corn. They are to search out any one who may have done harm to the animals, asked to do this by the town chief. They themselves ask also for power from lion, bear, snake, eagle, badger.

On the first day a war captain will call out from roof top (any roof top in the block of houses south of the plaza) that they are going to have shun'ad; not to build fires outside;<sup>21</sup> not to go out to work; not to dig the ground. A second time the war captain calls out, for the boys and men to get ready for a hunt, that the town chief might have rabbits to give to the medicine societies. The war captain mentions the place of meeting—at Namburu, earth bowl, the hill by the railway station where the women get clay for pottery, or Shemitua in the south-

<sup>20</sup> The term means collectively. "everything together," and the ceremonial is "for everybody, even Mexicans and whites."

<sup>21</sup> The smoke would keep the medicine men from seeing to a distance. Smoking outdoors is permitted.

west, or Takenatua in the southeast, or Turjur'manatua, yellow bird hill (northeast). . . . This day the war chief will send two wagons to the mountains to get wood for the houses of the medicine societies.

On the second day all the men go out to the hunt. The women stay home preparing food to take to the medicine societies. The war chief is out with his assistant war captains, and he talks to the hunters, telling them they have to hunt for the Fathers. . . . The hunt is over early in the afternoon, the hunters going to the ceremonial house of the town chief, with their rabbits at their belt. Here the war chief tells them that the day following they will clean town. In the evening the same announcement is made from the housetop. That evening also the war captains skin and cook the rabbits. The war chief appoints two or three men to sweep and clean each roundhouse, and the churchyard; and two or three to visit the houses to see that people send away any Mexican or white they might be entertaining. The Laguna settlement is also visited to tell the people not to let any Mexicans who may be there come into the town.

On the third day everybody, including the children, is at work cleaning up. People sweep all day; wagons come into the plaza to collect and haul away refuse, governor and officers supervising. General traffic is diverted from the road through the plaza to the road around the town.

On the fourth day all the chiefs of the Corn groups and the hunt chief go to the house of a war captain; nobody walks through the street of the town chief, which is closed. The war captains go from house to house asking for *lajide*, a ceremonial word for beans, apples, peaches, meats of all kinds, to carry to the house of the war chief (house 8), where they make a pile, adding to the pile already here of cooked rabbits. These supplies are taken to the houses of the medicine societies. The war chief calls out how the Corn groups are to be distributed between the houses of the medicine societies: Always the White Corn group are assigned to the Town Fathers, and the Yellow Corn group to the Laguna Fathers, the other groups being divided between the two houses, in varying order. The town chief and kumpa have to go to the Town Fathers; the town chief's assistant <sup>22</sup> and the kabew'iridi, to the Laguna Fathers. Similarly the chief assistant in each Corn group goes to the house the chief does not go to.

At noon, in the house of the war chief, the town chief talks to the people, describing the ceremony, and telling of the expectations of crops. He sprinkles meal in the directions and to the piles of food. He gives permission to take food out to *Wajide* and the dead. The war chief and the head war captain each sends an assistant to gather

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<sup>22</sup> This reference I do not understand, as in other connections the only assistant of the town chief is kumpa.

bits from the piles of food, one passing to the right, one to the left (see p. 299), and to take to the ash pile. The moiety chiefs also send assistants to collect from the piles of food, the Black Eyes assistant going to the right, the shure' to the left. These several messengers return and report. The food that is left is now taken to the houses of the medicine societies where the town chief in one house, his assistant in the other, presents the food. The Fathers exorcise the food with their feathers and remove the food into an adjacent room. . . .

The Fathers are nude but for a clout of buckskin to which a fringe of tin pendants is attached. There is a line of white paint across the chest and lightning zigzags in white on arms and legs, two on the outside of each arm and leg, two on the inside. The Town Fathers have the body spotted with yellow paint, the Laguna Fathers spot with cotton. For both groups there is a line of pakalama pigment, presumably micaceous hematite, across the bridge of the nose and under the eyes. In the hair is worn a prayer feather (lawashie), a downy eagle feather painted with red pigment (napiewi), which is also smeared on the hair-parting.<sup>23</sup> A necklace of bear claws is worn, the claws fastened to a strip of bear fur, and the precious pōshkō or crystal for second sight is pendent from the neck. There is a wristlet (kafi) of cowhide set with arrow points or olivella shells. The two exorcising eagle feathers are carried in the left hand, a bear paw is in the right. (Fig. 15.)

To return to the ceremony, after "cleaning up" the food, the Fathers take position in front of their altar (figs. 16, 17); they dance; they circulate among the people, saying *truhi'! truhi'!* The chief assistant passes from the altar to the door, making brushing motions with his feathers. He is cleaning the road; and at the door he makes the cutting or slicing and discarding motions with the feathers. Two assistants go around the walls, one going in one direction, one in the other, exorcising with their feathers. One goes to the fireplace in the ceremonial room and one to the fireplace in the next room, where



FIGURE 15.—Town Father

<sup>23</sup> Compare Laguna, Parsons 8 : 119. Also a Tewa practice.

the food is, to exorcise with ashes. One goes to "clean" the ceremonial house of the town chief, the Black Eyes' roundhouse and kiva; the other goes to "clean" the shure' roundhouse and kiva and the house of the shure' chief. While they are absent the chief works at the altar; on their return he performs the ritual of bringing down the sun (see pp. 292, 298). The chief sends two assistants in each direction, bidding the war chief to send a war captain with each couple to clean out in each direction. They say they go to the end of the world

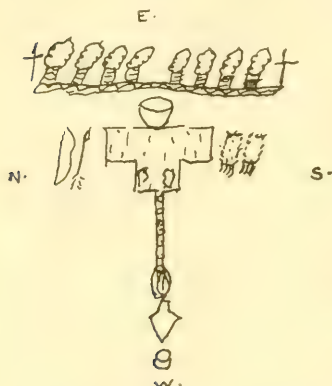


FIGURE 16.—Altar of Town Fathers in ceremony of general cleansing. The Mothers set in mud ridge; medicine water bowl; meal design with fetishes (kænim); long line of shunad (shunai); prayer-feathers; stone point; meal basket

within an hour.<sup>24</sup> The war captains go only to the edges of the town to wait for them. Dropping their baskets, they say to the accompanying war captain, "Good-bye. Ask Wáide to help me so I may return and see you again." They run a little way, then you see them flying in the air. (Informant who once served as war captain asserts that he saw this flying in the air in the daytime.) Like "call boys" they go and notify the Chiefs (kabere) of the Directions to come at night and help. While they are absent, the chief looks into his crystal to see where they have gone and where the war captains are. He puts the crystal back into place and says,

"Well, my sons, everything looks all right," or he may say, "Somebody is near the war captain, perhaps a Mexican." If anything goes wrong on their journey he will tell the people. At this time the witch chief is around.

Should he meet a medicine man he would fight with him, as he does not want him to achieve anything good. The witch chief may be carrying with him worms, grasshoppers, all the pests of the fields. Then the medicine men would pursue him to take from him his bundle of pests. They may be delayed. The chief will describe to the people the course of the pursuit and struggle, telling which medi-

<sup>24</sup> Such was also the claim of the nun Maria de Jesús whose flights from Spain to New Mexico occurred in 1620-1631. These "flights" were known to Benavides and, inferably, to the padres at Sandia and Isleta, notably to Fray Juan de Salas, missionary to Isleta, to the Tigua to the south, and to the Jumano. These last, a non-Pueblo people, asked for baptism because of the young woman who came down from the hills to talk to them. Now the Jumano were neighbors to the southern Tigua who about 1675 migrated to Isleta. (Benavides, 58-59, 275-277.)

cine man captures the witch bundle (natōa). The people say, "Thanks! thanks!" when they hear that the bundle is captured. The chief says, "They are coming." He begins to sing to call them in, singing three songs. Then one by one they knock at the door, saying *aukuwam!* They may be several minutes apart. The war captains follow. The captor of the bundle stands, the others take their seats. The chief assistant holds the captor around his arms; the chief tries to take the bundle from him; but he clasps it so tight the chief can not get it from him. Then *kumpa*, who "has his power on him" (i. e., he is wearing his bandoleer and pouch), makes a cross on the door with his stone point, and encircles the room, by the walls. After that it becomes easy for the chief to take away the bundle. He puts it near the stone point of the altar. Then there is the usual smoking ritual for those who have been out, and, as usual, they make report of their trip. With the altar blade the chief cuts apart the bundle. Inside the rags are worms, grasshoppers, *ha'u* (? snails)<sup>25</sup> or potato bugs, which are exhibited to the people. . . . The chief, town chief, *kumpa*, war chief, and others make a line and one by one step on the yucca crosses on the floor and spit into the bowl of cotton, and encircle the snake design. (Fig. 17.) All this to song. All resume their places and the chief dismisses

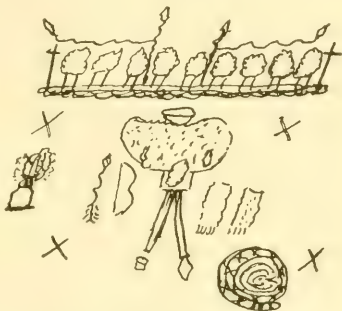


FIGURE 17.—Altar of Laguna Fathers. Crosses on ground made with yucca. Jar for ritual spittle at left. Medicine water bowl at top of meal design. The Mothers, above

the people, about 3 p. m., to go and eat dinner. About 5 p. m. the people get ready to take food to the house of their Corn group, and thence to one or the other of the medicine societies. They leave the food in the first room they enter, and taking their blankets to sit on, pass on into the ceremonial room. . . . The war chief sends a war captain to "close" the street *pōabahōa*, also the "gate" between houses 18 and 19.<sup>26</sup>

The ceremonial resumed, the chief performs the ritual of drawing in the animals, showing the fetishes (*kerchu*) to the people and then placing them in the medicine bowl. Through his crystal he looks for the witches who may be lurking outside, showing them through the crystal to his assistants who utter the cries of mountain lion and bear and eagle and make gestures of pulling the bow. All smoke ritually. The chief addresses the people, asking them to have good thoughts

<sup>25</sup> Corn pest. It is the size of one's nail, brown, with horn on its head.

<sup>26</sup> References to lost map.



and help in the ceremony. With his stone point and his exorcising feathers the chief dances, approaching the medicine bowl and peering into it in order to see what is going on everywhere outside. He gestures into the bowl as if pulling a bow. He performs the ritual of bringing in lightning and thunder (see p. 339). The assistants leave their seats and, standing in front of the altar, exorcise with their feathers. One of them carries away the jar of exorcism, first waving it in the directions where the people spit toward it. Now the assistants go out "to clean with their feathers" (exorcise) all the ceremonial houses, the plaza, the corrals into which all the horses have been brought, and they even "clean" the river. On the return of his assistants the chief begins to chew some of the medicine society root, moving around the altar as the assistants sing, until he sits down in front of the altar, swaying under the effect of the root. "This is the time he is going in heart (spirit) around the world." During the hour or more his "heart" is away, the people may not move into the passage through the room which has been kept open, "because the chief's heart is out." Now his chief assistant leaves his place and peers into the medicine bowl; with a drawing-in gesture he begins to call back the "heart" of the chief. At last the "heart" returns; the chief stretches his arms, first one, then the other. The chief assistant orders the door closed—while the "heart" was gone it was open. The chief is now in possession of the witch bundle. It was because of having it that the chief assistant had to help him back. The chief shows the bundle to the people, who spit toward it. He places the bundle in a large bowl, resumes his place in the line behind the altar, where the war chief gives him a cigarette to smoke ritually. . . .

The chief assistant looks into the crystal where he may see some sick person asking to be cured. Three assistants will go out to cure him. Sometimes an assistant will draw on a bear's paw and going up to somebody will slap him with the paw on the shoulder and press his chest and then show him something he has taken out of him, perhaps a cactus point, something a witch has sent into him. On one occasion the Father took out in this way from the girl sitting next to our informant a little piece of manta cloth. The girl began to cry. Then the Father rubbed the paw on her neck and brought out a lighted candle. Showing it to the people, he said that a boy the girl had refused to marry had sent these things into her. In a few days, before she could have married any one else, she would have died. Now she was safe. This showed how powerful were the Fathers, commented our informant. A witch might be working evil against you for a year, and then in one ceremony "the Father would take it away."

This doctoring by exorcising may be kept up until the early morning, about 3 a. m., when the tawinide<sup>27</sup> ritual begins. The chief begins to dance to the singing of his assistants. Presently a rabbit is seen in his hand, there through his power. He gives the rabbit to the hunt chief who says ha'u! ha'u! ha'u! (thanks! thanks! thanks!) and gives it to the war chief who stands out in the middle of the room showing the rabbit to the people and saying, "What power our Fathers have, to bring in a live rabbit! Believe in them!" The war chief gives the rabbit to the chief who places it near the altar, drawing a circle around it with his stone point, "tying it so it can not move away." Again the chief shows the people his hands empty. He moves around, sits down, sways, comes to, saying ahi! ahi! truhi, truhi! He has something under his left arm, and he whistles. The lightning flashes, the thunder sounds. You hear the rain falling into the medicine bowl into which lightning has also passed, and thunder. If it is going to be a good year the thunder sounds several times, if a bad year with no rain, it sounds once or twice only or perhaps three times. The chief summons an assistant who shows the tawinide of the crops—corn and wheat sprouting in mud—to the town chief, the hunt chief, and the war chief, all saying ha'u! ha'u! The chief makes the drawing in gestures from the corn ears pictured on the walls (pl. 17), and his hands fill with kernels, of which he gives three, first to the town chief, then to the other Fathers, then to every one present. (It is for this, to get the new seeds, the people like to go to this ceremony.) Sometimes the chief will draw the seeds, not from the wall pictures, but from the altar ears.<sup>27a</sup> He shakes the iema'paru out of which the grains fall for the people to scramble for.

Finally they clean the road. It is nearly sunrise. All smoke ritually. The chief addresses the people, holding in his hand two or three of the iema'paru, and at the end of his talk, displaying them in waving motions to the people who breathe from their own clasped hands.

Four assistants stand up, two with bowls of medicine water, two with dippers. They pair off, taking different sides of the room to give the medicine water to the people. Visits are exchanged between the two houses of the medicine societies, each sending six members to the house of the other to cleanse with their feathers the people in the house. After this the war chief gives the people permission to go home. The Fathers remain to remove the altar and to dress. The bear and lion claw necklace each has worn must be removed by

<sup>27</sup> In English rendered "new year"; but this is probably a paraphrase since new year is tawin (year) kul (good).

<sup>27a</sup> Compare Lummis 2:85, 253.

the chief or his assistant, just as it had to be put on by one of them. Each Father rubs his eyes and makes the gestures of throwing away. . . . Food is distributed as already described (see pp. 299, 309).

After this ceremony people may begin to work in their fields; for as early as February wheat is to be planted.

#### RITUAL FOR EXPELLING GRASSHOPPERS

The years the grasshoppers are bad, when the crops are coming up there is a ceremony "to condemn the head grasshopper (kauru kabede)." The town chief tells kumpa to instruct the war chief to initiate the ritual which is to be conducted by the medicine societies in the roundhouses, the Town Fathers in that of the Black Eyes, the Laguna Fathers in that of the shure'. The ritual is performed at night and is in general like that of the cleaning of the fields. Through a crystal the chief locates the grasshopper chief. The chief assistant and another find him and take him away. Like bees, the grasshoppers will follow their chief.

#### KACHINA BASKET DANCE

Any night in winter a man may ask for this dance, *liwa licha pör*, kachina basket dance, the men who are giving the dance asking permission of the town chief. There are in town five houses which contain the old time grinding stones, five or six in a row, and in one of these houses the dance will be performed, as the women grind the meal which is needed to give to the Fathers. In other words, it is ceremonial meal which is ground on these occasions.

In the dance there are four male figures, and three female impersonations by men, with a man, as they say at Zuñi, to beat the bundle. Sitting on a folded blanket, he beats with a stick on a bundled sheep pelt. He is called *liwa*; he wears little deer horns. This part is taken by the man who asked for the dance. The male dancers wear a buckskin mantle, no kilt, at the back of the head a fan of turkey tail feathers; their face painted white with red lines across the cheeks; in the left hand, bow and arrow; in the right, a gourd rattle. The female impersonators carry an arrow in the right hand, a shallow basket in the left. They wear the white Hopi blanket or manta and women's moccasins; their hair hangs loose; their face is red all over except a white horizontal line across each cheek.

People come in to see the dance, and after the dancers leave these visitors themselves dance the Mexican quadrille (Mex., *hanchi*; Isleta, *kurpör*).

CEREMONY OF INITIATION INTO MEDICINE SOCIETY (LAGUNA FATHERS)<sup>28</sup>

Initiations take place in February. Much preparation is necessary: wood to be hauled, food prepared; beads and feathers to be obtained to embellish the new iema'paru. Beads will be contributed by the man's relations, there may be a hundred dollars' worth of beads for iema'paru, and the man will go to San Domingo to get the needed parrot tail feathers (see p. 277).

On the part of the society there is a retreat with fast of four days, during which time the initiate stays in a room of his own house, unvisited by his family; his ceremonial father, who is any one of the society members he has chosen, has to feed him. Wheat flour is taboo. During this time the aunt (probably father's sister) of the initiate will prepare various things: cotton, a big basket of smoking tobacco, a belt, a pair of moccasins, hair belt, hair broom, water bowl.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the chief comes to fetch the initiate, leading him by the tips of his eagle wing feathers (see p. 283). With her prepared things, the aunt follows. On reaching the ceremonial room the initiate and his aunt sprinkle meal on the altar. The chief takes the initiate in to the next room where his aunt will take care of him; that evening she may not leave him alone. He must keep his mind on asking iema'paru to help him, that he may not be afraid. He must be strong. A war captain goes to summon relatives to the ceremonial room. Other war captains are outside on watch against the witches who are always lurking about on these occasions.<sup>29</sup> The chief cleans all present with his feathers (see p. 445). The chief summons the Corn mothers, ke'chu, thunder and lightning.

The chief brings in the initiate and his aunt who takes a seat at the fireplace. The initiate has to sit near the stone point on the altar and next to the keide, the senior woman member of the society who is to act as his Mother. She has an eagle feather in her hair; cotton is stuck to her body; she wears a white Hopi blanket. Now around both Mother and initiate as they sit near the altar a white blanket is wrapped, which means that the initiate is to be born from the Mother. The initiate has to stand on the head of the snake design on the altar, and step along the outline of the snake, holding to the chief's eagle wing feathers, the chief walking alongside, not in front. Then the initiate steps on the yucca made crosses (fig. 17) and spits into the bowl for the spittle of exorcism. All present follow the same course. The initiate resumes his place next to his Mother. The Fathers stand and surround the initiate, making all kinds of animal sounds and with their feathers cleaning up (exorcising) the

<sup>28</sup> The initiation ceremony of the Town Fathers was the same, opined our informant, but he had seen only that of the Laguna Fathers.

<sup>29</sup> See p. 430.

initiate and the Mother. Over them the chief puts back the manta. Then from under the manta the Mother draws forth the new iema'paru which through the power of the chief has been born from the Mother. The chief shows the iema'paru to those present who say ha'u! ha'u! thanks! thanks! The Mother and the initiate sprinkle meal on the iema'paru. The chief with his feathers takes the initiate to the next room; i. e., the initiate follows the chief holding to the tips of the feathers. . . . The new iema'paru is placed to the right of the altar blade and all, beginning with the father or wife of the initiate, have to sprinkle meal on it. Then the Fathers sprinkle it with meal.

The Fathers perform the smoking ritual, in the directions and to the new iema'paru. All the men present smoke. The chief preaches about the new iema'paru or keide and how everything has come out well. The chief fetches back the initiate, holding behind to the tips of the feathers. The initiate, who has now the power of clairvoyance, and the chief stand looking at the people whose hearts they can see and tell what they are thinking about. Again the initiate is seated next to the Mother and around them the Fathers sit in a semicircle. The chief tells the initiate to stand and look into the medicine bowl. Sometimes the initiate faints when he first looks into the bowl, for the first things he sees are dead persons. The Fathers are singing. The others are asking Wæide to help the initiate. A second and third time he looks into the bowl. The chief takes the "sun" which has lain to the right of the altar blade and puts it on top of the manta with which he has covered the Mother and the initiate. Now is the time the initiate is going to be born, a new ka'a. The others give animal and bird calls. The chief is standing with his arms around the Mother and the initiate under the manta. The chief calls out manabe'puwe Wæide, "thank God." Then they know he is being born. All the Fathers stand. One holds the Mother, the chief and his assistant hold the initiate. In her place to the right they seat the Mother again, giving her a drink from the medicine bowl. From under the manta the initiate comes forth as a bear.<sup>29a</sup> "That is the way they are born, in the form of a bear."

They lead the bear to his wife or father whom he slaps with his paws and from him or her takes out a nalöa which he places in front of the new iema'paru. Then bear who is being held under the arms by one of the assistants takes nalöa from all present, including the fathers who are sitting in the usual place behind the altar. Then bear from his position in front of the altar blade "cleans" the beings represented on the walls. (Pl. 17.) The chief gives him his own seat, the middle one, in the line of the Fathers, who now perform smoking ritual, giving thanks to "God." The Fathers repeat the

<sup>29a</sup> Compare Lummis 2: 86.

feather cleansing ritual. The chief leads bear in front of the altar blade, where the town chief and kumpa sprinkle him with meal, followed by his wife or father, and the others. The chief leads bear in to the next room where his bearskin falls off. The chief paints him all over with pakalama (a blue-black pigment), spots him all over with cotton, and gives him his eagle feathers and stone point. They return quickly. The people pray, and some of them will cry. The initiate sprinkles meal on his own iema'paru, which the chief gives him to hold in his right hand, resting it in the crook of his left arm, the left arm folded over the right forearm. In this position he preaches to the people, giving thanks for everything having come out well. After this he is led by the chief to his permanent seat, at the end of the line of Fathers, with his iema'paru in front of him, and his living "mother," the keide, to sit next to him. After so placing her, the chief takes his own seat in the middle of the line. Now the chief assistant and then others and the initiate stand in front of the altar blade, the chief assistant showing the initiate the crystal to look into and see the world. Then all go out, going in the directions, all around the world. They return and resume their seats. One of the assistants gives a drink of the medicine water to all present, with permission to leave. The Fathers remain. The altar is dismantled (see p. 298). In the morning the chief assistant conducts the initiate home, where people come to call on him. . . .

LIWAPÖR OR SHARU'PÖR (LAND TURTLE DANCE)<sup>30</sup>

This is danced in February, at no fixed time.<sup>31</sup> The moiety chiefs are the managers; and the moiety Grandfathers (te'en) come out to play, but the shichu Corn group has a prominent part, presenting a distinctive night dance which is to call the snow or rain.

The name of the general dance, land turtle dance, indicates that it is a shure' dance, most significant evidence that the shure' are, Winter people. (See, too, p. 262, n. 76.) Both moieties are represented, however, in the dance, the dancers coming out in alternating moiety sets. They dance in the plaza, on the east and west sides, sometimes for two days, sometimes for four. Men only. The headdress differs from that of the pinitu or spruce dance, otherwise the dancers are similarly arrayed, and spruce is fetched for them and received by them as in the pinitu dance. Instead of the k'apyo there are the Grandfathers who serve as watchers and who are the ones to give permission to catch the turtles. The dancer's headdress is a plaque, round or square, of colored cotton encircled by feathers, to which

<sup>30</sup> The leg rattle is made of sharu, land turtle; in the pinitu dance (see p. 335) the rattle of the shure' is land turtle, and the rattle of the Black Eyes, water turtle (bakorare).

<sup>31</sup> Seasonal vicissitudes and the time of planting (see p. 321) have probably some bearing on the date of this dance and of the dance which follows it, lwa fynide.



horizontally two eagle wing feathers are attached with corn husk and red and green yarn. (Fig. 18.)

In the evening in the public kiva patukwane is presented by the shichu chief. There are a drummer and three singers, and two men and two women dancers. These dancers have been practicing in the house of the shichu chief. The women wear the Hopi blanket, and in their hair is a white eagle feather. The men wear clothes of buck-



FIGURE 18.—Headdress in land-turtle dance

skin, their face is whitened. They carry a gourd rattle and a crook cane to which eagle feathers are attached. The drum is whitened. Any woman present may join in the dancing, moving their arms up and down, and stretching them in front. Halala this dancing is called, and it means "they are helping them." After this dance is finished for the evening, the two sets of

liwa dancers come in to dance in succession.

In his house at this time the shichu chief keeps medicine water for any one who wants it to drink. And any infant might be taken to him to be given a name. Children thus named are those who in later life he puts into his dance. . . . The morning after the dance the shichu chief deposits prayer feathers out toward the west at Nampeikötöa', where is the shrine of the stillborn.

#### IRRIGATION DITCH RITUAL AND DANCE

The mayordomo tell the town chief they are going to start the communal work on the 5-mile ditch. The town chief notifies the moiety chiefs, and he and they, kumpa, and the war chief begin to fast; i. e., remain continent, the first day the work of three days begins. On the fourth morning these five men go out to the end of the ditch to perform ritual. This morning the crier has called out to the people to run the water. The governor and the other elective officers go to the river to pray, carrying a cross the sacristan has had blessed by the padre. The cross is planted in the river bank. The five Fathers are also praying by the river, to which they have carried 12 prayer feathers to pay to the Water people for water to run into the ditch for the year's crop. The feathers are thrown into the river; also bits from the bundle of sample crops (tavenide) each moiety chief carries. The mayordomo tell the men to run the water. As all assemble, the town chief bids them give thanks for the coming year and urges them all to behave well. The moiety chiefs, first as usual, the Black Eyes, then the shure', repeat the same exhortations and add that the men must tell their families to go to the river before sunrise the morning following to sprinkle pollen and meal. (This

they do, and after sprinkling people immerse their hands and then draw them out in a sweeping gesture as if drawing something to themselves, the something being understood to be the bits offered in the river of watermelons, melons, corn, etc., from the moiety bundles.)

The chief of the Black Eyes has a bundle of black paint (koafuntö), the chief of the shure' a bundle of red (pari').<sup>32</sup> The men present line up by moiety, each passing his moiety chief and helping himself to a bit of paint which he proceeds with index finger and thumb to snap up toward the sun, at the same time asking for what he wants—long life, crops, etc. After the first round by all present there is a second in which the paint is snapped in the five directions. On the third round the paint is applied to the man's own face in a spot or line under the eyes. . . .

Now the lunch everybody has brought with him in a napkin is eaten, everybody as usual dropping crumbs in his right hand to Wgide, in his left, to the dead. The five Fathers who have been fasting now eat also. In fact, the lunch at large is thought of as a kind of accompaniment to the lunch of the fasting Fathers—"We help them eat."

The town chief tells the men to walk back to town. Little boys have already started back with the wagons. The men go by moiety. The town chief walks ahead, under his blanket sprinkling meal, making the road. After him walk the chief of the Black Eyes and his assistants. Then kumpa and war chief, then the Black Eyes at large. At the head of the shure' walk their chief, his assistants, and the assistants of kumpa and war chief. Each moiety chief carries his tawenide. All the Fathers sing, different songs in each moiety. . . . As the Mexicans pass them on their 5-mile walk they say, "The Indians have run the water with prayer; we are going to have a good year."

The procession halts at the railroad crossing, near the drainage ditch. The women watch it from the housetops. Two Black Eye boys fetch the dark-colored drum of the Black Eyes and their turtle shell rattle (pa'kwara);<sup>33</sup> and two shure' boys fetch the red drum of the shure' and their gourd rattles. The war captains have to use the drums and in each moiety six men are appointed to use their respective rattles. They start into town, singing, drumming, and rattling. The women come out to meet them. The women breathe on the meal they have carried with them and throw it toward the tawenide, Black Eye women throwing toward the Black Eye bundle, shure' women toward the shure' bundle. Then the women of each moiety fall into position between the moiety chief and the other Fathers and the moiety men members. As they all proceed, the women move their

<sup>32</sup> See pp. 320, 335.

<sup>33</sup> Tin bells are strung into holes around the shell. The hand fits into a strap.

arms up and down. In the plaza there will be other women and children to throw meal on the crops bundles. Before the ceremonial house of the town chief the procession stops and the war chief calls out to the people to gaze on the crops bundles. Each moiety chief removes the cover from the bundle which he holds in both hands in front of his chest. The town chief steps up to look, saying *yayu*, *yayu* (a ceremonial term). *Kumpa* follows, then all in turn, everybody saying *yayu*, *yayu*. The town chief, *kumpa*, the war chief, and the moiety chiefs withdraw into the house of the town chief to perform ritual of which none knows anything but themselves. The people remain outside singing. . . .

The moiety chiefs reappear, each standing in front of his moiety group, to thank them and give each a drink from their bowl of medicine water. Sometimes a member of one moiety will visit the other moiety, in which case the chief will sprinkle water on him from his mouth; but a drink he would not give him. Only a member of the moiety may drink the moiety's medicine water. The moiety chiefs now dismiss the people, saying they may proceed to perform the *uwepöre*, fertility dance (*uwe'* refers to a woman who has many children).

This dance, referred to in English as ditch dance or round dance, is danced in a circle, antisunwise, men and women alternating.<sup>34</sup> Each moiety forms its own circle,<sup>35</sup> both dancing at the same time. In one connection I was told that the *k'apyo*<sup>36</sup> come out at this time.

#### RITUAL OF FETCHING RED PAINT

Red paint (*pari'*) is to be found<sup>37</sup> "in a rock" on *Nahörai*, the highest peak of the *Manzano Mountains*, the range east of *Isleta*. Youths are appointed by the moiety chiefs to get the paint, which is used ritualistically by racers and ditch workers. They are given prayer feathers to deposit in the mountain spring where the *wahtainin* live of whom they are asking the pigment. The water of the spring is "boiling,"<sup>38</sup> i. e., bubbling, and the prayer feathers, after they are put in, disappear. The pigment lies in rock which is hard, but after you have asked properly, i. e., with the prayer feathers, for the pigment, it becomes soft enough to take out with your fingers. You should not take much, only what you need. The story goes that once a boy was about to take too much and the pigment began to

<sup>34</sup> Compare Jemez, Parsons, 16: 77.

<sup>35</sup> Recently on this occasion the moiety chiefs were drunk and the moiety circles intermingled, for which ritual transgression the dancers were whipped. Consequently, in 1926, "these boys" refused to dance *pinitu*.

<sup>36</sup> See pp 333 ff.

<sup>37</sup> The *Supai* (*Isletan*, *Kawia*) of Arizona are also said to have this red pigment.

<sup>38</sup> This is a stock description of our informant who is referring to the motion of the water of a spring rather than to its temperature.

harden so that he could get only what he needed. The place is called *paripeai*, red paint in the water.

## PLANTING RITUAL

Seed grain is taken by people to the town chief who with *kumpa* and the *shichu kabede* performs ceremonial, any specific account of which I was unable to get from my informant. Merely that the town chief placed the seed on a buckskin, sprinkling it with medicine water; that the exorcising stone point was used, and songs were sung—a simple ritual.

## LIWA FŪ'NIDE (DARK), DARK KACHINA

This is danced in February–March after the *liwa* dance, to have a good spring for the crops. There is a 4-day retreat by the dancers in the moiety kivas when they prepare what they need. During these four days people may not go to the ash piles. Daily, early in the morning, about 3 o'clock, the moiety chiefs go out to the four corners of the plaza, and call out, probably to *liwa fū'nide*. (But they do not bring him into town as *liwale* is brought in.)<sup>39</sup> During this time one or two young men go on horseback for spruce, to White Eagle Mountain where the *liwa funi* live. The man who "has wanted the dance"<sup>40</sup> and who, after getting permission from the town chief, will be the head man, sends forth the spruce gatherers. In case of hurry the medicine men will be asked to get the spruce, for they have only to send out an assistant and, performing ritual, to have him reach the mountain and return in half an hour. As he starts they sing a song and by the time they have sung a second song he is back. He has flown by their power. For such service in getting spruce the medicine men will be paid a hair belt or a pair of garters, a bundle of cotton, and a bundle of tobacco.

The Grandfathers (*te'en*) come out. On the first day they go about town, lowering the house ladders. On the second day the Grandfathers call out to the women to sweep their yards; and to the young men each to bring two or three sticks of wood to their respective kivas. On the third day the dancers, led by the moiety chiefs and their assistants, go out to meet the youths returning with spruce, who have to ford the river, using neither bridge nor boat.

On the town side, dry clothes are at hand for the spruce gatherers, and a fire. They dance and sing, teasing songs. Anybody in town may be referred to. The Black Eye boys will tease *shure'* people; the *shure'*, Black Eye people. Gossip of any kind serves. For example, a boy courting a girl had offered her land which she would

<sup>39</sup> See p. 332.

<sup>40</sup> Compare Parsons, 15: 65, 71. Possibly, as among the Hopi, "the man who wants the dance" has had sickness in his family.

not accept because only *nae'ra* (some animal smaller than a mouse) lived on it; i. e., it was not arable. The song about this was considered very amusing, "people laughed and laughed." Again there was a song about a boy who was in a girl's house when he saw her parents coming and he ran out through the window. Unable to get an Indian girl for a wife, he began to court a Mexican girl. He asked a certain old man with a beard to help him. Late at night the old go-between carried some<sup>41</sup> beans and two cans of sardines to the house of the Mexican girl. Her father came to the door provoked by so late a call. He grabbed the old man by the beard, and the Isleta boy had to run away. He threw himself on his bed, saying it was no use trying to get married. The next morning he cut off his queue and went out to look for work, because the girls did not want to marry him. Boys are not only willing to go for spruce in order to be able to sing these teasing songs, they even volunteer. And other boys will tell the spruce gatherers what to tease about, giving them a cigarette, "paying" them with a cigarette. Whether or not the teasing songs already cited were of actual persons seems somewhat uncertain; but the song about one Francisco Seyo was cited as based upon an actual occurrence, his visit to a woman neighbor who gave him supper. "Where is Francisco Seyo?" ran the song. "And where is Maria Pinta (a term of abuse)? Let us go again to-night and eat beans." At this song the wife of the "old man" got mad and began to shake him. The old man went to the boys and gave them a cigarette to stop their teasing song.

Habitually, people give the teasing singers a cigarette to close their mouths. . . . We left the spruce gatherers teasing people at the river. Thence by the road the women have swept from river to plaza the spruce gatherers come into the plaza to dance and continue their teasing songs on all four sides on the roofs to which the Grandfathers had restored the ladders. (They had removed the ladders so there would be nobody on the roofs at this time.) They may be dressed up as an old Mexican or Indian, carrying a bag or "something funny." Should the padre come out to watch, the burlesquers would make fun of him, stroke his beard or kneel in front of him asking for his blessing. They might surround a white or Mexican and not release him until he danced for them. At this time the boys are called *pachu'un*, funny men. . . . Were a man absent—all should be at hand—the *pachu'un* would beat a little drum or can at his house, and, unless he has put a cigarette inside his door, they would take him and throw him into the pond near the town. If the man has made himself safe by putting down the cigarette, the spruce gatherers have to take

<sup>41</sup> A measure for beans called *nashau*



it and merely tell the man to hurry up and go to his kiva. Otherwise, after ducking the man, they run back toward the kiva to which the drenched man has to go directly. There the pachu'un greet him with akuwam, poyo! Hello! friend! as if unaware of what has happened. Following him into the kiva, they shake hands with him, saying, "Where have you been? We did not see you." . . . By this time it is noon; people go to dinner.

Afterwards the moiety chiefs, the dancers, the spruce gatherers, go to the river to fetch the spruce which was left there. All the way back to the kivas they sing. Back in the kivas the spruce gatherers have to report on their trip, reporting on everything they did, what they saw, whom they met. Then the moiety chiefs "let them go free," for dinner. It is about 3 p. m. . . . When they come out from the kivas they holler yayayaya! meaning they are free. Hearing this call, the women and girls come out of their houses to take the pachu'un back to feed them, a Black Eye woman taking a shure' boy, a shure' woman, a Black Eye boy. The boys eat a lot. Left overs they stow away in bag or blanket. Later, when they meet anyone they have made dance, a poor person or a Mexican, they will give him a tortilla, to pay him for dancing. At this time the children are afraid to go out lest the spruce gatherers make them dance or run a race. Now the spruce gatherers go after the Grandfathers to bring them into the plaza. They ask the Grandfathers if they are angry that they do not speak. They will write a make-believe note with carbon and give to the Grandfathers to deliver to some white man or Mexican in the crowd from Albuquerque. The recipient will, of course, not understand the note, so the Grandfather will lead the sender over to explain. The sender will say that the Grandfather is asking for a smoke and "for you to go to the store to buy him something to eat. He comes from a distance and is hungry." When the Grandfather gets his tobacco or crackers he takes the giver into the middle of the plaza to hug or pat him or to make him kneel down and receive the sign of the cross. Of course, all the people are laughing. . . . Now a few dancers come out, about seven. First come the Black Eyes, then the shure', each set dancing only once, the former on the west side of the plaza, the latter on the east side. The Grandfathers are out also, keeping the lookers-on from crowding up or "acting funny," i. e., untowardly. The spruce gatherers are out also, to look after any disarray of the dancers, loose feathers, etc.

The dancers wear a Hopi dance kilt with pendent fox skin, also a fox-skin collar. The body is painted a light red. Moccasins, home-knit socks, skunk fur heel bands. Their cheeks are spotted with black (micaceous hematite, pakalaman). In their hair, wild goose feathers painted red and yellow; a gourd rattle in the right hand, spruce in the left. (Fig. 19.)



On the fourth morning about sunrise each dance set, the full set, comes out in turn, each set coming out three times before breakfast. Then the spruce gatherers bid the dancers go each to his own house for breakfast. After breakfast the dancers redress and begin to dance again, perhaps twice more in the morning, thrice in the afternoon. The dancers all wear a tablita or head tablet, that of the Black Eyes painted red and black, that of the shure', red and yellow. The Black Eyes wear black moccasins, and their bodies are blackened. The shure' wear red moccasins and are painted red. At dinner time the spruce gatherers will set out in the plaza the food that may have been contributed from any house, and if there are visitors from other pueblos they will be invited to partake. Before the final dance the



FIGURE 19.—Dark kachina

spruce gatherers mount a roof to call out that the day following they will have a hunt, and the people are to prepare all the good things to eat that they can—watermelons, fried eggs, cheese, etc., all of which is mentioned with gusto to raise a laugh. From this announcement the people know that the next dance will be the final one. . . . The dancers go to the river to wash. They return to their respective kivas where their chief sets them free.

The rabbit hunt the following day is like that to be described in connection with the pinitu dance,<sup>42</sup> except that no hunt fire is built. The war chief and captains are not in charge; in charge are the Grandfathers and the spruce gatherers,

who at the close thank and dismiss the people. The hunters keep their game for themselves, except what they have given to the women who go horseback to this hunt. (The hunters go afoot; the old people and the children go in wagons, with two barrels of drinking water.) Also one rabbit is reserved for the town chief, one for kumpa, and one for the war chief.

#### RACES; WAR CEREMONIAL <sup>42a</sup>

About the middle of March or early in April <sup>43</sup> on three or four Sundays there are races, t'aikabede nakwawij, town chief races, for the sun. "The town chief is going to clothe the sun and help him

<sup>41</sup> See pp. 335-336.

<sup>42a</sup> Compare Lummis 1: 109-130; 2: 235-242.

<sup>43</sup> According to Lummis 1: 112, the series always begins on Easter Sunday afternoon. Lucinda also said that the series begins on Easter with a race by the little boys who are painted on their back with figures in white of chicken hawk (takire) or rabbit or turtle. Six boys stand at the southwest corner of the plaza and six boys at the southeast corner. An "old man" sprinkles water from a jar on the boys.

run; that is why they run east and west." The war chief talks over the first race date with his assistants and notifies the town chief who has summoned kumpa and shichu kabede. All perform ceremonial the night before the race in the Black Eyes kiva, the roundhouse. They make naw'emi (w'emi, pay or, as we would say, offerings) the nature of which was unknown to our informant, to bury at midnight in the middle of the racetrack. Medicine water is also made and any one may go to the town chief's ceremonial house the next morning and get a drink.

In the morning from eight to ten there is dancing in the plaza—*nawiawipöre*, racing dance, a dance open to all. It is after this that people go for their drink of medicine water. Also, at this time, the babies that are to belong to the shichu Corn group may get their names.

Meanwhile this morning the war chief in the plaza has called out for those who want to race to go to the Black Eyes roundhouse, it is a "free race" for anybody. As the men come in the war chief sings and drums. The town chief and the shichu chief bring in their medicine water and sprinkle it on the four posts of the kiva, also on the *kōkauu* (see p. 209). All stand and sing a song for the sun during which whenever the sun is mentioned the town chief sprinkles meal in a line from east to south. ("This is like calling the sun.")

After they finish singing, one by one the men pass in front of the town chief who squirts medicine water on them from his mouth. As each withdraws he takes off his clothes to prepare for the race. Each passes in front of kumpa and shichu chief who paint, kumpa, a streak of red (*pari'*), shichu chief, a streak of white (*tō'i*), across each cheek. Then shichu chief gives permission to all to paint themselves on their hands and body. All the elder men smoke in the directions and to the sun, asking the sun to help them in the race. The town chief is watching the sun hole in the roof and when the sun shines in he sprinkles the sun spot with pollen. Then after the sun has moved a little they divide up the runners, kumpa on one side and the war chief on the other, choosing the fastest runners, regardless of moiety. The runners stand in four rows, two to the west, two to the east, with kumpa in the middle to pray and sing, the runners joining in the song. Kumpa holds his bow and arrow and is wearing his sacrosanct bandoleer.

The town chief, kumpa, and the war chief go out to the starting point at the east end of the track. One appointed man leads the two eastern rows of runners to the east end, and another appointed man leads the western rows to the west end. The town chief and the war chief sing while kumpa takes out the first two runners, one from each row. At the close of the song kumpa with his bow and arrow pushes the two runners from behind to start them. At the west end of the

track the runners who are to relay are placed in position by the aforesaid appointed men.

At the close of the race all return to the kiva whence with a drum they make a circuit of the town, singing. All but the town chief, kumpa, and the war chief, who remain in the kiva. The last runner of the losing side who has been overtaken and had his queue caught by the last runner of the winning side has also to remain in the kiva to pick up all the husk refuse from rolled cigarettes which he will give to kumpa to burn. This is called cleaning up, i. e., exorcising, the kiva. . . . When the runners return from going around the town they stand on the kiva roof and sing. The kinswomen (matu) of the runner who caught the queue of the loser carry to the kiva baskets of meal and bread with packages of sugar, coffee, etc. From these kumpa takes bits to sprinkle below the wall niche of the scalps. Then the war chief presents all the baskets to the man whose queue was caught; the loser, let us call him. The loser presents a basket to the town chief, another to kumpa, another to the war chief. The bread the loser distributes among all the runners. What is left over he keeps, his relatives helping him carry it home. The war chief addresses all and dismisses them. The chiefs remain to give thanks to one another.

On the two following Sundays there are similar races with similar ritual. On the third Sunday the town chief inquires if the men want a fourth race, to be run by Corn groups or between the suburbs or ranching districts of T'aikabede and Shila. In connection with this race there will be no ritual, and more betting. The race as a whole is bet on, whereas in the first three races bets are placed only on the first couple. A rancher from T'aikabede said, "We T'aikabede people always beat Shila."

Every three, four, or five years the fourth race is held in connection with the scalp ceremony which the town chief decides upon performing, "making up his mind to wash the scalps, to give them fresh air." This race is the fourth race in the series, but the scalp ceremony begins before the first race is run off.

Toward evening the scalp takers leave town with some young men ("to show them," and the youths vary from time to time) and a burro packed with camp supplies and wood. With them they are taking the scalps, "to give them fresh air." The party shoots off guns; people come out on the housetops to see them off or follow as far as the railway station. The war party goes on to the west to camp overnight, building a fire. In the morning the town chief, kumpa, the war chief, and others go out to meet the campers, shouting e'—o! e'—o! All return singing, through the orchards to the north and into the plaza, which they go around five times, the town chief, kumpa, and the war chief in the lead, sprinkling meal and

pollen, making the road. In the plaza the town chief buries something known only to himself, kumpa, and the war chief. All shout e'—o! e'—o! The town chief addresses the people. The party proceeds to the roundhouses to replace the scalps, and to be dismissed by the town chief.

During the next four weeks—the racing period—the scalp takers have to take care of the scalps, taking them out of their wall niches several times to comb the hair and wash it. With the water from the washings they make mud balls (teli'ebnaba, Navaho mud, teli > te'limne, Navaho, eb (?), naba, mud) which medicine may be asked of the town chief by any one sick from worry or longing (piewe'be'öwa, piewe', mind, be'öwa, want it).

Sometime after the above account was recorded another account was given by the same informant which differs from the first account or amplifies it in several particulars, as follows: The town chief summons all the chiefs, including the scalp takers, to talk about the ceremonial. There follows a 4-day fast, for the chiefs, outside fasting (ibeweyue), i. e., the men live at home, taking a daily emetic, and living continent. During this period people will not go abroad at night, especially women, because the Navaho dead (teliefp'oyan) are about. The Saturday afternoon before the Sunday race,<sup>44</sup> the war party, including the scalp takers and their young men arrayed with lance and bow and arrows, start forth with their pack horses and burros to stay out overnight. . . . The following morning the chiefs meet at the town chief's to go forth to meet the war party with the scalps. . . . After all return, singing, they enter the churchyard to kneel and pray, giving thanks for their safe return. A dance follows in the plaza. Two dance lines of men with the scalp takers between, led by kumpa; the women stand on the other side of the lines of men, protected by them against contact with the scalp takers. The women wear their manta. The hair of the men must hang loose like that of warriors, and they wear beaded buckskin clothes. The scalp is carried on a lance, bound with red, and surrounded by feathers.<sup>44a</sup> The scalp takers wear buckskin and a bandoleer, and carry bow and arrows, club, gun, lance, and shield. Their faces are striped across with various colors. . . . The dance is started on the east side of the plaza and continued in a circuit. The scalp takers "sing in Navaho"<sup>45</sup> which sometimes angers Navaho visitors. There is shooting into the air and yelling. . . . After the scalps are taken to the roundhouse<sup>46</sup> and restored to their wall niche the scalp takers offer them crumbs of food

<sup>44</sup> This must refer to the fourth Sunday race. And yet the war party was first said to go out before the first Sunday race.

<sup>44a</sup> Lummis, who saw this dance, "mad dance" in 1891, says the scalps are carried in a buckskin on her back by the woman custodian referred to as the Bending woman. (Lummis 2: 241.)

<sup>45</sup> Which probably means merely using one or two Navaho words.

<sup>46</sup> In another connection it was said that there were scalps in both roundhouses.

and blow smoke on them. The rest of the day the scalp takers remain in the roundhouse.

The town chief having asked the chiefs of the Corn groups for their members (wakuan), that Saturday night the chiefs assemble their wakuan and tell them to prepare for the race next day. In the morning the men meet at the respective houses of the Corn group chiefs to be led to the roundhouse, where are met together the other chiefs. The war chief asks the moiety chiefs for their drums and the town chief tells the war chief to give the drums to the boys. The Day (White Corn) people and Earth (Yellow Corn) people receive one drum; the other peoples, the other drum. Both sets begin to drum and sing at the same time, different songs, while in the hubbub so the boys can not hear what he says kumpa addresses the seniors. In the midst of his "preaching" he gets out the scalps, and moving them up and down, he sings. He moves the scalps in the directions, calling thrice e'—u! e'—u!, to the "Navaho dead." Twining his fingers in the hair of the scalp he hits the scalp takers, each of them, three times with the scalp, calling out at each blow e'—u! e'—u! Then he returns the scalp to the scalp takers. (The runners would not approach the scalps lest they dream of them.)

The town chief begins to "preach," watching for the sun. At noon, when the sun shines in, everybody stands and dances. Everybody sprinkles meal on the prayer feathers (lawashie') of the town chief, who sends them up to the sun (see p. 292). The medicine society chiefs exorcise with their feathers. They may remove strings from the runners' legs, sent in by witches. Two war captains are sitting beside the ladder on the roof to keep out intruders. The Laguna Fathers' chief holds up the crystal and the Town Fathers' chief gazes into it, to see what day high winds are coming,<sup>47</sup> or hail. By way of the crystal the race track is examined for tacks or anything injurious to runners, and the war captains are directed to clear the track. This is the time the medicine men know who will be caught in the race; but they do not tell. They do tell if they see that some boy has applied to one of their assistants for power to win in the race and, having asked with a cigarette, been given the power. Through kumpa or the war chief the boy will be sent for and then deprived of his power, "cleaned out," by the curing chiefs. For this power, which consists of inducing cramps in the runner opposed to you, should not be used against a townsman.<sup>48</sup>

The runners divide into the usual four rows, but by Corn groups, the town chief having in charge the Day people and the Earth people,

<sup>47</sup> Thunder in the southwest means dry wind; in the northeast, frost; in the southeast, clouds. These weather signs were given very uncertainly.

<sup>48</sup> There are several stories of its successful use against Navaho and white; also in horse racing, cramps being caused in the horse of the outsider.



kumpa having the remaining groups to form his two rows. Each runner has a stripe of white on the left cheek. They undress. As the town chief and kumpa lead them out, each runner makes with his clasped hands the gathering or drawing in motion (see p. 283), asking help from the scalps, and on top of the kiva repeats the ritual motion, asking help from the sun. The town chief and kumpa stand at the east end of the track, where on this occasion the former will push forth, i. e., start, the first two runners. At the east end also stands the 'Town Fathers' chief, with the Laguna Fathers' chief at the west end, both safeguarding the track. The Corn group chiefs are distributed along the track to keep the onlookers back. Under their blankets the curing chiefs have their exorcising things so that each runner as he comes in approaches one chief or the other to be "cleaned up," the chief moving his things in circuit, always under the blanket.

Each runner may be called upon to race several times. If a man does not want to race again, he may run directly from the race track to the roundhouse. In the roundhouse the scalp takers have remained, not going to the race track because there are too many persons around, especially women. . . . Sometimes the racing is so even that nobody is caught. Then they have to run again the following day. . . . After the runner is caught, the routine is as usual after a race (see p. 326) except that after supper there is a fire dance or circle dance (*naxölpöa*) in which anybody may join—men, women, and children. They first dance in front of the town chief's house, then around the big fire in the plaza, dancing in antisunwise circuit. The scalp is borne aloft near the fire. The town chief and kumpa are out, the body and head of the town chief is spotted over with cotton. His face is striped horizontally with various colors. He wears a mountain-lion hide. Kumpa wears a lion or wolf hide and carries a bow and quiver of arrows. The war chief is there with his assistants, who from time to time shoot off their guns. The defeated runners have to drum for the dance, and fetch wood for the fire. About midnight the wives or daughters of all the chiefs and of the scalp takers carry food to the chiefs in the plaza. The women of the scalp takers' households carry a big bowl of *a're* (sirup from sprouted wheat) for all the chiefs to drink. At this time the chiefs withdraw to the roundhouse, others staying to dance until sunrise, under the charge of the war chief.

There are races, nonritualistic, at other seasons, probably in the summer. Such a summer-time race may be run between the west and east side people, the dividing line being drawn through the Black Eyes square kiva. The west side people carry a red flag; the east side people, a blue flag. A purse is made up for the winners. And there are races by moiety, when, I failed to learn, only I was told that



the Black Eyes runner always stands on the right hand, at either end of the race track. Also races may be run between the married (*luti*, old men) and the unmarried (*tarape'u*, asking, i. e., suitors<sup>49</sup>), the married painting themselves one way, the unmarried another. Perhaps the married will paint the right side of the face yellow, the left side, white, with a frog or turtle painted on the back; and the unmarried will paint a rabbit or deer on the back, with a zigzag on the legs or a cross on the chest. At all these races there is much merriment. The girls will tease the married men; one side will say, "We run like deer or a bird, you run like donkeys or dogs."

#### MOIETY TRANSFER CEREMONIES

On November 2 the Black Eyes chief holds his ceremony; on April 8 the *shure'* chief holds his. In both cases there is a retreat of four days, the people going on the fourth night for their medicine water, and the women contributing baskets of food. There is a meal altar (*kitu*), but of course no Mothers of which the moiety chiefs are not possessed.

#### CEREMONY OF BRINGING DOWN THE MOON<sup>50</sup> AND STARS

The ceremony lasts for two days, with four preliminary days, of which two are spent in fasting outside and two in retreat. . . . The town chief sends the *shichu* chief to ask the Fathers, Town and Laguna, for the ceremony. The performers will be the societies' two chiefs and their two chief assistants, the town chief, *kumpa*, the war chief, and the chiefs of the Corn groups, with the chiefs of the medicine societies in charge. The men at large may attend the ceremony; but women and children would not attend it, because, they say, "the stars are mean." . . .<sup>51</sup> The ritual of bringing down the moon seems to be much the same as that of bringing down the sun. A "window" is open for her in the roof. Her prayer feathers, five feathers tied with cotton, are as "wings for her to fly." Attached to the feathers are the red beads such as women wear. On the sixth day before sunrise she comes down for her feathers, and stays until noon.

#### RAIN CEREMONY (*LECHIDE*<sup>52</sup> OR *LECHINUMAI*, RAIN CALL)

This "rain fast" or ceremony is held in July, sometimes twice if there is a drought. The retreat is conducted for 12 days in the house of the town chief who has with him *kumpa*, the war chief, and the chiefs of both medicine societies. Set out on the altar are but three *iema'paru*, that of the town chief, and those of the two medicine

<sup>49</sup> According to Lumis 1: 118, the two parties meet at night at the ash piles to sing

<sup>50</sup> The reference is *p'aide imato ambina*, "Moon relation, we are going to do it."

<sup>51</sup> A reference, I take it, to their warlike character.

<sup>52</sup> *Leachi* is the ceremonial term for rain, *lurto*, the vernacular.

society chiefs. At the back of the altar stand lightning sticks (upinide) of "leather" (?). A stone club (k'oata) lies on the altar. And a rainbow is represented. Otherwise the altar with its kitu or terrace design in meal is like the altars of the medicine societies.

At this time the special paraphernalia (see fig. 3) of the town chief is in use. He wears his ritual moccasins, called samkōap (?), kōap, moccasins) made all of buckskin, no cowhide, and made by kumpa; also over his right shoulder his ritual bandolcer or perhaps bow, since it is called naw'iri, of cotton string and feathers and long buckskin pouch wrapped with cotton wool and feathers and containing "everything he uses." This object "came up with them." (See p. 368.) In the hair of the town chief are lawashie', feathers painted the colors of the directions, plus red. These prayer hair feathers the town chief makes for himself.

As outsiders do not attend the rain ceremony until the twelfth or last night, our informant could tell little or nothing of the ritual. In it figure in some way what is called water grain (pakō'), the round, shiny, whitish deposits left in an arroyo after flood.

At noon of the twelfth day the chiefs of the medicine societies go out and are believed to go and clean the springs,<sup>53</sup> going long distances, "by their power," and returning within the hour. In a drought there is also ritual alongside the river.

This night, the twelfth or last, people may attend the ceremony. Women rarely come, however, as they are too much afraid of the lightning and thunder which appear. Pregnant women would never go. The medicine society chiefs are painted with the white zigzags of lightning. . . . (The rhombus for calling thunder and the lightning stick frame are not in use at Isleta as elsewhere, "because lightning and thunder come themselves." Do you not hear thunder, and see lightning spurting around the room?) The town chief and the chief of the Town Fathers go out to the middle of the plaza where they sink down into the earth to ask Wāide for rain. And this night it will surely rain. In the morning the people will go out from their houses and sprinkle meal and give thanks for the rain.

In a later reference to this ceremony our informant placed the date as from May 25 to June 5,<sup>54</sup> approximately, and referred to the ranching communities as taking some initiative about holding the ceremony. The rooster race was also mentioned as engaged in at this time.

A ceremony for the rain people (lechi t'ainin) was also referred to as occurring in April, either before or after the races. The war chief asks the town chief for the ceremony, and he, in turn, the medicine chiefs who observe a two days outside fast and a two days retreat, and who go to Foapienai (Banana Mountain) through their power.

<sup>53</sup> Compare Davis, 393. In this boiling up spring of Laguna there was a "devil."

<sup>54</sup> Compare name for May, p. 288

ADVENT OF LIWALE; KOMPÖR<sup>55</sup> OR THE PINITU DANCE; RABBIT HUNT  
(SEPTEMBER 25-OCTOBER 5)

The supernatural, Ljwale, is called in from Zuñi Mountain or Welima by chakabede at midnight of September 25-26. Ljwale may be heard hollering from the direction of Welima, the west, west of the railway station whence chakabede leads him into town, sprinkling in front a line of meal. Ljwale dances in the plaza, first on the east side, then in circuit on the other sides. As it is night, you can not see how he is dressed or appointed; but he does not wear a mask. Chakabede talks to him; but he does not answer, merely hollers. Chakabede gives him the prayer sticks<sup>56</sup> he has made for him, thereby paying him; he sprinkles him with meal, and then Ljwale "goes back home."<sup>57</sup>

The next day chakabede bids the war captains call out for the men and boys to come in "four days" to his house to practice their songs, old songs and new. Chakabede has already asked the chief of the Black Eyes for the dance, chakabede's assistant asking the shure' chief. During this song practice of four days it is not necessary to stay continuously indoors; i. e., it is a time of dance practice rather than a retreat, although continence is required of the dancers.<sup>58</sup> On the third day of the practice 8 or 10 boys are dispatched to gather the spruce (koawa') which is to be the dress of Ljwale. They also get two spruce trees, one for the Black Eyes to stand near in the dance, and one for the shure'.<sup>59</sup> The leader is given two prayer sticks<sup>60</sup> by chakabede to put into the spring near where they get the spruce (fig. 20), at sunrise of the fourth day. The stick for the Black Eyes spruce is of red willow; that for the shure', yellow willow. Into this

<sup>55</sup> Sounded also as kōpōr' or kōfōa. Kō refers to the notched stick or bone playing or scraping. The leg bone of the deer is notched; it is propped against a hollowed out gourd and scraped with a deer shoulder bone. The three men in buckskin mantles who play do not impersonate women as in the notched stick playing of other pueblos.

<sup>56</sup> On White Eagle Mountain, I surmise. My note is not certain.

<sup>57</sup> Another informant said that before the advent of Mexicans in numbers, Ljwale came into town, and not since. He came at the rise of the morning star and danced in the plaza in front of the church. He sang:

I hear the words,  
It is going to be cloudy,  
It is going to be cloudy,  
I hear the words,  
I hear the words,  
It is going to mist, etc.  
I hear the words,  
It is going to sprinkle, etc.

After singing, Ljwale ran away, and it would rain.

<sup>58</sup> In another connection I was told that the pinitu dancers would not be released from the kiva "even if their father or mother died." Which suggests that the 4-day period of dance practice is also a period of strict retreat.

<sup>59</sup> After the dance, people like to get these trees to make into house ladders. They ask the moiety chiefs for the trees, with a cigarette.

<sup>60</sup> In another connection prayer feathers (nato'ye) only were referred to.

spring he will also sprinkle meal, to ask for the spruce. Not until after this is accomplished may the boys gather the spruce.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the dance practicers go out by the road *kwiawip* (see map) to meet the returning spruce gatherers. The dancers sprinkle meal on the spruce and give thanks. The dancers belong to both moieties, half Black Eyes, led by the *chakabede*, half *shure'*, led by his assistant, and they divide the spruce to carry to their respective kivas. In the kivas the moiety chiefs have been waiting in their seat by the fire. They stand to receive the spruce, and to place it in the middle of the floor and sprinkle it with pollen. From his medicine bowl each chief takes a little water, drinks some and from his mouth sprinkles some on the spruce. To each dancer he also gives a drink, the recipient saying, as is usual on receiving a drink of medicine, *aka'a*. Before the recipient swallows the drink he spits some of it over his own person. The moiety chief addresses the dancers, urging them to dance well. Late that same night from each kiva the dancers come to dance in the plaza, with their rattles and shirtless, but without their spruce. As in the afternoon, *chakabede* leads the Black Eyes and *chakabede's* assistant, the *shure'*. After a single performance each dance set returns to its respective kiva.

Then they discuss who are to take the parts of the *k'apyo* the following day.<sup>61</sup> There will be six *k'apyo* from each kiva, who will be considered the dance managers. Also in each kiva is chosen a little boy of six or seven to dance out in front of the line—*ai'yayao'de*. He will be spotted with white and wear on each side of his head a small deer horn. In spite of his horns he represents wild cat,<sup>62</sup> who at the emergence was the leader, with his horns tearing up the earth and making a gap for the people to pass up through.<sup>63</sup>

The *k'apyo* of the Black Eyes will be striped black and white, the hair whitened, with large "earrings" of corn husk or rather hair done up in side whorls like the Hopi girl (see p. 347). Clout of black cloth, at the back, attached to a bandoleer, little branches of cottonwood. They carry willow sticks and wear anklets of spruce. (Fig. 21.) Of the *k'apyo* of the *shure'* one is painted yellow all over, another red all over, another white all over, and the others red or white. Across the face are stripes of contrasting color. The hair, painted the same



FIGURE 20.—Prayer stick to deposit in spring, to ask for spruce

<sup>61</sup> But in another connection it was stated that six days of continence were required of the *k'apyo*. Inferably, the choice of the *k'apyo* preceded this night.

<sup>62</sup> *Topirmesan*, "coming in without saying anything," cat

<sup>63</sup> In the emergence text and story the *k'apyo* (*ka'pe*) make this gap or gate, see p. 360.

color as the body, is plastered down with the pigment and then brought up into a poke on top of the head and tied with yucca fiber.<sup>64</sup> These



FIGURE 21.—K'apyo, Black Eyes. Carrying willow sticks and smoking a corn husk cigarette

carry long blades of yucca, as whips (see p. 287), and wear a bandoleer with cottonwood twigs and collar, armlets and anklets of spruce. (Fig. 22.)

The next morning the k'apyo come out and two by two visit the houses of their aunts (ky'iunin), aunts in blood, or if these are not many, women of their father's Corn group who have been appointed to act as "aunts" by the group chief, and instruct the women to prepare meal for them, their tu'u (nephews) and watermelons, chili, etc. The women also make bread in the shape of jack rabbits and turtles for their

nephew clowns to whom they will also give silk banda and pottery bowls. While the women are making ready, in the plaza on the

ground the k'apyo draw a "house" into which the head k'apyo takes one of the others and seats him, asking him if he wants to get married. "No." "Yes, you should get married. You are old enough." "All right. I will marry." "You want to get married, but you can not work. Whom will you marry?" Then the leader in this play names the oldest woman in town. He gives his victim a room in the "house," and tells him what to do when he lives there with his wife. All of this farce is repeated for each k'apyo. Then the "aunts" arrive on the scene, bringing the food. They carry it into the "house," where the k'apyo eat. Each set of k'apyo have their "house" and each set eat. Then they invite visitors from other pueblos to come and eat. . . . Now the dancers come out to dance on the four sides of the plaza. The Black Eyes come first and start on the east side. When they move on to the north side, the shure' come in to



FIGURE 22.—K'apyo, shure'. Smoking a corn husk cigarette

<sup>64</sup> These hair pokes are thought of as horns, see pp. 362, 363, 364, n. 53.



the east side. The Black Eyes dancers are led in by the chakabede; the shure', by his assistant. They dance all day, making antisunwise circuits in the plaza. After the last performance they are sprinkled with meal by the chakabede and his assistant; and on returning to their respective kivas they are meal besprinkled by the moiety chief, and given medicine water to drink.

The dancers wear a dance kilt with white cotton belt and spruce pendants; spruce collar and spruce in leg bands and in armlets of turquoise painted leather; skunk fur heel bands; spruce in left hand. In right hand the Black Eyes carry a black gourd rattle; the shure', a red rattle. Under the right knee is a turtle rattle—a water turtle for the Black Eyes, a land turtle for the shure'. Of the head-dress the visor is of woven yucca; the tablita of the Black Eyes is dark blue and red with black eagle feathers; the tablita of the shure', blue and yellow with white eagle feathers. The hair is flowing. (Fig. 23.)

Before the finish of the last dance the k'apyo withdraw to their respective kivas, carrying their food surplus. The moiety chief gives them permission to go to the river to wash off their paint. After sprinkling meal into the water, they wash and dress. They return to the kiva to get permission to carry their food pile to their own houses. Thence the chakabede and his assistant summon them back to the kiva to send them forth to call to the people to prepare their lunch for a hunt the day following. The k'apyo return to the kivas to stay there all night. They dress up and at sunrise they sally forth to dance on the roof tops on the four sides of the plaza. (In using the kiva ladder the k'apyo has to step on its terraced top, the cloud terrace design.) As soon as the people see them, they get ready to set out on the hunt.<sup>65</sup>

The head k'apyo has gone to the hunt chief the night before to ask him to work. So at sunrise a little distance from town the hunt chief will be making a little fire of which the smoke is to blind the rabbits and keep them from running far. The hunt chief has got his fire stick (w'ikon) or brand from the house of the town chief. "When we see the smoke we start."

The people gather 5 or 6 miles to the west near Nampekötö.<sup>66</sup> The k'apyo call out to them not to drive their wagons inside the hunt



FIGURE 23.—Pinitu dancer

<sup>65</sup> See Jemez, Parsons 16: 94, for the hunt as directed by the clown society.

<sup>66</sup> See pp. 300, 301, 318, 430.



circle (*pali maköre*). The *k'apyo* also place the hunters and the women who are participating. Now the hunt chief calls out to everybody to be careful, not to shoot anybody in the circle. Again the hunt chief calls out; the hunters shout; the rabbits will start up from everywhere, running blindly.

All the rabbits got in the first drive will belong to the town chief; in the second drive, to the hunt chief; in the third drive, to the *chakabede*, *kumpa* and the war chief. On the following drives the women run up, as usual the woman first to reach the trophy receiving it.

The *k'apyo* are the first to return, in order to go to the river to wash and dress. After the third drive the hunt chief returns. The day following, the women who have received game pay their hunters with a basket of wafer bread or tortillas and a bowl of stew. The game taken by the *k'apyo* is given by them to their "aunts" in return for the jack rabbits in bread their aunts gave them.

The notched bone dance is a harvest thanksgiving—"for the end of the crops, thanking for them." Also it is to bring frost, to harden the corn and grapes which are to be dried. Therefore all crops, such as melons, which would be hurt by frost, must be gathered before this dance.

#### CEREMONY OF BRINGING IN SALT OLD WOMAN

This ceremony of a single day and night is in charge of the town chief together with the medicine societies, each chief appointing three of his assistants to sing. The ceremony is performed every three or five years, at the end of October. It is performed in the Black Eyes roundhouse.

At this time the ceremonialists can turn people into any animals they please, if they think a person has bad thoughts. Or they could take from a man his moccasin and turn it into a piece of meat, giving everybody a taste. So people are afraid to go to this ceremony. Our informant was so vague about the ritual that he had evidently never seen it, although he insisted that Salt woman was actually brought in "with their power," a large figure "looking like ice." No prayer feathers are used; they pay Salt old woman (*Palitiu*) with beads and turquoise. "They clean her veins."

#### CEREMONY OF HUNT CHIEF<sup>66a</sup>

The hunt chief holds his ceremony late in October after the harvest. He asks the town chief for permission to hold it, and he asks for the cooperation of the war chief and the war captains. The hunt chief is in retreat for four days, performing ceremonial at noon of the fourth day. He blows smoke into his medicine bowl, and he smokes

<sup>66a</sup> Compare Lummis 2: 209-218.

toward the mountains, to blind the deer. He whistles to draw in the deer,<sup>67</sup> and he actually does draw in a live deer, according to Juan Abeita, who gave the following account of this achievement which took place, not at the annual ceremony, but on an occasion about 10 years ago when the medicine societies wanted some deer meat for a ceremony in February and there was none in the house of the town chief, although he is supposed to keep meat of all kinds. The hunt chief was appealed to. He summoned the war captains to his house, and among them was Juan Abeita,<sup>68</sup> who reported the following as an eye witness. The hunt chief proceeded to make a circle of pollen, leaving a gap toward the east. (Fig. 24.) In his hand he held a goose feather which he would move in circuit as he talked. What he said we could not hear. He began to call out like a wolf or mountain lion. He told one of us to open the door. He began to sing. In came a big deer with big horns. Humahude kept on singing. He said to close the door. The deer walked into the circle of pollen. Humahude closed the gap with pollen. The deersnorted, but stood quite still. Humahude took his k'oata (see p. 279) and tapped him gently on the forehead, but it sounded out loud. The deer dropped down dead. "Now butcher it," humahude said to us. He cut out a piece for the medicine men. Of the rest half went to the cacique (town chief), half to any of the people who would come in for some.

At the annual ceremony the deer that is drawn in<sup>69</sup> goes, all of it, to the town chief.



FIGURE 24.—Altar of hunt chief. Circle of meal (pollen); medicine bowl, ke'chu, Lightning, stone point

#### HUNTING RITUAL

A hunter may get permission from the town chief to get power from the hunt chief. The hunt chief prepares a prayer feather, a cigarette of native tobacco, a husk of corn meal, pollen, turquoise, and a red bead. The morning following, the hunter comes for these, which, on receiving, he moves in the directions as the hunt chief sings. The hunter gives thanks. The hunt chief learns when he is to start off on the hunt, for he will smoke at that time to blind the deer.

As soon as the hunter sees a deer, which will act, indeed, as if blind, he will put down his offerings for Wæide and he will smoke his cigarette in the directions.

The head of the dead deer he turns<sup>70</sup> toward the town and he sprinkles the deer with meal. He passes his hands along the deer

<sup>67</sup> In folk tale he also whistles to call the rain.

<sup>68</sup> He was wilaweun, "the last helper," of the wilawe.

<sup>69</sup> One informant denies that deer are drawn in—"only rabbits, that I have seen myself."

<sup>70</sup> At another time the same informant said that in whatever direction the deer was facing when shot, he would turn and fall in the direction of the town.

three times and makes a throwing gesture in each direction. If he knows the song of the hunt chief he will sing it. He cuts off the tip of one of the deer's ears for the dead. Then he butchers the deer, throwing a piece for Wáide, and burying a small piece "so that the ground will eat it." He takes out the guts, placing them on a rock, giving them to the animals, "in his heart" calling the animals to come and eat.<sup>71</sup> After doing this, if the hunter leaves something belonging to him, like a coat or a handkerchief, on the deer, he can safely leave it overnight; the animals will not touch it; they will eat the guts only.

The hunter drinks blood from near the deer's heart, three times, to make himself strong. To camp he takes the heart and liver, which he always cooks and eats first. . . .

On his return home the hunter lays the deer's head toward the sun, whether in the east or the west. Anyone coming into the house will sprinkle pollen or meal on the deer and breathe in from his clasped hands. Similarly anyone who had been met on the way home would have passed his hands over the deer<sup>72</sup> and breathed in from his hands. The hunter gives a piece of venison to the town chief and another to the hunt chief. To all his relatives he will give a little piece. "That means you will have luck and get more deer."

A hunter's wife should "stay still" while he is away. If the deer run away, he knows that his wife has a lover. I could learn of no other taboos during the hunt on those at home.

Except taboos in connection with a hunter of Laguna descent, I incline to think that Lucinda's account of his ways is Keresan. Before he went on a deer hunt, for one month he remained continent, using the cedar purge every morning. He advised his wife, i. e., Lucinda, to clean house four days after he had departed, to plaster the walls, to keep herself very clean, not to scold the children, not to quarrel with the neighbors or gad about among them. When he returned he brought with him grasses the deer liked to eat for her to offer to the deer as it lay covered with a woman's manta with beads around its neck. All this in return for the buckskin she was to have. A simple and convincing explanation, is it not, of the Laguna-Zuni practice of covering the deer with a woman's blanket?

Again, according to Lucinda, there are taboos at Isleta on hunting bear or eagles<sup>73</sup> or killing snakes. In Lucinda's simple paraphrase, "We don't kill a snake or a bear or an eagle because it might be one of us Indians." (See her tale of the little girl who became an eagle (p. 407), and she once opined that the she bear "came from an Indian

<sup>71</sup> In a tale (p. 384) the hunter leaves a hind leg for the animals. With meat he also feeds the ants.

<sup>72</sup> See p. 282.

<sup>73</sup> But see p. 211.

woman.")<sup>74</sup> "Bear is a person, men would not kill one," said another. This much a white might be told and could understand. But of the supernatural powers from the animal helpers, not a whisper! Neither the eagle dance nor the deer dance of the Pueblos to the north are given at Isleta. "We can't imagine having them!" exclaimed Lucinda, "since we have them in our ceremonies," she might have added.

#### TYPE CEREMONY OF CURING (NATOI)<sup>75</sup>

Were sickness general in town, epidemic, the war chief would call a meeting of all the chiefs and "ask their thoughts" (ask for their opinion), then he would ask for the power<sup>76</sup> of the Town Fathers and the Laguna Fathers. These would go into their two respective houses to stay four days, taking an emetic each morning and fasting from food completely. On the fourth morning in the same house the two groups set their ground altars, the Town Fathers setting theirs first. Each chief has chewed the root *lifew'a*, which gives power. Moved by this, with his power, the chief<sup>77</sup> calls in from all the directions the *ke'chu* (fetish animals). Over the bowl of water from the river the chief makes a cross with his eagle-wing feathers, stirring the water. Sounds of bear, mountain lion, coyote, snake, eagle, come from the bowl. When the iridescent feathers of the duck are put into the bowl, after the cross is made over the water, sounds of ducks playing and flapping their wings also come from the bowl. Meanwhile, the assistants are sitting in line behind the altar, behind the Mothers (figs. 16, 17), shaking their gourd rattles and singing. For each ritual incident there is, as usual, a special song. Power has been given the assistants through the line of meal sprinkled from the door by the chief to the altar. . . . With his stone point in his right hand, in his left his whistle, the chief now whistles into the bowl to call all the powerful animals—mountain lion, bear, rattlesnake, eagle, badger.

Now the chief will call lightning and thunder. He tells the people present to cover their heads lest they be frightened. Thunder is heard and flashes of lightning may be seen. . . . The chief now takes his seat in the middle of the line of assistants, and the war chief gives him a lighted cigarette to smoke in all five directions and on the line of the Mothers. . . . With his power the chief calls the moon and the morning star. . . . All the assistants circulate among those present and with his two eagle feathers each brushes out from everybody whatever noxious thing may be inside his body—stick, rag, stone. . . . The chief stands in front of the large altar blade

<sup>74</sup> There lay on the floor of my room a bearskin. "When I step on it," said Lucinda, "I ask the bear to excuse me. I keep asking it." Compare Lummis 2:61.

<sup>75</sup> Any ceremony of the medicine societies might be so called or called *lifetoynin* (root-medicine men) from the root they use. See below.

<sup>76</sup> *Nate* or *nashau*.

<sup>77</sup> From here on the reference is to one chief only. Is the ceremony really a joint one?

showing his crystal to the assistants who stand in a half circle facing him. As they look into the crystal they see through all the world, whence wind or rain will come, and on what day, what sickness may be imminent, how long the sickness will last and how to get rid of it. . . . Now the chief starts to call the witch who is the cause of the sickness and who is in hiding at the ends of the world. The chief calls him by singing his song. Every time he sings the witch's song the witch draws closer to town. Some of the assistants together with the war chief and kumpa go out to search for the witch while the chief sits near the Mothers, singing to help those who have gone on the witch quest. These spread out in a circle, as on any hunt, and close in on the witch who is so afraid of kumpa "he does not even move." The men seize him to take to their ceremonial house.

Sometimes the witch is so strong they can not move him, and they tell the war chief to shoot him with his bow and arrow. He will shoot him through the body.<sup>78</sup> His power thus broken, they carry him in. Everybody looks at him and spits at him. They place him near the meal basket of the altar. The chief tells those present what bad things the witch has been doing, sending sickness, starving the animals, etc. The chief will ask the witch if he is going to stop his bad ways. He will say yes, he will, and that he will keep back the bad and suffer it himself. The chief takes the blade from the altar and sticks it into the body of the witch, killing him. Two assistants carry him out and burn him on a pile of wood, i. e., burn his body, his spirit (power, nate') leaves the village to die outside. Outside the ceremonial house he looks like a grown man, inside like a little boy,<sup>78a</sup> with feathers in his hair, Comanche fashion. . . . The chief addresses those present, telling them not to worry or think about it any more. The sickness (nahö're) is gone. If they go on thinking about it the sickness will linger. The sooner they forget it, the sooner it will go. . . . The assistants again brush the people, putting everything they take out of their bodies (nalöa) in a large bowl by the door. The bowl is carried out by two assistants to the ash pile (nalitu), where they sprinkle its contents with water taken in a shell from the medicine bowl and bury them in a hole. They ask Wäide (see p. 341) to take it all away.

### SUPERNATURALS

There is the usual Pueblo pantheon of sun, moon, and stars; lightning, thunder, wind; of the Corn mothers (and the old women of natural supplies); of the animals, including the horned serpent and the ants and Spider grandmother or mother; of the kachina who are

<sup>78</sup> wihawere auluaferin  
war chief having  
an arrow

w'iran  
bow

sha'vöa  
witch

tambimal.  
shoots.

<sup>78a</sup> Compare Lummis 2: 79-80.

called *liwa*; of the dead, the saints and the Spanish god *Dius*. Distinctively, there is *Wəide*, with the attributes of a high god ("he is the head of all") and, whatever his origin, to-day certainly not to be confounded with *Dius*. And yet, like *Dius*, he is never seen, and, as *Dius* created the pictures and images of the saints, so did *Wəide* create the Corn mothers (*iema'paru*)<sup>79</sup> who were brought up from underground and from whom the medicine men get their power. It was *Wəide* who sent the people themselves on their journey of emergence (see pp. 360, 362). The tales (p. 412) how *Wəide* and *Dius* tested their power show that they are thought of as quite distinct beings. To *Dius*, *Wəide* is younger brother (*paide*); but *Wəide*'s ceremonies (a general reference) are unknown to *Dius*. Food offerings are made to *Wəide*, habitually with offerings to the dead.<sup>80</sup> Was *Wəide*<sup>81</sup> derived from *Dius* so long ago that the borrowing has been forgotten, or has *Wəide* some Indian origin other than Pueblo, there being no corresponding high god among the other Pueblo peoples? Or is *Wəide* merely the singular form of *wenin*, as one informant insisted,<sup>82</sup> a term for the *kachina*. *Weide*, asserted this informant, referred to *Montezuma*.<sup>83</sup>

Again distinctively, among the collective dead, are the stillborn (*ṽōimaṽ*) to whom in the solstice ceremonies offerings are made. The Navaho dead, the scalps, are common to other Pueblos.

The sun is referred to as *kikaawei turide*, our father sun; the moon, as *kikewei p'aide*, our mother<sup>84</sup> moon; the stars, as *kinuweī paxō'lan*, our sons (the) stars. Not only is meal sprinkled to the sun at sunrise (see p. 276), but in the afternoon,<sup>85</sup> when the evening star comes out, silent prayer is addressed as follows to the sun, men at the time removing their hats:

|              |                             |                 |
|--------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| turide       | kika'awei                   | behtökum        |
| Sun          | our father                  | his ?going away |
| mashuminai   | behmapi                     | w'emina         |
| ? leaving me | ?                           | taking away     |
| kike'ewei    | ködi                        | liuu            |
| our mother   | beads                       | old woman       |
| ba           | tetorshəit'shi              | hoba            |
| ?            | ?                           | then            |
| kurturkum    | uribanai                    | waideai         |
| ?            | rise again                  | life            |
| nakuaai      | tekiwanshe                  | fierqwetöe      |
| health       | ? get into (? i. e., reach) | west            |

<sup>79</sup> Collectively the Corn mothers and *Wəide* are referred to as *tōakoa*.

<sup>80</sup> See pp. 250, 276, 290, 308, 319.

<sup>81</sup> Lucinda corrected my pronunciation to *Walide*, and then in alarm turned away from the subject. From another informant I got *Wəide*, a term meaning pure, clear, without sin.

<sup>82</sup> See below.

<sup>83</sup> See p. 415.

<sup>84</sup> In the Isletan migration south the moon has changed sex. In one tale, however, the moon is called *kikaawei paide*, our father Moon. (P. 399.)

<sup>85</sup> See p. 365.



At another time this prayer was said to be addressed to the evening star (*tarape paxōlade*, asking or prayer star). This star is identified with the morning star (*puṽu paxōlade*, bright star) which is described in its course as "jumping three times." And of this star it was said that "When Jesus was born the morning star came out,"<sup>86</sup>—a comment of interest in view of the identification elsewhere of the star and Jesus.<sup>87</sup>

The sun, likewise, is thought of as having three stations—to the east, *pathuwetōe'*, or at *turshanminai* (sunrise), at *pienai*, middle or noontime place,<sup>88</sup> when he stands still and descends through the gate of the sky to visit his children, a visitation which finds constant ritual expression,<sup>89</sup> and at *turkiminai*, sunset, to the west, *fieruwetōe'*. The two sons of the sun<sup>90</sup> are red stars next the sun. For some of the constellations there are names, for Orion's belt, *piun*, fawns<sup>91</sup> (pl. 17); for the Pleiades, *makōchuin*, meaning tumbled, as a child may be called tumbled head; for two stars together called *kōun*, bear (? little bears); for a circular group with a star in the center called *nadōrna*, wheel; for the Dipper, *tuun*, from *tuurde*, meaning cradle. A comet is called *pawīlade awikye*, star tail(?) news, and is a sign of war. Was not a comet to be seen before the war with Germany? From the fact that women and children do not attend ceremonial relating to the stars "because the stars are mean," I incline to think that the stars have been associated with war. . . . People will sprinkle meal to the stars at night. Of solar or lunar eclipse it is said merely that "they cover each other up," *inmabotiban*; the idea of sun or moon dying was unfamiliar. From the above prayer to sun it is plain that he is thought of as a diurnal traveler. The solstice ceremonies and the springtime races are referred to as held "to help the sun to be strong on his journey (semiannual)" or "to help him run"—for this reason "they clothe him."

Lightning (*upinide*) and thunder (*huwanide*, *koanida*) can be summoned by the medicine men and directed at will. Lightning has a punitive function.<sup>92</sup> There is a lightning stone fetish; also a thunder stick (*koanla*). Also a "rain people" fetish. There are Water people associated with the river, distinctive spirits in the Pueblo pantheon at large. Rainbow (*berkwi*) is represented in the pantheon pictured on the walls of the chamber of the Laguna Fathers (pl. 17). Wind old man (*watuli*) or our father wind (*kikaawei walasōn*) is referred to; he has his own ritual; besides the medicine men take out

<sup>86</sup> Compare Laguna, Parsons, 3: 256.

<sup>87</sup> As among the Tepecano.

<sup>88</sup> *Sōna*, middle time, "when the sun stops."

<sup>89</sup> See pp. 293, 328 and compare Dumarest, 217.

<sup>90</sup> See p. 402 where they are rainbow and sun halo.

<sup>91</sup> Compare Tarahumara term, *Deer*. (Lumholtz, I, 436.) The Mexicans call this constellation *estrella Maria*. Throughout Spain it is called "las tres Marias."

<sup>92</sup> See pp. 279, 388, 455 and compare Tewa, Parsons, 17: 54.

to him the "bad things" they have exorcised to bear away "where nobody lives"; also Beads old woman (kōdiliuu) who is to be identified with the woman of hard substances known in the west; Clay old woman (namburufiū) to whom the women sprinkle meal, going to the hill where she lives to ask for her clay; mother Fire old woman (kefeliū) who is associated with the kiva fires as well as thought of at home;<sup>93</sup> and Salt old woman (palifiū) for whom a fuller ritual, a ceremony, is performed. The hunter's ritual indicates a deification of the earth.<sup>94</sup>

The animals are mountain lion (kymide), bear (kōide), badger (karnade, Mex., tejano), eagle (shiwile), big snake (pirulade which is rattlesnake, sharara're). All these are referred to in English as powerful, as helpers. Lion is foremost, the "first helper." Lion and bear are strong and can help in any way. Their claws are worn in ceremonial. In one connection the lion or bear helper of the Laguna Father (birka'ade) was referred to as living on the summit of San Mateo (Mount Taylor). . . . As elsewhere bear is closely associated with curing. Badger, the great digger, helps the medicine men to dig out of the earth whatever they want. With "power from the eagle" the medicine men can fly. From the fields, snake cleans the town by his sucking or drawing power. . . . All these animals are represented in stone, and these stone fetishes are referred to collectively as ke'chu. For other spirits in stone in which the Isletans seem particularly rich, see pp. 278, 295.

Then there are the horned serpents, ikanare, two of them, who live to the southeast in caves within a mile each of the other in places called Nalurluru (ravines close together) and Pakepasōri (bank water washout), the general district being referred to as Tōlulia, village old (?) ruin. In a folk tale<sup>95</sup> the habitat of ikaina is referred to as in the mountains, takōapien. Shu'fatū, eagle-down hill, is also mentioned as his habitat.

Ikanare (ikaina) is a stout, short snake, about 2 feet long (fig. 14), that moves with a side to side waddling motion. He or they make loud hissing sounds within their caves which they do not leave. You can hear the sounds a long distance off. Then you should sprinkle meal or pollen which they will suck or draw toward themselves. With any function of punishment or of flood making the horned serpent seems not to be associated as among the Tewa or in the west. But in the ceremony of bringing him in (see p. 302) he has a function of cleaning up or exorcising. In the aforesaid folk tale he is associated with the sun's kick stick, with lightning and with the sun.

Corresponding to the shiwanua of the Keres are the liwan who live on mountains. Specifically referred to are Ljwale who lives on Zuñi

<sup>93</sup> See p. 276.

<sup>94</sup> See p. 338.

<sup>95</sup> See p. 372.

Mountain or Welima<sup>96</sup> (Welimai), situated, it is believed, in the west; and liwa kabede (chief) who lives in a spring on Nahōrai, a sacrosanct peak of the Manzanos, and who is the one to be asked for ritual spruce. The chiefs of the directions, I heard once referred to, and in a folk tale all five chiefs are specified and associated with the colors of the five directions—white, black, yellow, blue, all colors.<sup>97</sup> It was said, too, that the wenin (kachina) were associated with "each corn," i. e., there were wenin for each direction. Wenin, chiefs of the directions, liwan, are all, I take it, to be identified.

Mentioned also as a liwa is the bugaboo, the mountain giant, found elsewhere. This liwa tenen (tall), also referred to as chapiude, lives in caves in the mesa to the west. Over there may be seen lots of small bones, for the giant used to steal and eat children. He wore little bells and when people heard him coming they would hide the children away in big jars or even between the walls. If a child rebel against having his head cleaned or a little girl against carrying the baby on her back, a mother will threaten to call for chapiude. Chapiude used to come at the same season that Liwade came. (See p. 332.)

Then there are the Dark liwa and A'iyayaode, the little boy who looks like antelope but is reputed to be wild cat, but who is at any rate, I am guessing, a little war spirit,<sup>98</sup> borrowed from the westward. But whether or not the whole liwa cult is borrowed it were rash to say. At Taos there is much the same cult, the cult of the katsina, beneficent mountain and spring or lake spirits. The failure both at Taos and Isleta<sup>99</sup> to welcome into this cult the concept of mask impersonation is a most interesting instance of resistance to acculturation. The Isletan explanation is strictly according to pattern, that they did not have mask dances when they came up and so nowadays they are not allowed to have them.

The patron spirits of the Laguna Fathers who are called ka'an paiuin, are not kachina, but they are anthropomorphic as they appear depicted on the walls of the society's ceremonial room. (Pl. 17.) These "fathers" are always mentioned in the society's ceremonial. They live to the east. They control weather, being able to send rain or wind or a scorching sun.<sup>1</sup> The moieties have

<sup>96</sup> Keresan, Wenima. One Isletan referred to the shiwan or kachina as wenin, limiting the term liwan to the dancers. From the wenin, the liwan get their power. Wæide, this informant stated, was merely the singular form of wenin.

<sup>97</sup> In the parallel Hopi and Tewa (north) tales these "chiefs" are the cloud youths.

<sup>98</sup> From Lucinda with her Laguna traditions I heard of the Keresan war spirits, Masewi and Uyuye, but never a word about them from Juan Abetta, so that I may not include them in the Isletan pantheon.

<sup>99</sup> Sandia is said to have a mask dance "stolen" from Laguna. It is performed every four years, in March. All but townspeople are excluded, even the Isletans married into town. Once the Isletan cacique went to Sandia to borrow a drum. This dance was on, outside, with wagon covers used as a screen and war captains on guard against intruders. The Isletan cacique was kept out and had to wait all day until the dance was over for his drum.

<sup>1</sup> Compare pp. 386-387.

also patron spirits called *ka'pe*<sup>2</sup> *kabede*, from whom the society chiefs get their power, and who are represented by the *k'apyo*.<sup>3</sup> These with their horns made the exit at the emergence. Therefore the *k'apyo* to-day wear horns.

### COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

The Isletan ceremonial organization is in several respects characteristically Pueblo; but it presents certain marked distinctions or anomalies, notably in its Corn group organization which is a ceremonial rather than a clanship organization, for it is not concerned with marriage as is the Pueblo clan and it is concerned with ritual and ceremonial to a degree comparable only with the Hopi system and yet so differently as not to be truly comparable with that exogamous and ubiquitous clanship organization. (But whence did Isletans derive the principle of matrilineal descent for their Corn groups? At first, thought I, from the Keres. Then when I heard the tale of how the Eagle people got their name which is so startlingly in the Hopi pattern I began to think of the possibilities in that far-gone visit to the Hopi country, a visit lasting long enough for intermarriage and to introduce the principle of descent, but not long enough to establish the principle of exogamy.<sup>4</sup> Speculation!) Again in the comprehensiveness or inclusiveness of the Isletan moiety system there is considerable distinction from other Pueblo organization, excepting perhaps that of the Tewa where, too, everybody belongs in one moiety or the other. But the Isletan principle of moiety membership differs from the Tewan in that the latter is based on paternal descent and the former on parental option, with a prevailing practice of alternating the moiety membership of offspring. The moiety principle finds expression among the Keresans in their double kiva system, but it is far less penetrating in the general ceremonial life than at Isleta. At Jemez there is a cross between the Keresan moiety system and the Tewan or Isletan. In the west the moiety is barely recognizable.

The association at Isleta between the moieties and war in so far as the scalp is kept in the moiety kivas is of particular interest. There are suggestions elsewhere that the moiety or clown groups have had sometime warrior functions. At Laguna the *kurena cheani* was painted like the war god and was associated with the war *kachina*, *Chakwena*, and with the war dance, as were the *kashare* who worked on the scalp.<sup>5</sup> In Keresan and in Zuni myth the clowns are the

<sup>2</sup> The word means name making, but in this connection the etymology is doubtful, opines informant.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 360.

<sup>4</sup> Even modern Isletan visitors to the western pueblos do not learn of the principle of exogamy among their Zuni or Hopi hosts.

<sup>5</sup> Parsons, 8: 113, 123, 124. See, too, Parsons, 11: 186-187.

scouts or leaders during the emergence, as are the prototypes of the moiety chiefs of Isleta.

In its Pueblo uniformities, the Isletan system resembles both Keresan and Tewan. In having only one town chief it is Keresan-like; in the comparative simplicity of its medicine society organization, which is differentiated from within rather than from without, it is Tewan or Jemez like. There seems to be at Isleta a duplication of the office of war chief, given the wilawe or tuwilawe and kumpa or kumpa wilawe. Possibly the former functionary was borrowed from the Keres. Kumpa's ways have a flavor of Hopi.

Comparisons with Sandia or Taos are unfortunately uncertain. There is virtually no record of Sandia except for the statement that it is without the usual Pueblo clanship system.<sup>6</sup> My Isleta informant opined that at Sandia they had the same Corn groups as at Isleta, likewise the same kind of a town chief, only they did not work for him. There are no scalps at Sandia, it was said, because Sandians themselves have been killed instead of taking scalps.<sup>7</sup> This same informant visited Taos during our acquaintance but, observant though he desired to be, comparisons between Taos and Isleta were so difficult for him to make because of language and because of his proneness to see similarities only, that his remarks are not reliable. Still they are of interest as bearing upon Isletan practices. He insisted that the moiety system existed at Taos just as at Isleta. There were Black Eyes and those using red paint and corresponding to the shure'. The Taos boys who undergo a long period of initiation are being initiated into these moieties, an initiation which is not made at Isleta. Now, according to my own information about Taos, such an inclusive moiety system does not occur there. There is merely a Black Eyes society; and the boys are initiated into a number of societies or kivas.

What society corresponds enough to the Isleta shure' to have led the Isletan to an identification I can but guess.<sup>8</sup> My Isletan observer also opined that the Isletan Corn group organization was to be found at Taos, which is, I believe, a wholly erroneous observation. Maternal descent is not distinguished at Taos, and kiva or kiva society, membership to which only males are eligible, is entirely optional with parents. Curiously enough, although my Isletan observer noted the fact of the exclusion of women, he persisted in identifying the Taos kiva or kiva society with the Isletan Corn group. He was at Taos when certain winter ceremonies were under way and he was comparing these, I think, with the winter solstice ceremonies of the

<sup>6</sup> See p. 220, n. 79.

<sup>7</sup> And my informant went on to say that no Isletan was ever killed by another tribesman. "That is why we have scalps."

<sup>8</sup> Another Isletan visitor to Taos thinks there are shure' at Taos because on San Geronimo Day three clowns are painted yellow and white (shure'), the other three being black and white (shifun).



Isletan Corn groups and so identified the respective organizations. In certain details his Isleta-Taos comparisons appear more just: at Taos there are no corn fetishes, in Isleta terms, no *keide* or Mothers;<sup>9</sup> no *kachina* at Taos, just as there is none at Isleta—i. e., no *kachina* masks belong in the organization of either town. (Of the relation between the Isletan (*liwa*) dancers and *kachina* proper this particular informant was ever unaware.)

And yet the ritual accompanying the three *liwa* dances in the Isletan calendar unmistakably connects the dances with the general Pueblo *kachina* cult. I surmise that the supernatural *Liwale*, who is said to come from Zuni mountain, is a borrowed *Kok'okshi*,<sup>10</sup> and that the Dark *liwa* is the *Chakwena kachina* of the Keres and of the West. (It is tempting even to derive the term *chakabede* from *chakwena*.) The duplication of clown personages in the *liwa* ceremonials—Grandfathers (*te'en*) and the *k'yapio* (compare, for term, the *chapió* of the Tewa and, for rôle in emergence myth, the *koyemshi* of Zuni and Laguna)—this duplication points to complex borrowing. (My informant stated that at Taos there were *k'yapio*, *chifonetti*; but no Grandfathers, *te'en*). Again I surmise that some of the medicine society ritual is borrowed from the Keres, notably the corn fetishes or Mothers, and the bear impersonation. In ant curing ritual, which is known to be borrowed from the Keres, sucking out is practiced; in Isletan ritual proper it is unfamiliar.<sup>11</sup>

Distinctive in Isleta ritual are the use of a certain medicine root to give power and for clairvoyance during ritual for detection,<sup>12</sup> and of a bowl on the altar for the spittle of exorcism; the offering of pigments to the sun; and the degree in which crystal gazing is practiced; also the ritual complex of "drawing down" the cosmic supernaturals

<sup>9</sup> The story he was told at Taos was that the medicine chief who once had them was killed by two Comanche.

<sup>10</sup> But Isletan tradition has it that the *pinitu* ceremonial came from Sandia over 50 years ago. "Perhaps they (Sandians) got it from Zuni," commented Lucinda. Another Isletan denied this *provenience*. "We have had it always."

<sup>11</sup> So much for interpuerto borrowing, but the possibilities of Mexican borrowing may not be overlooked, in connection with the *kachina* cult and the moiety clowns, Grandfathers and *k'yapio*. I have discussed this subject elsewhere (Parsons, 21), but I would like to point out here, or rather reemphasize, that in no pueblo can the Spanish elements in Pueblo life be as well studied as in Isleta. Isleta (and Sandia) were among the earliest of the pueblos to feel missionary influence which, except during the Hopi episode in their history, has been continuous in these southern pueblos. This church control might partly account for the resistance to the mask cult at Isleta, if my theory is correct that that cult was largely post-Spanish, starting with Spanish clown masks such as are worn by the Grandfathers and then developing, in the western pueblos (particularly Zuni) into the efflorescent, anti-church mask system of to-day. I am wondering how much Spanish influence may be found in Isletan ritual songs and prayers. As for relations with Mexican tribes, that subject, too, should be carefully studied, when we know more about the tribes of northern Mexico. Meanwhile, it is tempting to point out such resemblances among the Tarahumare as appear in their sun, moon, and star cult, their dancing and racing practices (kick-ball, races between married and unmarried, etc.), their rites of fasting, continence, and confession, of notched stick playing, of aspersing and exorcising with smoke and with ashes, their use of the antisunwise circuit and of the numerals three and five.

<sup>12</sup> See p. 449. Is the use of this root Navaho? Similar detective methods at Zuni were accounted Navaho. (Parsons, 1.) An Isletan woman, a kind of unlicensed doctor, says that she has this root medicine from the Navaho shaman to whom she is apprentice. She used it once and went into a trance. But it is too powerful. She has not qualified to use it yet. A root to give power, particularly clairvoyance, is used by Tewa doctors.



through the roof hole. The roof hole figures in western ceremonial, but, as far as I know, not nearly as prominently. With a crystal the Hopi refract the sun ray into the kiva.

I have not listed as ritual patterns the practices of formal dismissal by the chief, of the messenger reporting in full the details of his trip, of giving thanks, of exhorting by the chief to moral behavior. However, all of these features contribute to the character of ceremonial and nowhere except among Hopi ceremonials are they as marked as at Isleta. Possibly they occur elsewhere but have not been as fully noted.

Notable is the insistence at Isleta on the powers of the chiefs which are thought of as individualistic shamanistic powers as well as powers in virtue of society membership. There are similar references to individualistic powers at Taos, and I surmise we have here at both Taos and Isleta a Plains Indian feature. The importance of clairvoyance and prediction at Isleta may also be due, if not to Navaho, to Plains Indian culture.

Distinctive in the pantheon, as already noted, are Wāgide, the high god, and as objects of a special cult among the dead, the stillborn. The Water people also are notable. Elsewhere prayer sticks are cast into the river of the pueblo or buried in its banks, but they are said to be sent to the dead or the kachina. At Isleta the river offering is specifically for the Water people.

### ORAI'BI, THE LAGUNA COLONY

In the seventies Laguna was a town divided against itself by the blade of Americanism—Protestant Americanism. The town hierarchy broke down, splitting into pro-American progressive and anti-American conservative factions—the first led by the shikani kurena society chief, whose sister had married one of the three Americans married into the town; the second, led by the town chief and Flint, Fire, and kashare society chiefs or members.<sup>13</sup> The conservatives

<sup>13</sup> The list which I got at Laguna in 1926 follows, as List I: 1. Reishu' (called Juan Rey at Isleta), Flint cheani; 2. Casiro (called Casil'do at Isleta), Flint cheani, Chaparral Cock clan; 3. Kaiye' kye (called Francisco Correo (or Kaituri) at Isleta), Fire cheani, Sun clan; 4. Tsaiukye or Uakwi, Fire cheani, Sun clan (father of Pedro Martin, also Fire cheani); 5. Kaish'tome, kashare cheani, Parrot clan; 6. Tsishguna, kashare, Turkey clan (he stayed at Mesita and "gave it" to his son G'ea); 7. G'asiro, kashare, Bear clan (mother's brother to Pedro Martin). G'asiro went to Isleta but, not liking it there, he returned to Mesita. When he went to Isleta they took his wife from him. He married in Isleta. When he returned to Mesita he did not get back his Laguna wife. He still comes to Laguna as a kashare to make cures. At Mesita he is kachina Father (Parsons 12: 208). Still other cheani leaving Laguna for Isleta were mentioned: 8. Tsiwaka of the Bear clan, Ant cheani; 9. Shkasgum or Luis of the Corn clan, shahaiye cheani; 10. Humika or José of the Lizard clan, shumakoli cheani; 11. Kuwai'tyena of the Sun clan, kurena cheani (and his wife Tsaiusi of the Eagle clan); 12. Kai'yuwe of the Corn clan and Corn clan cheani (and his wife Ityle of the Sun clan), identified as José Antonio Correo at Isleta. List II: In 1927 at Laguna Dr. Leslie A. White got another list of the emigrating cheani: I'unai or Casidro Castellano (see No. 2, above), chief of the Fire society; Kale'nomai or José, Fire cheani (married to daughter of I'unai); Waiyili or José Miguel Garcia, Fire cheani; Tsaieoro or José Losaro, Fire cheani (these four constituting the entire membership of the Fire society and taking with them the society altar); Shuwimi (Turquoise) or Santiago, kurena cheani; Audye' or Juan Rey Chirino (see No. 1, above), shahaiye cheani.

decided upon migration. They moved first to Mesita, about 3 miles from Laguna, and thence, some of them, to Isleta, arriving some time, perhaps a year, before the railway came through, which was in the year 1880. This comparative dating of the immigration is from an aged Isletan, one of the three surviving scalp takers. Juanita Torres, one of the surviving immigrants, who looks about 60, said that when she and her family stopped at Mesita she got married there, before moving on to Isleta.

According to Isleta tradition the immigrants were intending to go on even farther eastward to Sandia, but they were arrested by the Isletan hierarchy, invited to stay, and promised land. Had they not with them their Mothers (*iema'paru*), who would "bring good luck" to Isleta? To-day, at old Laguna, there are sore eyes<sup>14</sup> and lameness<sup>15</sup> among the people, because some of their Mothers were carried away and even those they still have they do not regard.

Juanita Torres's estimate of the number of the immigrants was by family; there were seven male heads of family. This estimate corresponds with the recollection of the old scalp taker. Twelve men and women went first, others followed with the children, he said, to form a colony of between thirty and forty persons.<sup>16</sup> From an Isletan woman married into the Laguna colony and familiar with their history I got the following list of immigrants, together with their Keresan clan affiliations.

## LIST II

1. Francisco Correo, Sun clan.
2. Maria Correo or Tsi'tiwi, Sun clan. Wife of 1.
3. Lorenzo Correo, Sun clan. Brother of 1.
4. Maria Abeita or Shuitia (Keresan), Sun clan. Wife of 3.
5. José Antonio Correo, Sun clan. Brother of 1, 3.
6. Lucia Siu'tina, Lizard clan. Wife of 5.
7. Casildo Velho or Iunai, Lizard clan, widower at time of migration.
- 8-9. Shaunai, daughter of 7, and José Antonio Gayama, son of 7, who married daughter of 3 and 4.
10. Matia Garcia, Lizard clan.
11. José Rita, Lizard clan.
12. Maria Rita, Lizard clan. Wife of 11.
13. Juan Rey Churina<sup>17</sup> or Aute', Lizard clan.
14. Lupi Churina, Sun clan. Wife of 13.
15. José Mariano Churina or Yute', Lizard clan. Brother of 13.
16. Benina Yuwai, Lizard clan. Wife of 15.
17. José Miguel Churina, Lizard clan. Brother of 13, 15.

<sup>14</sup> There is, in fact, much trachoma at Laguna.

<sup>15</sup> As a basis for this report there is one hunchback at Laguna.

<sup>16</sup> Writing in 1891, Lummis states that a generation before, owing to a great drought, about 150 Keres from Acoma and Laguna settled in Isleta (Lummis 3: 206). An earlier immigration than the one we are discussing? But what became of the descendants of these Keres? I incline to think that Lummis was merely misinformed about the migration of 1880.

<sup>17</sup> This is an Isletan patronymic as are others in this list. The Laguna people were without Spanish patronymics, so they borrowed from Isletans. Of Casildo and his children it was said that "they gave themselves to the Luceros and took their name."

18. Jesusita Miguel, Lizard clan. Wife of 17.
19. Francisco Torre(s), or Hemish, Sun clan.
20. Santiago Torre(s), Sun clan. Brother of 19.
21. Paulina Torre(s), Eagle clan. Wife of 20.
22. José Martin', Bear clan.
23. Josefita Martin' or Tsiuyaitiwitsa or Kwaiye (Bear). Bear clan. Wife of 22.
24. Santiago Chavez or Haiuna, Lizard clan.
- 25-26. Juan Pedro, and his daughter, Maria Ts'uku'.
- 27-28. Bitorio, and his daughter, Maria Tsiwakōra.

The land given the immigrants was to the southwest, a district already settled by Isletans and called Orai'bi.<sup>18</sup> To-day 6 houses in this suburb of 43 houses belong to Laguna people (Birnin)<sup>19</sup> or to Isletans married to persons of Laguna descent. The other houses are occupied by Isletans. In the Laguna houses live by rough estimate 62 persons, of whom 53 are of Laguna descent, including 3 of the 4 surviving immigrants.<sup>20</sup> The fourth immigrant<sup>21</sup> lives with her son in Isleta proper, where live also 9 persons of Laguna descent, making a total, together with a Laguna family of 5 across the river, of 69 persons from Laguna or of Laguna descent. I am not at all certain, however, that this census is complete. Of Laguna-Isleta intermarriages I have noted 17 among which 9 Laguna women married Isletan men and 8 Laguna men married Isletan women. The facts of residence show a like even distribution, the intermarrying Laguna men and women living in both Orai'bi and the town proper.

What have been the effects of this contact of about half a century between two distinctive Pueblo groups, speaking different languages, and in their social organization possessed of different traits? It is said in general that Laguna persons are bilingual, but that Keresan has not been learned at all by the Isletans. In fact my chief Isletan informant, although he is godfather to a Laguna child and has been living on and off at Orai'bi for a dozen years and is established there permanently during the last year, knows few, if any, Keresan words, either of the vernacular<sup>22</sup> or ceremonial.<sup>23</sup> He said he had listened in to his neighbors, too, still he could not learn their words. In the families of mixed marriages somewhat other conditions might be found, of course. It would be particularly interesting to learn more positively whether or not any Keresan kinship terms have passed into

<sup>18</sup> For this name there is no translation. The name is the same, we may recall, as that of the Hopi town on Third Mesa. There is no Isletan tradition about Hopi immigrants. Perhaps the name attached to the locality after the return of the Isletans early in the eighteenth century from the Hopi country.

<sup>19</sup> Laguna is called Berkwi, Rainbow.

<sup>20</sup> They are José Antoya Correo or Tiami (Keresan, Eagle) or Shyutera, of the Blue Corn people and of the shure' (Lists I. 12; II. 5), Maria Correo (Keresan, Tsi'tiwi) of the Day people and of the shure' (List II. 2), Maria Chavez or Koyude of the Earth people and of the Black Eyes, Juana Torres or Kinai of the Earth people and of the Black Eyes.

<sup>21</sup> Maria Correo, whose son is the town chief of Orai'bi, where they also have a house.

<sup>22</sup> A Laguna neighbor, he observed, called his boys payatam' (Keresan for youth).

<sup>23</sup> Even such a much used term as kopishtaiya for the cosmic supernaturals was unfamiliar. After explanation he said he would translate it as ka'an, the Fathers.

Isletan usage. My informants make use of four terms for senior collateral kinswomen, *ky'uun*, *kerchu*, *aiya* and *ia*. Possibly the last two terms may be derived from the Keresan terms for mother and aunt, *naiya*, *yiya*, *yaya*, *iya*.<sup>24</sup>

The Laguna women are or were skillful potters; the Isletan were not. Until they began to learn more of the craft from the Laguna immigrants, Isletan women made only undecorated ware (as at Taos), bowls for chili and for cooking beans. The best known Isletan potter to-day is Maria Chiiwiwi,<sup>25</sup> a woman of 50, who told me she would watch her Laguna neighbor, Benina Yuwai<sup>26</sup> (List II, 16), who died in 1925, and so learned the craft. It was Benina who told her not to use a stick covered with wool as a paint brush, as she had been doing, but to make a brush from yucca fiber chewed fine. And it was Benina who taught her how to ask the clay mother for clay. With her "cousin," the wife of the present Laguna governor, Maria drives in a wagon to the river bank, she asking the Mother on one trip, her cousin, on the next.

Maria Chiiwiwi makes pottery only for the American trade. Ware copied from Laguna is used also in the pueblo. I have been told that there are about 10 Isletan potters of Laguna ware, of whom Lupi Anselmo is the most skillful, and about 10 potters of the old Isletan ware. Curiously enough, it was not the potters of the old ware who took to making the new ware. In making the old ware you have only to "build" and polish, for the new ware you "build," smooth, polish, paint, and burn. Maria Chiiwiwi, for one, had never made the old ware nor does she make it now. When she needs old ware pots to give away at the *pintu* dance she buys them. Maria Chiiwiwi took up pottery making about seven years ago after her husband's death, and in general the new art seems to have been learned by other Isletans only within a decade. They still buy their paints from the Laguna colonists. White and red pigments come from places near old Laguna, and the black mineral pigment from the Rio Puerco.

Pottery making aside, it is not in the economic life, which was probably in general very little differentiated, nor in language, but in the social, including the ceremonial, organization that acculturation between the two groups has taken place. Here the original outstanding differentiations were in the matters of clanship and of moiety. Among the Keres what moiety system there is is entirely ceremonial, associated with their two kiva system and more or less indirectly with their phallic clown societies, the *kashare* and *kurena*. Laguna, like Acoma, may have had even slighter moiety traits than

<sup>24</sup> Parsons 12: 201, 202. On the other hand, *ia* is the Taos term for father's sister.

<sup>25</sup> She was married to the son of Lorenzo Correo, the Laguna immigrant. So intolerant of Americanism was her husband that he would not allow a word of English in his house, nor a picture on his walls.

<sup>26</sup> Juana Torres is also a good potter.

the eastern pueblos. On the other hand, clanship at Laguna was well developed, there were 14 or more matrilineal and exogamous clans, of which seven are said to have been represented among the immigrants—Lizard, Sun, Eagle, Corn, Chaparral Cock, Parrot, Bear.

What was the experience of the immigrants in connection with the Isletan moiety system? Their own moiety associations, slight as they were, they did not bring with them in any organized form—the kurena society remained at Laguna and the kashare at Mesita; and the colonists built *nokivas* at Oraí'bi. What happened? The immigrants were taken into the Isletan kiva-moiety system, to which they had nothing to contribute, but which was familiar enough to make them feel at home, and to accept as a consequence, at least, of intermarriage with Isletans.

Given intermarriage, what of adjustments in the matter of clanship? Three questions here—descent, finding the Isletan equivalents in the Corn groups for the Laguna clans, clan exogamy. The reckoning of descent was simple enough, for the Corn groups like Keresan clans are matrilineal; as a result, we may infer, of ancient contacts with the Keres when the Isletans were themselves immigrant. Finding clan equivalents never presents difficulties to a Pueblo Indian. I have noted that frequently in several towns slight resemblances suffice to identify clans, so that the Laguna Lizard people were straightway identified with the Earth people,<sup>27</sup> and the Laguna Sun people with the Day people. Eagle and Corn clans have their homonyms among the Corn group 5. The Laguna Chaparral Cock people might well have been identified with the Magpie people, but I have no evidence that they were. In fact, Casildo (Lists I, 1; II, 7), Chaparral Cock clansman, belonged inferably to the Earth people. Parrot people might also have been classified with Magpie people. The Bear people had a more difficult problem. They may have solved it in connection with the third question, the really difficult one of exogamy. The Corn groups, as we know, are not exogamous. Husband and wife frequently belong to the same group. In several instances where it was difficult to find the clan equivalent it was said that a Laguna person joined the Corn group of their spouse. Now if José Martín' (Lists I, 4; II, 22), Sun clansman, joined the Day people, his wife (List II, 23), Bear clanswoman, probably joined the Day people also.<sup>28</sup>

How much the principle of exogamy has actually gone by the board in the Laguna colony would require a closer knowledge, family by

<sup>27</sup> In fact, both at old Laguna and among the Hopi, Earth or Sand is the "other name" of the Lizard clan.

<sup>28</sup> It was their son, Pedro Martín', who in 1919 gave me the list of Isletan clans (Parsons 4: 154), naming the Isletan Corn groups as well as the Laguna clans. Some confusion resulted, but Pedro may well have felt confused, if he was born a Day (or Sun) person at Isleta and at old Laguna he found himself a Bear person. (See Parsons 12: 272-274.) About Pedro, who was called *Meyushka* (Keresan, *Meyu*, Lizard) at Oraí'bi, a characteristically Pueblo pun is made. How is he? Some one may ask of a visitor to old Laguna. "His tail is still long."



family, than we have. In present-day theory the exogamous principle seems to have disappeared. Even Lucinda with her intimate Oraí'bi affiliations was quite unaware of it. It seemed as natural to her for Birnin couples to belong to the same Corn group as for Isletan. Nor did Lucinda see any difference, by the way, between Isletan and Laguna "peoples"; i. e., Corn group or clan, except in the matter of secretiveness. "When you go to old Laguna, first thing they ask you is what hano (people; i. e., clan) you belong to. If to theirs, they want to wash you (referring to the rite of head washing practiced on adoption or initiation). But we don't tell them." No better evidence than this of the ceremonial and hence secret nature of the Isletan Corn group compared with the nonceremonial and hence revealable nature of the Keresan clan.

As for Juan Abeita, my chief informant, he knew no more of Keresan clanship principles than of the Keresan tongue, and the Birnin all belonged, he insisted, both to the Isletan moieties and to the Corn groups. In other words, he felt that the immigrants had been completely assimilated into those major parts of the Isletan social organization.

On the secular government at Oraí'bi Lucinda and Abeita were in disagreement. Abeita asserted that the secular offices of governor and *teniente* which the immigrants had at first maintained had of recent years lapsed; whereas Lucinda was positive that the offices were still filled and she named the officers of the year (1926); governor, Pedro Torre(s), son of Santiago Torres, the immigrant and sometime governor (List II, 20);<sup>29</sup> *teniente*, Seu Chave(s), the son of Maria Ts'uku', daughter of Juan Pedro, the immigrant (List II, 25, 26); José Chave(s), son of José Mariano Churina, the immigrant (List II, 15); and sheriff, Tomasi Chiwiwi, an Isletan married to the daughter of José and Jesusita Churian, immigrants (List II, 17, 18). I am for crediting Lucinda's account. Pablo Abeita is said to "hate the Laguna people," wanting "to cut their ways." He is opposed to their having their own officers. Consequently his adherent, Juan Abeita, in characteristic Pueblo fashion, denied their existence.

On the other hand, he, and not Lucinda, as ever secretive about ceremonial matters, was informing about the Oraí'bi war captains, town chief, *kachina* cult, and medicine men. There are three war captains and, in choosing them, as in Isleta, moiety representation is considered—one year, two Black Eyes and one *shure'*, the next year, two *shure'* and one Black Eyes. These officers act in general with the six Isletan war captains. In turn, the colonists ask for the services of the Isletan Grandfathers (*te'en*), the moiety masked clowns, as watchmen for their *kachina* dances.

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<sup>29</sup> José Rita (List II, 11) was the first governor at Oraí'bi.



The kachina chief, "their father," is the town chief. Francisco Correo or Kaituri (Lists I, 3; II, 1), the immigrant, held the office until he died in 1918. Then his son, José Nacio<sup>30</sup> Correo or Shiebatō (in Isletan, white prayer feather) or Shaatse (Keresan) succeeded him. Shiebatō was only 16 and unmarried. He did not marry until six years later. According to Juan Abeita, Shiebatō has represented the colony in all its dealings with Isleta, a rather improbable statement considering the youth of Shiebatō. In connection with their kachina dances he no doubt does represent them. Permission to hold a mask dance he must obtain from the town chief of Isleta. The seasons for the mask dances are after the February field cleaning or exorcising ceremony by the Fathers, and the June solstice ceremonies of the Corn groups.

Although the ritual accompanying the three liwa dances in the Isletan calendar unmistakably connects the dances with the widespread kachina cult, it is doubtful if the Isletans themselves relate their liwa dances to the masked dances of their Laguna neighbors which my Isletan informant had seen, but of which he had very vague ideas, not knowing even the names of them all. However, from rough sketches the masks appear to be the same as those of old Laguna. There are: 1. Chakwena; 2. In Isletan liwa funide or dark kachina, whose mask, however, is yellow on one side and blue on the other (pl. 20, *a*) and whose call is o'ho! o'ho! "He is mean"; 3. Papire (Isletan, duck) katsina. These three masks come out each as a set or group. With the chakwena comes also a single mask who, except for mask, is like the aiyayaho in the Isletan liwa pör. Then there is a mask I venture to identify from the sketch (pl. 20, *b*) as hea (hehea). With the parti-colored masks come out to play three gumeoishi. Unlike the old Laguna gumeoishi<sup>31</sup> they wear no mask, but a black cloth is around the face, which is painted "green." They wear black blankets. One carries a crook cane with feathers attached to it. One has a small drum. They dance around. The maximum number of kachina dancers is 18, which corresponds to the number of Laguna males of dancing age. The dancers are led in by their town chief, without a mask.

Not only do Isletans look on at these dances, but they are also the recipients of the kachina dolls made and distributed in connection with the cult.<sup>32</sup> The house of the Laguna Fathers is used for night dance practice and by day the street south of the town chief's house, which is closed to Mexicans and whites by the war captains, is the dance

<sup>30</sup> In 1920 I was told at old Laguna that Nashu (Nacio) of the Sun clan was the Father of the kachina at Isleta, having succeeded his own father in office. But now for contradictions. Nashu's father was said to be G'eonai, a Lizard clansman. (Parsons 12: 208.)

<sup>31</sup> Compare Parsons 8: Fig. 15. According to one informant, there used to be, 30 years or so ago, two or three mask-wearing gumeoishi at Ora'bi. They were called pibula, mud-heads.

<sup>32</sup> Isleta townsmen are not allowed to make kachina dolls which they are told are made of hapakō (stick, water, carry), light porous sticks carried down by the river.

place. (Pl. 19, *b.*) There is no dance place in Oraí'bi, and, as stated, the Laguna colonists have no kiva. To the house of the Laguna Fathers during the night practice Isletan women will take their fruits, melons, peaches, grapes, etc., to be sprinkled with medicine water.

Besides their mask dances the Laguna colonists present the Kings' Day dance, the Santo Rey dance, or, in hybrid Isletan-Spanish, *nareipōa*, of which the account has already been given in the calendrical series of ceremonies; but which may now be reread the better to appreciate the remarkable assimilation shown in this performance between the host and the immigrant groups. Danced by moiety in old Laguna as it is in the other Keresan towns, this *tablita* or *fiesta* dance is now danced by the colonists according to their Isletan moiety classification. The dancers use the Isletan moiety kivas and perform in Isleta; but their ritual (such as prayer-feather making, I presume) and their ritualistic dance paraphernalia they keep to themselves. . . . Before the Laguna people had brought this "Santo Rey happiness" to Isleta, the Isletans went to Sandia on Kings' Day.

To the medicine or curing organization of Isleta the Laguna immigrants have contributed perhaps most distinctively. We recall that there are now in Isleta two curing groups, the Town Fathers (*tōeka'an*) and the Laguna Fathers (*birka'an*), the chief of each referred to respectively as *tutude* (older sister) and *bachude* (younger sister). In the latter group there are now no persons of Laguna descent, nevertheless the name points to a Laguna origin, as well as certain other facts. The predecessor of the present chief of the Laguna Fathers was named *Usaa*, which is a Laguna word for Sunrise.<sup>33</sup> (*Usaa* died in 1924.) *Usaa* got his Laguna name when he took office because he was installed by the Laguna town chief *Kaituri*. There happened to be no trained successor to the office in the society. In the memory of my informant there were three Laguna medicine men in the society, *Kaituri* or *Francisco Correo* (Lists I, 3; II, 1), *Juan Rey Churina* or *Sheride* (Lists I, 1; II, 13), and *Casildo Velho* (old man) or *Iunai* (Lists I, 2; II, 7), all deceased. *Kaituri* we have noted as the sometime town chief and "kachina father" of the Laguna colony. At old Laguna he was called *Kaiye'kye* and described as a *Fire cheani*. *Juan Rey* was a stick swallower and he maintained that Keresan ritual at Isleta, using the room of the Laguna Fathers for his ceremony which only the Laguna colonists attended and which was thought of as their peculiar medicine ceremony. At old Laguna, *Juan Rey* was called *Reishu*" and was described to me as a *Flint cheani*, to *Doctor White* as a *shahaiye cheani*. *Juan Rey*, who was headstrong even in old Laguna, used to fight with *Pablo Abeita*. Because of this hostility, in 1923 *Rey* decided to leave Isleta and go to Sandia to live.

<sup>33</sup> *Osach*, Sun.

There was much perturbation in Isleta. Rey had sent on to Sandia ahead of him the box containing his swallowing sticks, together with the canes of office of the governor and officers of the Laguna colony. A woman told somebody about Rey's action, and somebody told the governor of Isleta who told the town chief of the Laguna colony. "They had a meeting about it. They would not let Rey go to Sandia until they got back his box. They sent some men for it. Then Rey went to Sandia. After a year he died.<sup>34</sup> He did not last long because he broke his promise to do his ceremony at Isleta." . . . Juan Rey was the designer of the pantheon represented on the walls of the chamber of the Laguna Fathers, of Sun, Moon, Orion's belt, Rainbow, Lightning, Mountain Lion, Bear, Rattlesnake, Eagle, Badger (?), Corn of the directions, and the anthropomorphic figures called *ka'an piaunin*, who are the spirit patrons of the society. (Pl. 17.) Juan Rey was also an Ant doctor and he had passed on his curing ritual to a younger member of the Laguna Fathers, an Isletan. Juan Rey's wife, who died about 1921, was the daughter of José, the *shahaiye* or *shiwanna cheani* of old Laguna. His daughter was also a *shahaiye cheani* and would go to old Laguna to help her father. And her father frequently visited her in Isleta. José, in the account he gave me in 1917 of the Laguna immigration, mentions Rey (Lei), although, characteristically, he did not refer to him as his son-in-law. I infer that Rey was a *shahaiye cheani*<sup>35</sup> (Ant and Giant subdivisions). The *shahaiye* were stick swallowers. Besides *shahaiye*, said José, Fire (*hakani*) and Flint (*hish*) *cheani* had gone to Isleta.<sup>36</sup>

Pedro Martin' (Felipe) of Isleta and Laguna, whose Laguna father was a Fire *cheani* in the Laguna Fathers and who was himself a sometime member of the Laguna Fathers as a Fire *cheani*, stated to me that there was in the Laguna colony a *shguyu* (giant) *cheani*.<sup>37</sup> Probably this was Rey. Now at Laguna the Giant *cheani* had the right to make *kachina* masks. If Rey was the Giant *cheani*, inferably it was Rey who made the masks at the Laguna colony. At old Laguna Casildo was said to be the chief of the Fire society. At Isleta it was stated definitely that Casildo was possessed of fire ritual which he taught to a younger member of the society, Juan Chato, who now builds the fire ritualistically in any ceremonial room at the request of the town chief or war chief. Juan Chato can handle fire and stand on coals without being burned. All such fire making and testing is, we may infer, of Laguna introduction.

<sup>34</sup> His daughter returned to Isleta to claim his house and land, but the Isletan governor had already "handed" it to an Isletan.

<sup>35</sup> An inference since confirmed by Doctor White. (See p. 348, n. 13.)

<sup>36</sup> Parsons 8: 109.

<sup>37</sup> Parsons 7: 59.

We may summarize the outcome of the Isleta-Laguna contact as fourfold:

1. The language of the immigrants has been retained, but not communicated to the hosts.
2. Refinements in the craft of pottery making have been passed on from immigrants to hosts.
3. That part of the social organization which is affected by intermarriage and descent (moiety and clan) has been adopted by the immigrants from the hosts.
4. The ceremonial organization of the immigrants has been retained and contributed or patched on to that of the hosts.

Comparison of this recent Laguna immigration with that of the Tewa to the Hopi early in the eighteenth century is of interest. The contact between the Hopi and the Tewa immigrants to First Mesa produced results quite similar to that between the Laguna immigrants and the Isletans—retention of their language by the immigrants without communicating it to their hosts;<sup>38</sup> adoption by the immigrants of the social organization as affected by intermarriage (adoption of a different clanship system, and in this case the breakdown of the moiety system of the immigrants); ceremonial contributions by the immigrants.

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<sup>38</sup> The conditions in regard to pottery making were quite different for the Tewa immigrants than for the Laguna immigrants, as their Hopi hosts probably excelled them as potters. But it were of interest to know if the Tewa immigrants contributed any Rio Grande methods or designs to the First Mesa craft.



## FOLK TALES

Folk tales (pa'ishie')<sup>39</sup> are told only in winter, from October on, because they say snakes will bite you in punishment if you tell stories in summer. If you tell stories to strangers your life will be shortened.

People will tell stories at night until cockcrow. Then if a long story is underway, some one may say, "This far we are going to see who remembers tomorrow night."

Yunyaa  
This far

hinawinihi  
stop we are going

tömda  
to-morrow

gimminakin.  
in the night.

Natö'ai (houses), which will be translated into English as "long ago," or natöyai, "in the house," is the introductory word or phrase for any tale. The listeners respond Ha! as they do also whenever the narrator pauses in his tale. Kaw'æ'kyem, you have a long tail now, or, the tail is on you, is the closing nominee, of which the conclusion is implicit: You have now to see if you can take it off, by telling a tale in your turn.<sup>40</sup>

Although the tales recorded are from but a few informants and are probably not an exhaustive list, the collection is unusually interesting as expressing both daily and ritual habits and points of view. It shows, too, a composite character, of varied provenience—Spanish, Keresan, and Tanoan.

## EMERGENCE AND OTHER ORIGIN TALES

### 1. THE EMERGENCE

The emergence myth proper or as a whole appeared to be unknown to Juan Abeita, who said it was known only to the Fathers; but he was able to give a tale fragment, also a prayer-text fragment, and to recite the names of certain stopping places and, of course, the names in Isletan of the towns where the peoples have since remained after coming out from the springs shipapü and kaiñirebe'ai. As for Lucinda, she said it was a "wonderful story, how they came up and traveled, but I am not allowed to tell it. If I did, I might be dead before I got home."

<sup>39</sup> Pai, from the beginning, i. e., from when the people came up; shie', talk. Compare the Zuñi expression "From the beginning talk," for the emergence tale. See p. 220, where paye is given as a term for grandfather, connoting age. Compare Jemez, Parsons, 16: 136, for the term for folk tale meaning old person's talk. See also p. 209, n. 36 for pa'i in the term for the house of the medicine society, and p. 259, n. 69, where pñi is translated everlasting. Na'pobai' is another word for tale.

<sup>40</sup> The same nominee is in use at Taos.



In the account of the solstice ceremonial where the emergence myth is recited there is a reference to the mountains<sup>42</sup> which figured at the emergence.

*Stopping places.*—In the north they were at K'oaikörököri (spruce?). Traveling southward down the Rio Grande Valley they built small houses.<sup>43</sup> All the Pueblo peoples came out together, but each people had their own ceremonies. At Kaipe'ai (the lake at Taos)<sup>44</sup> the peoples separated. The people who were to go to Shiw'iba stopped at Pafu'tara, Söwiai, Paburei, Pahumpei, Töbeai, Töwira, Paw'i'afea (pond red). When they reached Shiw'iba, they began to work. Before this, during their early migrations, they did not have to work. They got food through the power of iema'paru. Water they could get from any rock. After the Mexicans came in, the religion began to break down, "to stop."

The other peoples remained at: Tö'wieai, Taos; Shamnu, Picuris; Pawiai, San Juan; Piruhu, Santa Clara; San Ildefonso (Indian name forgotten); Paña, Cochiti; Towiai, San Domingo; Patöx, San Felipe; Yiemai, Jemez; Törnaba, Zia; W'eroe, Sant Ana; Kökweai, Laguna;<sup>45</sup> Sarai, Zuñi;<sup>46</sup> Tölawe, Acoma; Bok'yage, Hopi.<sup>47</sup>

#### I. TALE FRAGMENTS

Natö'ai, long ago, they were living under the earth at Wimdaa, and following the customs. Older sister (tutude, i. e., chief of Town Fathers) and younger sister (bachude, i. e., chief of Laguna Fathers) were together, but each had a separate ceremony. In some way Wäide had to send us up into this world. For four days they were getting ready. Shifun kabede (Black Eyes chief) and shure' kabede (shure', chief) had to come out first. They had those kyapio. They were the ones to dig up the earth with their horns. (That is why they use horns.) When they made a gate (an exit) up to the earth all had to come up with their own ceremonies. In some way they separated when they were going up: shifun kyapio came out from Shipapunai, and shure' kyapio came out from Kailiripe'ai.<sup>49</sup>

The Mother (keide) thought that nobody would remember her after they had come up into this world. So she asked for somebody to remember her; she asked Wäide. So Wäide had shaxö kabede (witch chief) born with us, come up with us, through whom we would remember iema'paru (the Mother). Shaxö kabede would make us remember keide or iema'paru in this world. That is why there are

<sup>42</sup> Compare Jemez, Parsons, 16: 137.

<sup>43</sup> Compare Jemez, Parsons, 16: 138.

<sup>44</sup> Towilpienau is the name of the mountain where lies this sacred lake.

<sup>45</sup> Also called Berkwi, rainbow.

<sup>46</sup> The people, Sarai.

<sup>47</sup> The people, the Muki, Buhkin.

<sup>49</sup> For ceremonial division at time of the emergence see Jemez, Parsons, 16: 138; Tewa, Parsons, 17: 14-15; Cochiti, Dumarest, 192.

witches, we believe; from getting sick, people will remember iema'paru and Wāide.<sup>60</sup>

They were already up in this world when they fell sick and had to ask iema'paru for power to cure the sick. They were living on some mountain (name forgotten). They could not find the way to begin it (the curing ceremony). They had a meeting to find out how to ask for the power. There were kumpa and kabew'iride, wilaweri (the war chief), the White Corn Mother, and all the other Corn Mothers (chiefs of the Corn groups)

They were thinking it over, thinking it over. At last a boy came in. He had no father or mother or relations. The other boys did not like him. One of them who had been playing with him, thinking he would harm him, went to the wilaweri and said that this boy could tell them what they needed. So wilaweri told the fathers there was a boy who could tell them what they needed. They told wilaweri to call him in. So wilaweri called him in and gave him a seat and asked him if he knew how to ask iema'paru for her power. Iema'paru was helping him. "Yes," he said. "To make this power you need the head one of the world; you need t'aikabede (people chief, i. e., town chief)." They did not know who t'aikabede was. One man said that he, the boy, might himself be the t'aikabede. He said, "For you to ask me properly and have me tell you, you must give me a smoke (paki'mu)." So kumpa rolled a cigarette and offered it to him. He did not take it. He said, "This is not the right one (kind). You need lepab'paki'mu (lepa, native tobacco)." They had to ask him what lepab'paki'mu was. (This boy was born by the power of iema'paru.) He said to the people, "If you have faith that I am the one to get you out of this trouble, keep your mind on your ceremony, on one road. I will get you this lepab'paki'mu."<sup>61</sup> A young girl was sitting there. He went up to her and said to her not to mind what he did, and he kissed her. That was the first keide (Mother). That is the way the keide came out. Now he was holding a big piece of the lepab'paki'mu which he had got with his power when he kissed that girl. He knew she was powerful like himself. He gave the lepab'paki'mu to kumpa, who rolled a cigarette and gave it to him, and he smoked. Before he finished smoking, clouds were all around. Lightning and thunder began to come and rain fell. Then he had to say that he would be their headman (t'aikabede), and the girl would be their keide. That is how they learned to make their ceremony. When they were under ground maybe they were asleep or did not pay attention. That is why they did not bring these ceremonies up with them. So they started their ceremonies as they do them now.

<sup>60</sup> Compare Dumarest, 215-216.

<sup>61</sup> See p. 257.

## II. THE ORIGIN OF THE EAGLE PEOPLE

Natōi when our father (kimkaawei) Wāide decided we were going to come out from the bottom of the earth, all joined their thought into one thought. They thought it over how we should come out and they asked the t'aikabede what should be done. He called his paiwilawen and wilawen and talked it over. The "little captains" said it would be all right if they should put in some kyapiunin to have charge over the people, to guide them. The t'aikabede and paiwilawe thought it was good. Then he separated the people into two parts, shifunin and shure'. The shifunin had to go ahead. The shure' to come out second. So wilawere was told by t'aikabede to pick six men from each [moiety]. So he took six from the shifunin and six from the shure'. These clowns were fixed just as they were to be in the world. The hair of the shifunin was tied on each side, that of the shure', on top of the head. Long willows were given to the kyapiunin to punish people who did not obey. They told the shifunin to dig the hole up to go out. They tried to dig with their heads day after day, but they could not dig. They told their younger brothers to try to dig. When the first one tried, some dirt came down, a little bit; the second tried and made a larger hole, then the third and fourth and fifth and sixth tried. The sixth dug it almost out, but not quite. Then the head one tried again, and on his second try he made a door for the people to get out. Then he told the people it was ready. But first the kyapiunin had to go to a pole in the middle of the house, where there were turtles and clothing of all kinds. The shifunin were so anxious to start they took only the turtles. The shure' took the drum and buckskin and whatever was left. The shifunin got out first. The shure' stayed behind until all the people got out. Then they came out last. From there they came, from the north. One thing they did not have, an eagle feather. A woman on the way had a little baby who cried and cried. They forgot this woman and left her behind. While the baby was crying and looking around, it saw an eagle flying around. The eagle flew lower and took out a feather, which fell on top of the breast of the crying baby. When they found out that the woman was missing, the kyapiunin had to go back to look for her. When they found her, she told them how they were left behind and how the eagle threw down its feather. So they named the baby shyutaiine (eagle person). Finally they caught up with the party ahead when they were close to Shiawiba. Right there the old people decided for the people to live there always and not to be moving to and fro like other people. That's all.

## III. PRAYER FRAGMENT ABOUT THE EMERGENCE

|                      |                    |                                  |                                                                     |                                |                          |
|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| watōx'               | pandoatōx'         | napiau                           | nanal                                                               | pawita                         | k'oqashambana            |
| ? down               | five ? levels down | verily                           | right there                                                         | lake                           | coming up                |
| kika'awei            | kikewei            | uwabana                          | kikewei                                                             | nashau                         | ana'weiba yuea           |
| our fathers          | our mothers        | came up                          | our mothers                                                         | power                          | belonging to them ?      |
| kikawewei            | shifun             | kabere                           | shure                                                               | kabere                         | an imimbe papa'ai-       |
| our chiefs           | Black Eyes         | chief                            | shure                                                               | chief                          | ? ? older broth-         |
| wei piewe            | imim               | weiba                            | kashanban                                                           | kapiwide                       | nashau imim              |
| ers same             | think              | their                            | came up                                                             | kapyo                          | power                    |
| naweiba              | inature'           | fat'ōwiban                       | wadin                                                               | waimaiba                       | inhumi inkaa-            |
| their                | world              | made a gate                      | their                                                               | horns                          | rub against, dig come or |
| shasha'dewa          | kyiu               | piewirepōteban                   | wakautufieri                                                        | kōchōa                         | karuau                   |
| born into this world | ?                  | make you see                     | giving breath from<br>Corn Mother, i.<br>e., make you<br>understand | brains in<br>your heart        | "organ hear<br>heart"    |
| kyiu na              | berka'cha          | takeban                          | tōchumi                                                             | kaawe                          | tuefuni imimbe'          |
|                      | mind               | meaning                          | head man, i. e.,<br>t'aikabede                                      | father                         | prayer stick<br>black    |
| kabe                 | hambemi            | tō'ai                            | pia'wide                                                            | tuwāwedi                       | p'əmaihina kibəo-        |
| father               | same               | next                             | to him [?]                                                          | came war chief                 | road bringing coming     |
| chumi                | heuwi              | penawirw'ia                      | shipapunaiti                                                        | hekubti                        | kaiiripeai               |
| from                 | north              | along river valley               | (name of spring)                                                    | one side of                    | (name of spring)         |
| koai'kōrikōai        | kikewei            | bee                              | betōlai'mabana                                                      | shiw'ibtōa                     |                          |
| name of village      | our mothers        |                                  | when she was living                                                 | Isleta                         |                          |
| anatōmatupī'na       | betōkwōlaibana     | hufibesei                        | uremi                                                               | na upini                       |                          |
| appointed            | stay all the time  | at that time clouds<br>coming up | coming                                                              | with                           | lightning                |
| tōpō                 | na                 | konshiro                         | tōpō                                                                | benamakoakemina. <sup>52</sup> |                          |
| you hear             | with               | thunder                          | you hear                                                            |                                |                          |

## 2. THE DISOBEDIENT TOWN CHIEF

Natōyai (in the house).

Response: Hā!

First they decided they would put in a t'aikabede (town chief). They wondered how could they put in the chief. So they went to the tula (kiva) and they talked it over and talked it over. But they did not know how because they had never seen a chief installed the way they wanted to do it. They were counting their days without food or water, four days. They could do nothing. There was a poor little boy, a crazy little boy, tūtuude, big head. They hated him. One decided, "We will call this tūtuude and see how he can advise us." When the little boy came in, they said to him, "We heard that you are the one who understands about installing a chief. Could you tell us about it?" The little boy said, "At the beginning, when we were coming, you know you had a chief already, but you left him behind and did not bring him up with you to this world. You left him at Shipapuna." (When we came up, the world closed up again, and the

<sup>52</sup> Collective term for lightning, thunder, falling rain, rainbow.

t'aikabede stayed inside, because he had two hearts.) "Everything is all closed up now. How can we get him? You are a crazy fellow, but I think you know how to get him." He said, "If you should give me a leaf of smoking tobacco, I will go get him with that leaf." At that time they did not know about tobacco. So they asked him what tobacco was. He said, "Well, look in all directions, see if anybody is lucky enough to find that leaf." They all looked all around, beginning in the east, and then looking north and west and south and up and down, but they did not see anything at all. As they hated this boy, they said, "You are talking of things of which we know nothing. You had better look around yourself and see where that leaf is." This little boy had plenty of power (*naterde*). He walked in all directions and did not find that leaf. Then when he came to the middle he looked up into the beams, and pointed to that leaf. "How are we to get it?" He told them to get a corn husk. They went and looked for the corn husk and brought it. Then he made a cigarette. With that cigarette they went to Tsipapuna again.

When they got there—he was using his power—the door was open. He saw t'aikabede, but he was all painted up like a *shaxö* (witch). Then the boy handed him a smoke, to think in a good way and come out and show how there should be a t'aikabede in this world. The t'aikabede received the cigarette and smoked in all directions and told the boy he was coming out, but with two hearts because he was left there, without a smoke in the beginning. They both came out. The t'aikabede went ahead and the boy followed, directing him, until they came to Shiw'ipap. When they got there the men were all waiting very patiently. It was 12 days since the little boy left them and returned in the night. . . . When he got in there, he took all the men and everybody in the world under his arms to look after them and look after their life and their luck in the world. But he could not live there very long, so he thought he would choose a man to rule over them. So they chose one who was too young to be t'aikabede; still they chose him. Then they told all the people to get ready for a feast. They all got ready. They had another council, and during those 12 days they chose a war captain and lieutenant and officers and a governor, and the officers were made by the old chief brought by the little crazy boy. Then those war captains (*paiwilawe*) chose 12 *kapyunin*, 6 *shifunin* and 6 *shuren*.<sup>53</sup> . . . They had to go from house to house to gather the dancers, to finish their t'aikabede (after the 12 days). . . . They gave him a house to live in all his life. The t'aikabede brought by the little boy gave the new t'aikabede advice how to live in this world. He was told that from that day on he could not work. He could not chop wood, nor kill anything, not even an

<sup>53</sup> With their hair pokes they dug up a passage into the world, that is why they call them *shure'*, gopher. The *shifunin* went first, but, having side whorls of hair, they could not dig the way up.

insect. They gave him a rule to sit inside of the house where they put him to live until his death.

Thereafter he was told how another t'aikabede should be made and next to him the war captains and the governor and all the helpers<sup>44</sup> to bring food and clothing for the people. They kept on doing their duty, but this new t'aikabede was a young man. After the old t'aikabede died he could not keep his word, on account of being a young man. He saw the other men, dancing and hunting and planting and going on free. He was sitting inside the house; only when the paiwilawe came in and took him to the dance, did he go out. It became harder and harder for him. One day he made up his mind to see how it would feel to work. So he took a rope and an ax across the river to get some wood. Nothing happened to him. He came back home; nothing happened. So he thought there was no need of keeping the rule and he would go hunting. So he made his rabbit sticks and went out. Every time he felt like it he would go out. On the fifth time he went out he thought he would get wood again. While he was chopping his wood he heard a voice asking him what he was doing, but he saw no shadow or anything. He listened and said, "Who are you, talking to me?" The other person answered, "The one who put you in as ruler of your people." He sat down and wondered who it was. As he could see nobody he thought it was coming true what the t'aikabede had said when he made him ruler. While he was sitting with his head down, again he heard the voice, "No need of your thinking, my son. I told you at the beginning not to work, not to kill anything, not to hurt anybody's heart or feelings. You are the greatest man of the people and they have to take care of you and give you what you need. You have done enough. You did not respect me. So now before you go from here I am going to give you a punishment. And tell your people on your return never to make a man under 65 years of age t'aikabede." Then he felt switches across his back. He saw nothing; he only felt them. He was whipped to death. After they finished whipping him, he heard a voice, "Go home, my son. You will get there all right. Four days from to-day call your council and tell them what I am telling you to-day." So he got home as well as he could, without wood or ax or rope. He called the paiwilawe who ruled next to him and all the others to come to the meeting. After all came, he told them he broke the rule; he disobeyed. So the paiwilawe were to make another t'aikabede, some old man. Young men have too many ideas, they will not mind like an old man. After he had told it all, he died. On that account the people never make a young man (town) chief.

<sup>44</sup> Reference to the Corn groups, presumably.



## 3. HOW THE TOWN CHIEF GOT HIS MOTHER

Natō'ai, after they came up, the war chief was planning to feed the people. He summoned the men, and they sang hunting songs. The next morning they went hunting—men, women, and children. After they had made their first surround, one girl lingered behind, and as she passed by the spring (sq'awi) she heard a voice singing. She wondered who it was in the pool. "I wish I could see him and talk to him." A youth (ōwade) came out of the pool. He told her he did not live in this world but in Wimda. The war chief did not see the girl. When he found her he asked her why she had staid behind, and he whipped her and ordered her to overtake the others. After the third surround the war chief asked the girl again why she had staid behind. She told him about the boy.

After the people had gone home the war chief called all the chiefs to go to the kiva and the war chief brought in the girl. After they all had come in they removed the ladder. They had to learn why the girl had staid behind in the hunt. They asked her about it. She said she had staid behind to talk to the young man. Tutude and bachude talked together and went out to gather their things. The girl they kept there. She was crying. Tutude and bachude brought in their Mothers (keide) and laid down their altar and began to make their ceremony, placing the girl near the altar. They used their crystal (pōshikō) and with power from iema'paru they said the girl was not expected to live in this world; she belonged in Wimda. The youth she had talked to was from Wimda. He was a powerful man. They were calling to her from Wimda to come to them. The town (kitude) had to prepare what she was to take to Wgide; now they knew what had happened. The town chief preached to the people about what they were to prepare for the girl, and how they had to take her where she belonged.

They went out and took the girl with them and fed her, not letting her go home but keeping her in the town chief's house. The town chief, and the chiefs of the medicine societies and the war chief were the ones to clothe her, all in cotton clothes. That night all, including the chiefs of the Corn groups, went back to the kiva, where the war chief talked to them. They were to fast for four days. The first day they began to work at the clothes, at the manta and belt of cotton, and at the moccasins. The girl was there, crying all the time because they were going to send her away. They made wəmi<sup>55</sup> (large bunch of prayer feathers, feathers of all kinds tied together) and a cigarette (wiri); also lalashie' for her hair.<sup>56</sup> On each of the four days in the morning the war chief called out that everybody was to purge himself.

<sup>55</sup> Wg, pay. Term not applied to-day to prayer feathers.

<sup>56</sup> Bunch of painted feathers.

People went to the chiefs of their Corn groups to ask for prayer feathers (shie') to give her to take down with her. On the fourth morning the war chief called out that everybody who wished might come to the ceremony in the kiva. They had to come barefoot. So they took their feathers into the chiefs of the medicine societies. After all the people came in they began their ceremony, with the girl in front of the altar. First they cleaned up with their feathers. Then they told the people how the girl belonged in Winda. Then they arrayed her, and gave her the prayer feathers. She had to say good-by to them all. The people were crying because she was going away. The town chief, kumpa, tutude, and the war chief had to take her, all of them ceremonially arrayed; first went tutude, then the town chief, the girl, kumpa, the war chief. So they went, about noon, to the spring. When tutude stepped on the log near the spring it began to sink. Nobody was allowed to come near the spring. So he had to use his "power" to go in close to the spring.

At last they answered him. He told them he was bringing the girl to offer to them. Then a tree (pawita) rose up, and on the tip of it was sitting the young man. He shone so that he blinded them, all but tutude who was gazing with his power. Then they threw meal toward him and told him what had happened to the girl, and how they were ready now to offer her to him. The young man said all that was true. She had been born into this world to go back alive into the other world. After 12 days she would return to this world to live. She would belong to the town chief. She would be his keide (Mother). Then they placed a flat stone from the bank to the tip of the tree, and she walked on it to the young man, holding the prayer feathers. The men on the bank were crying. They returned to the kiva. After sprinkling meal in the directions and to the keide they told the people of everything that had happened. The people were crying. They said, "At the end of 12 days this girl will be back again." These 12 days all the ceremonialists had to fast, and all those who were present might also fast if they wished to help. At the close of the 12 days they made their ceremony again, before noon, and then they who had taken her went after her. At noon the same tree came up again, and both the young man and the girl were sitting on the tip. She was dressed even more handsomely than before and she was shining enough to blind them. In her arms she carried the keide. The young man laid down the stone, and she stepped back to where the men were standing who gave thanks that she was back with power. They thanked the young man. He said good-by and went down. They returned to the kiva. The girl was shining so the people could not look at her. They gave her a seat in the line of the Fathers. The chief took the keide from her and showed it to the people. They had a newborn keide to be used by the town chief.

Besides the keide she brought up with her the three things the town chief uses—the moccasins, all of buckskin, his hair feathers (lawashie'), and his buckskin pouch (naw'iri).

#### 4. THE SUN'S KICK STICK

Natōai a young man used to belong to the sun. He called him his son (turide berhu, sun his son). Nashōn'uchu<sup>58</sup> would do his father's work when the sun rose. He had a kick stick (w'iv) with zigzag marks of all colors on it.<sup>59</sup> (Fig. 25.) He used to live in a cave toward the sunset. He would come out in the morning and put his kick stick between his toes, and throw some pollen toward the sun as the sun was rising. With his toes he threw the kick stick toward the sun. The kick stick flew to the east (pathūwetōe'). When the kick stick hit the ground at turshanminai (sunrise) lightning came out, and the sun knew his own son was working for him (tōkumchewe). He said

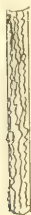


FIGURE 25.—Sun's kick stick

to himself, wəbaiye' (all right), wəbaiye'. The sun would rise, and Nashōn'uchu would come singing from the west. When he got to the east it would be about noontime. When Nashōn'uchu got to the east he found out that his father had been at his kick stick and was pleased that he (Nashōn'uchu) had been working. He got his kick stick again, and he poured out some pollen again toward the sun, and again he threw his kick stick, and where it struck lightning came out. Then the sun came down, noontime (pienu). The sun came down and talked to Nashōn'uchu. He embraced him (Mexican fashion) and thanked him for the work he was doing for him. That's why people say the sun always stops a while at noontime and comes down and meets all his sons. Nashōn'uchu had some lawashie'<sup>60</sup> (prayer feathers) for the sun. (They are what we clothe the sun with.) Nashōn'uchu sprinkled some pollen and got his kick stick, while the sun started to the west. Nashōn'uchu threw his kick stick to the west, and the kick stick and the sun met again, at turkiminai (sunset). So there the sun and his son met again. Nashōn'uchu gave thanks to his father for all the good works he did for all the world, and for long life. Then the sun set, and he, Nashōn'uchu, staid in his cave house.

Then the sun setting met Ieshūnij'an (corn blue girl) and Iejurij'an (corn yellow girl). (They lived where the sun set.) They said to the sun that they had heard some singing that had made their hearts happy. It must be a nice young boy who was singing. The girls said, "We wish that we might see each other in the other world."

<sup>58</sup> The same tale hero name, I believe, as Nashōrōchi which was said to refer to the colors of abalone shell.

<sup>59</sup> Possibly the great pit shrine in the eastern corner of the Laguna reservation is referred to. Here were found prayer sticks with lightning design. (Parsons 4: 386.)

<sup>60</sup> Compare the noontime ritual of giving prayer feathers to the sun, pp. 292-293, 328.

The sun said to them, "Tafiuru hupitanin, no, dear child, do not think such thoughts." So they went back to their place. But all night they were wishing to see the young man in the other world, and they hoped that the next morning Nashön'uchu would do again what he had done. In the morning Nashön'uchu did the same thing when the sun was rising. Because of the wishes and hopes of the girls the kick stick did not reach the east, but the noontime place (pienai). Blue Corn girl and Yellow Corn girl opened the gate of the world, and the kick stick came down to the earth where the two girls were. Then Nashön'uchu, when he found that his kick stick was down there, stopped at the gate and said, "E-e abu, oh my! Blue Corn girl and Yellow Corn girl." He found out at once their thoughts. Those girls wanted to marry Nashön'uchu. So he said, "Nobody can marry me."<sup>61</sup> Then the two girls laughed and said, "Öri örie', shame! shame!" and bowed their heads over their grinding stones. One was grinding corn and one was grinding wheat. Blue Corn girl was feeding the sun with corn meal. Yellow Corn girl was feeding the people of the world with wheat flour. They had their grandmother (chi'i) there. She was sitting by the fire. Then the old woman spoke to them, "E-e abu maku (grandchild) ee abu maku! huniwa eyepiaweky. Do not think such thoughts!"<sup>62</sup> You are not supposed to marry Nashön'uchu." Nashön'uchu was standing at the gate, listening, and he asked the girls to give him the kick stick, that he was working for his father, the sun, and for all the world, so the people would have a good life and a long life. Now his father would be missing the kick stick and would be late. He asked the girls three times. They said they were not going to give him back the kick stick unless he promised to marry one of them. He answered that he could not marry. He said, "If you do not give my kick stick, I am going. I am late meeting my father." So he started to the sunset. When he got there he was late; his father was gone already. Then he turned back, sorry, worrying about his kick stick. He stopped again at the gate at sunrise. He spoke, "Akuwam' (greetings)." The old women answered, "Akuwam', grandchild." He asked again for his kick stick. After he had left the girls they went up on top of the gate with the kick stick, and they were singing. Then they threw the corn meal to the north, koafinwetoe. They flew out, and they shook their wings. That made the wind blow on the world—that was what made the wind. They descended at the mountain Narypenai', on top of the mountain. On the other side of the mountain was a big mesa, Miripatö', mesa sheer. They threw

<sup>61</sup> There is an Isetan tale, recalling a Zufi tale, in which the Corn girls compete for Nashö'ruchi by throwing their meal at an abalone shell in the wall to see if it will stick.

<sup>62</sup> The difference in the phrase as used by the sun was explained on the ground that women say words a little differently from men.

their corn meal east, north, west, and south, and they sang the same song again:

e—e hi ki  
 e—e hi ki  
 Nasonoshö  
 impiawepöri  
 turning his mind to them.

They were drawing Nashön'uchu with this song. They thought they were going to die on that mesa from which they were going to throw themselves down. Then they threw themselves down.

Hiuko'abeu'de<sup>63</sup> saw them coming and flew out from the rocks and caught the girls and carried them down gently to the ground. When they got down to the ground the girls thanked the little bird. The bird told them to be good children and not think any bad thoughts (k'opieni pie'kuva). Then the girls flew forth, and way out where they were flying were some hills. On one they flew down where in a cave was living Iiushahöre (old woman witch) alone. They reached the entrance of the cave. The old woman heard the song they were singing. She said, "E—e, grandchild. Blue Corn girl, Yellow Corn girl, come in! come in!" They went into her house. The old woman asked, "Why are you around in this world? You are not supposed to go around in this world. You are from another world." She gave them seats. The girls were afraid that if Nashön'uchu came and found them there he would kill them for taking his kick stick. The old woman asked them what they were worrying about so much. The girls answered that they were worrying because they had stolen Nashön'uchu's kick stick, and he might come after them, and they were afraid he might kill them. The old woman laughed and said, "E—e, grandchild, do not worry. That is nothing. I will help you. He won't do anything to you. If he comes here, you tell him you are going to pay him back for the kick stick." "But what are we to pay him with? We have nothing to pay with." The old woman said, "Don't you know how to work?" "No; we do not know how to work; we are not supposed to work." She said, "I will show you how to work so you can pay back Nashön'uchu for his kick stick. You, the elder one, Yellow Corn girl, I will show you how to make a basket (flat) for him; and you, Blue Corn girl, you the younger, I will show how to make a belt for him." The girls thanked the old woman and were pleased and began to work, one making the basket (le'cha) and the other the belt (nakqi). We turn back to Nashön'uchu. He was in the cave talking to the grandmother of the girls. She was worrying, not knowing where they were gone. Nashön'uchu said he was going to follow them.

<sup>63</sup> A yellow-green bird that lives in the rocks, jumping from rock to rock.

So Nashön'uchu did as before, sprinkling the pollen toward the north, on their trail, and singing:

e—re hi ki  
 e—re hi ki  
 Yellow Corn girl, Blue Corn girl  
 mempiaweporiam  
 they turn my mind to them.

He flew out and dropped where the girls had dropped on Narpyenai'. He stopped there and said, like the girls he might be going to die there. He repeated his song. Then the girls and the old woman witch heard it, and the old woman witch said to the girls, "Grandchild, ee abu, Nashön'uchu is singing." They listened. They were afraid. They asked the old woman what they should do. She said to keep still and do their work. When Nashön'uchu threw himself down, Hiuko'abeu'de caught him and brought him down gently to the ground. The little bird asked him where he was going, and he said he was trailing those girls. How long before had the girls passed there? "Six days," the bird answered. They had passed in the morning, and he came in the afternoon, but by their power they had made it six days. When he got to the entrance of the cave he said, "Akuwam!" The old woman answered, "Akuwam, grandchild." She asked him how it happened that he was around there. He was supposed not to be there but to be working for his father and the whole world. He said, "Aah ake', I am around here where nobody comes. I am after my kick stick that Yellow Corn girl and Blue Corn girl took from where I was working for all my sons in the world to have a good life and a long life. But the girls got my kick stick, and I am after it. I was trailing them for six days, and I find them here' and what I want is just my kick stick." So the girls spoke, "Aaa aaa, yes, we have got your kick stick, but we will give it back to you, as we told you before, if you marry one of us." He said, "No; I can not marry you." So the girls said, "All right, thank you. We will pay you now for taking the kick stick." He answered, "No; I want no pay. I just want my kick stick." The girls said, "Yes; we are going to pay you with our work." So Yellow Corn girl said, "I pay you with my basket." Blue Corn girl said, "I pay you with my belt." And they gave him back the kick stick. They told him the day would come when he would remember them. He said, "I am going back again, good-by." So he went back again. When he got to the foot of Miripatō' he threw his pollen to the south and sang his song:

e e hi ki  
 e e hi ki  
 Yellow Corn girl  
 Blue Corn girl  
 tanatemiwæ  
 I am going back.



He flew up. When he was in the middle of the mesa, Hiuko'abeu'de caught him and carried him up to the top of the mountain. He thanked his friend, the little bird. He threw his pollen to the south and sang the same song. He flew away toward the south. He did not reach the cave where they took his kick stick. He fell on top of the mountain Ta'köapien. He dropped the basket and fell right on top of it, and he turned into a snake (the belt was a token that that was going to happen to him), into ikaina're.<sup>64</sup>

### 5. THE ORIGIN OF THE LIWA (PINITU) DANCES

Natöai, when the world was new, they came with the t'aikabede and kyapiunin and päide and wilawe. They were not very happy because they had no dances. Nothing to make the days pass happily. So the little captains (wilaweun) went to päide (kumpa) and gave their thought and asked them if they could have a dance to make their people feel happy. Päiwilawe thought they should go to the t'aikabede and tell him about it. And t'aikabede said he could not make this thought up by himself even if he was a chief, until he gathered up all the men into a big council (inatöinpehan) to talk it over. When they made the council, all the men came from all the directions. That was something they had not heard about, knew nothing about it. The old men said that when they were coming out from the beginning the ka'an were instituted, so if there is anything in the world they can not find out, they were to ask the ka'an. They had enough power given to them by Wäide. So the people could go to them. So they determined (made their thought up) to ask the ka'an what to do. They themselves had closed eyes, they could not see anything, which way to go. Päide (only one to go to kaade) went to ka'a and told him he was sent by t'aikabede and all his children to find out how they could live happily by dancing. The ka'an gave them four days while he was doing his work. After four days, at night, they were to meet again. When kaade came that night to the meeting he had told them he had gone to the east, toward the sun. There he found tö't'ainin; then he went to the north and found nart'ainin; to the west he found namt'ainin; to the south he found two brothers, the elder pachirtuterede, blowing water through his cane pipe. His younger brother was killing little rats for him to eat. (That is why they are called shichu,<sup>65</sup> rats.) He went on, he came to the middle of the world. He found shyutain, kqaran, ietainin, also shifunin kabede and shure kabede, and he asked their advice and asked for a dance for his children.

<sup>64</sup> In a mountain cave lives the horned snake. (See p. 343.)

<sup>65</sup> Note that the shichu are associated with the south, not with "all directions." In another connection the narrator repeated this association.

Shifunin said his dance was pinitu dance, in summer; he could not give it, because it was winter. So he went to the shure' and he told him he had to go to the mountain [White Eagle Mountain], where there was a lot of snow and ask in all directions for the winter pinitu dance. With Wæide's power the man would come out and show him how it was to be. So he told his people. . . . They had to divide their people up before the dance was to be decided. For all these different directions they put leaders, three men to each, to part the people. After they appointed these men, they divided their people. They told them they would be governed by t'aikabede first, then by paide, and then to give thought about their dance. Then to go to the east with kaade and païwilawe to see if they could find the man Wæide told them to look for. While there they heard a song and they followed the voice. When they came there they found a man all dressed up, just as the dance was to be. So kaade and païwilawe asked the man if he could come with them and show the people how to dress and dance. They brought him home with their power. They gave him to All the directions people.<sup>66</sup> So everybody had received him. From that man from Wæide they learned the winter dance.<sup>67</sup> It kept on, and summer came. As before, they made their thought and went to kaade and païwilawe and asked how they could get their summer dance. Kaade told them to go back and wait four days while he was doing his work. Then he went to shifunin kabede and asked if he could send a man dressed and with songs. So he went to the people and told him to go again to Shyupatōa [White Eagle Mountain]. They went and heard a song. They followed it and found a man dancing. He was dressed entirely different. Clowns (both kinds) were with him, with watermelons. They brought them home and had their meeting and gave them to the people and from them they learned their summer pinitu dance (for crops).<sup>68</sup> And from that we learned how to dance until to-day.

#### 6. THE WAR CAPTAIN WHO WAS INCONTINENT

Before an antelope hunt the war captains (wilawe) had to remain continent for four days. Once, on the last night of this period, one of the war captains<sup>69</sup> had a woman who was not his wife. This war captain owned a white horse. Riding it, he gave chase to an antelope that started to run to the east, then ran to the north, the west, the south. The hunt chief was telling the people it would be a fortunate thing for the war captain if he could return to the east, whence the

<sup>66</sup> Presumably a reference to the shichu people. (See p. 273.)

<sup>67</sup> See pp. 317-318.

<sup>68</sup> See pp. 321-324.

<sup>69</sup> This man was referred to as known to the informant's father, as an actual, living person; but the story belies this. The witch stories of the same informant were told similarly, as of recent occurrence.

antelope started, before the antelope. But the war captain got there after the antelope. The horse jumped over the antelope and threw his rider. When the others reached him he was dead and turned into a rock. They took the rock to the house of the Town Fathers to see if they could bring him back to life. They looked through the crystal and saw that though his body (*mu'ide*) was there, his soul (*waii'de*<sup>70</sup>) was gone. The medicine men have kept the rock in their house, in a secret place. They feed it when they conduct a ceremony. With another rock they marked the spot where the war captain fell. To this rock, which is but a few inches above ground, hunters take offerings—turquoise and red beads, pollen, meal, sometimes crumbs, "to feed him," and sometimes prayer feathers prepared by the hunt chief, all of which are buried—to get power from the deceased war captain to kill a deer.

#### 7. THE CACIQUE WHO TURNED HIS SON TO STONE

Narrator: Yuanan, in olden time it happened. Listeners: Ha!

The cacique had only one son. His wife died; he and his son were living by themselves. He was very careful of his son, he never let him go by himself, always somebody with him. One day he went to Salt Lake with another boy. The two boys were going together around the edge. They said, "How pretty it looks, the lake!" They climbed up a little hill and they sat there a little while. They were both naked. As they sat there they happened to turn to the east side, and they saw a king (*reide*) and a queen (*reinada*) come out from a hill. "Look at those nice people there! Who are they?" So they said, "We will wait here. If they are nice people, they will come and see what we are doing." They came and said, "*Hi'numim kina*."<sup>71</sup> They turned and said, "Who are you?" The man said, "We are the king and queen, and this is my wife." The cacique's son shook hands with the queen. She left *pölönsiu* (honey) in his right hand. Then she shook hands with the other boy, but to him she gave no honey. While she was disengaging her hand, softly she said to him, "You eat that." Then the two boys went home. The cacique's boy told nothing to his father nor to the other boy. So the next time he went by himself. He saw the queen coming, she said, "You are here again?" "Yes." "Did you eat what I gave you?" "Yes." "Was it good?" "Yes, it was good." Then she said to him, "Well, that means that you will be my lover (*hiasöre*, stolen husband)." He said, "All right. I shall come and meet you here always." He never told his father what he was doing; but every day

<sup>70</sup> Distinguish from *wai'ide*, the term for antelope, deer, etc. (See pp. 302, 377.)

<sup>71</sup> "What way getting dark," plural; *hinu kakim*, singular. The response is: *Küwekem*, "I am all right." The morning wayside greeting is: *Hinu kaupuyu*, "What way morning to you."

he went to the lake and always she was there, the queen. After a long time he happened to tell his father.

His father had said to him, "My son, my son, you are going out every day, and you do not take your partner out with you. How is that?" "Yes, father. I have been going alone. Now the day has come to tell you what I have been doing. The first day we went to Salt Lake we met such nice people, reide and reinade. They both shook hands with me, then with my friend. While she was shaking hands, she put some honey in my hand and told me to eat it." His father said, "My son, my son, you are doing wrong. Have you mixed with that woman?" "Yes." "I have raised you, but I have not given you yet what you need (meaning a wife)." Then the old man dressed his son in buckskin leggings and gave him a banda of rabbit fur and a quiver (atuamū sher'tai, arrow cover on the left), and red (pari) and black shiny paint for his face. "Now you come with me. This is the last day you will be with your father. We will take you to the queen's house and see how you will look with the queen." His father was walking in front of him. When they got to the door, his father said, "You are not going to Elimai." (Where we go when we die.) They knocked at the door. The king said, "Come in!" The father said, "No, we shall not come in. I want to see your wife." The king brought out his wife. The cacique said to her, "Do you know this young man?" She looked at the king. The cacique said, "Do you know this man?" The queen said, "Yes, I know this man well." The cacique said, "Now, my son, you stand next to her, and see how you will look." (His son's name was Loo, arrow.) "Now both go to that platform and stand there." When they stood there, he said, "My son, you stay right here. When you were born Indian, you were supposed to be Indian, you were not supposed to mix with Mexicans." Then as they stood there they both turned into stone. (Here the narrator began to cry.) And the cacique went away crying. . . . That is why we say, you will turn into stone if you mix with Mexicans.<sup>72</sup>

#### 8. HOW HUMUHU WAS BORN

They were living at Kaipeai,<sup>73</sup> a girl and her grandmother, and the people did not like them. They would spit on the girl. She would go begging, but they would not give her any food because they hated her. One day all the people were going out for piñon, and she said to her grandmother she would like to go, too. So she went out after the people. Looking for them, she came to a piñon tree, and a lot of

<sup>72</sup> The belief itself may be derived from the Mexicans. Pilgrims to the Augustinian sanctuary of Chalma are shown two stones which represent a padre and his housekeeper who were frivolous on pilgrimage. Cp., too, Mexican Folkways, I, No. 5, p. 24. 1926.

<sup>73</sup> See pp. 359, 360, 363.

piñon nuts were under the tree. While she was picking them up a young man showed himself to her and asked what was she doing. He cracked a nut and gave her the kernel to eat and he told her to go home, she would have lots of piñon when she got there. So she went home and came back the same morning she had started. And her grandmother was surprised she had come back so early. She told her about the young man. She took her grandmother by the arm and took her to the door of the inside room which was so full of piñon she could hardly open the door. "We are not poor now, we are rich," said her grandmother. Then they sold piñon for their living. After a while the girl began to grow large and then she had a child. And all the people wondered where she got the child; nobody liked her. Maybe somebody had come around at night. . . . From the time they had begun to be mean to the girl and spit at her the Fathers (ka'an) could not make their ceremony because they had lost something. So they had meetings all the time to talk about it. They had no rain, no food. The girl's son grew up to be 6 or 7 years old. One night he went out to listen at the top of the tula (kiva). Below, the fathers were talking and worrying and thinking they would drop the ceremony altogether. The little boy began to laugh, he laughed three times. They heard, and were angry. The t'aika-bede (town chief) sent the wilawe (war chief) out to see who was up on the roof.

The war chief put up the ladder and went up and found the little boy and he asked him three times, "Who are you?" and the little boy did not answer. The fourth time he said, "I am the one you call Big Head (piñude)." So the war chief went down and told them who it was and the town chief told him to go up and bring him down. And the little boy was ashamed to go down, but he went, following the war chief. They were surprised and ashamed themselves to see the little boy. The town chief told the war chief to give him a seat by the fireplace. So the town chief asked him what he was laughing about. "Yes, I was laughing at you because you were worrying so much over what you lost, and you do not know what to do, and what you have lost is here with you now." So the town chief stood up in front of him to ask him questions. The little boy said, "You are not the one to stand before me and ask questions. I am the one to stand before you." The town chief asked who was his father? The little boy said his father was humuhude. "Where does he live?" "In Pawi'ennowai."<sup>74</sup> So the little boy began to preach to them and the town chief, and the others said he was the one they had lost. So the Fathers bowed their heads, and the town chief advised them not to hate anybody again, and they all asked pardon of the little boy. And he forgave everything. And he told

<sup>74</sup> At Taos, the lake of emergence.



them to go out to hunt the next morning and he told the war chief to call out to the people to prepare. And early in the morning the war chief went to humuhu's house.

The little boy got up early and told his mother that some people were coming to his house and they were going out to hunt. They scolded him for going to the meeting. He said, "I had to do it. That was what I was born to do, to keep up the ceremonial." So early in the morning the war chief came to his house and said, "Akuwam ka'a." (That time he was not Big Head.) So he said come in. He seated him by the fire and gave him a smoke. Then he told his mother to bring him his clothes. "What clothes have you, Big Head?" She went in and found his clothes all made of cotton. So he put on his clothes, and his bandoleer and his quiver of lion skin, and on it a bag of meal and other things. Then before they started off he sang a song, and he sprinkled pollen in the directions and toward the sun. As they were going he whistled on his whistle and the clouds came out. It was dark, dark, and the people were glad, they had not seen those clouds for many years. "Maybe the humuhu has been born. Maybe we are going to have rain." The second time he whistled, it began to thunder and lighten. Then all the people were so glad they were going to have rain. The third time he whistled it began to rain and it rained all day long. But the people did not stay back, but all went out on the hunt. They went to the north. "The war chief has good luck," they said.

When they went to where the war chief was, they saw a young boy there dressed in cotton. They did not know him. The town chief came then. He was advising the people. He said they had a new humuhu, a new humuhu was born, from the girl they had been hating for many years. They were not to hate anybody again, because God (nathe're)<sup>75</sup> would punish them. The people began to cry and they went up to him and acknowledged him. He said to the war chief, "You must go and hunt to get meat for the people." They were nearly starving at that time. So he told the war chief to tell the people to make a big circle. When they made the circle, the humuhu said, "Now, my sons, you be all ready when I holler." When he hollered, they spread out and made a gap in the circle in each direction. Then he whistled three times. Then into the gaps the waii'de—deer, antelopes, buffalo, rabbit, jack rabbit, quail, turkeys, all game birds—came in. Then, when they were all in, he hollered again and they closed the gaps. He told them when he hollered again to kill one of each kind of animal. They got ready their arrows and rabbit sticks (koa).<sup>76</sup> Then after killing one animal of each kind, they stopped. Then he hollered again for them to spread

<sup>75</sup> Powerful: same as Wæide.

<sup>76</sup> The so-called false boomerang.



out so the animals left alive could go out. So they butchered their animals and the war chief gave them permission to go home. They were only a little way from the village where he made his power. They were all surprised to see the little boy with power. They called him *ka'a* or *tata*; he was not Big Head then. He told the war chief to tell the people to come around next morning to his house. So they went back home and next morning all the people gathered around his house. Even those who had hated his mother had to go. She was kind to all of them. He was sitting in the room, and all around the walls were skins of all the animals and birds in the world. He had a basketful of shelled corn and a basketful of vegetables. Then he called in the town chief first and gave him a seat and talked to him and told him to go out and tell his people to come in one by one. So the *cacique* went out and told them.

The *cacique* started in first, then the *kumpa*, then the war chief, then the *ka'an* (Fathers of medicine societies), then the rest of the people. When the town chief came in, he said, "*Hau, hau, hau!*" Thanks, Thanks, Thanks! Then he looked at all the skins and drew his arms in and breathed on his clasped hands. He did this also for the corn and vegetables. (The people had had no food or rain for seven years.) Then the boy put in the hand of the *cacique* (town chief), standing in front of him, three grains of corn, and four or five grains of wheat, and one of each kind of vegetables, and said to him, "You go to your house and you will find it full of all grains and vegetables." This he repeated for all those there. When they got to their houses the rooms were all full of food. His mother and grandmother came and embraced him. He gave grains and vegetables to his mother and grandmother. Next morning the town chief came again and *kumpa* and the war chief and the head *ka'an*, and he took his whistle and went outside and whistled. Then the clouds came. When the people saw that, they began to pray. The second time he whistled, the lightning and thunder began to sound. At the third whistle it began to rain, and it rained all day. Grass began to grow up in the mountains. All the animals began to live again, the cattle and sheep that had been dying. And all the springs began to run. Then he began to talk to them all, and they began to work on the ceremony they had used before. From then on all the people lived well together.

#### VARIANT

When the people first came up all the people went on ahead and there was a girl far behind. She did not overtake the people, she was coming slowly behind. She might have overtaken them, but she was ashamed to go with them because nobody liked her. When they started to go on, she went along slowly. The sun was going down;

all the people were together. She found a big hole where she was going slowly. When she went into the hole, her child was born. The next morning when the people started she could not go. She stayed four days in that hole, wondering how she could overtake the people. On the fourth day she went out just as the sun was coming up, to name the child, and she named him Puspiyama. When she started along with her baby she happened to stop at Patök' (Santo Domingo). She lived there until the boy was old enough to know. The people found out that was the girl who had the child as they were coming south. Then the people said, "He won't be good for anything. We might drive them out." When the boy was old enough, he would play on top of the kiva and listen to the old men below. They would say, "Drive him away, that little mischief (trespasser) (wētara'de)." The little boy went and told his mother. "I was playing. I heard the old people in their meeting say to drive us away; but, mother, we are not going away. We are going to have our home here." The next night when they held their meeting on how there was no rain, no crops, he was eating the corn, melons, squash, peas, he had in his house. The next morning his mother threw out the melon rinds. The people said, "Where at this time of year do they get these melons?" They caught the little boy and took him to the kiva. The old cacique said to him, "Sit here before me. How are you going to get out of this trouble?" "Oh, father, this will get me out of this trouble. I hand it to you," and he handed him some tobacco in a corn husk. Then the old people said, "My son, who are you? Whence do you come?" "Yes, father, I am way behind for you to know because I am nothing but wētara'de." So the old people cried out, all who were there, "My son, who are you?" "I am the son of the cacique. I am nothing but wētara'de." The old people held to him (stood by him), and he became cacique himself. They said, "Now you are to be cacique for all the people." And so when we see a little child all ragged and miserable, we may feel very badly. We think perhaps this child is ragged and poor looking, but he may be cacique some time.

9. THE TOWN CHIEF FLIES AWAY ON HIS EAGLE AND IS RECOVERED  
BY BAT

Natōai there was a man who was t'aikabede (town chief) living at Berkwītōē', Rainbow village. He had a wife (berla'). There was a boy out hunting rabbits. He found the nest of an eagle on the mesa. This eagle had two little eagles. They were big enough to fly. The boy was going to shoot him with his bow and arrow. There was a big bush against the cliff. The boy had a belt and he tied it to the bush and hung over the cliff and got the little eagle. He said, "I am going to take this little eagle to my grandfather (inte'e)

t'aikabede." He went into the hills and killed a rabbit. "This rabbit," he thought, "I am going to take to my grandfather and, if I kill another, I will take it to my mother." This boy was about 12. He killed another rabbit and he started back home. On the way it began to rain, so he got all wet before he got home. He gave one rabbit to his mother. He said, "I am going to take this rabbit to t'aikabedliu (town chief wife or old woman) and this eagle to my grandfather." "All right, they will thank you for it." When he was near the house of the town chief he called out and they came out and thanked him. So the town chief old woman gave him supper. At that time the town chief said, "I am going to make a cage for my eagle and feed him every day, a rabbit every day." So he made a cage and put him in, inside the house. He fed him with crumbs. That is the way they were living. At last the eagle grew up. The old woman said, "Why don't you make a bigger cage and put it on top of the roof? The eagle is nasty inside the house." So he made a larger cage and put it on the roof, and he promised to get him a rabbit every day. So the town chief started to hunt. The old woman got cranky, for the town chief brought a rabbit every day to the eagle and never brought her any. So they quarreled. So the years were passing. They had rain, and animals, horses, cattle, sheep. Two years the eagle was living with him. One day he had to be away, for a ceremony, and he said to his old woman, "I'll go to-morrow morning for rabbits. I will kill two rabbits. I will give the eagle one and leave the other for you to give him the following morning."

The town chief had to go at night and stay all day. They always fed the eagle at sunrise. The old woman went up to the cage. The eagle was springing about. She said, "Here, puyéde (glutton)! You get a rabbit every day and I get none because of you." The eagle got mad. (You know animals can understand speech, especially eagles.) He turned his head away. "Here, eat it!" He turned away. So she threw it at him. So when the town chief came back he asked about his eagle. "Did he eat the rabbit I got for him?" "I do not know. He turned away, and I just left the rabbit in the cage. Come in, and eat your supper." "No; I am going to see my eagle first." When he spoke to the eagle, he turned away, turning first one way, then the other way, and the rabbit was there just as the old woman had left it. "What is the matter, my son?" The eagle turned one way, and then the other way. "I know why you are mad. Because I did not get you a fresh rabbit. But I'll go and get you one in the morning." Next morning he got a fresh rabbit and took it up to the eagle. But the eagle turned away. So the old cacique wondered why he was so angry and begged him to tell him if anybody had done anything to him. Then the eagle said that he

was ashamed, that he wanted him to let him go away, that his wife had called him glutton. "No; you must stay. I will feed you." "No, turn me loose, and at the end of four days I will go." So the town chief was sad that his eagle was going away. At last the town chief decided to go away with the eagle. "No, you have your people here. You can not go with me." But the town chief was strong-headed, and at last the eagle said he would take him. "Turn me loose, so I can fly and make myself strong to take you." So the town chief turned him loose, and the eagle would fly out, from house to house. The people thought that something had happened that the eagle of the town chief was flying about. (The eagle was saying good-bye to the people in the village.) Then the eagle flew back to the house of the town chief and told him to lie down on his back, from wing to wing. Then he flew in the air a little way and came down again. The eagle said, "That is not the right way. Lie down, stretching yourself from head to tail." From the time they were talking about going away, from that time on, all the animals, the sheep and cattle, began to sicken. (The town chief is supposed not to leave the town.) Then they flew up, and the town chief was singing. The people heard and wondered why the town chief was singing and they were thinking that something was going to happen in the town. He sang:

ai ai ai pitsaai  
ho'taiyai ho'tayai  
ai ai hau hau

Then the people came out to look, the town chief was singing from so far away. They saw that he was on the eagle's back, and they got their sticks and guns, but they could not hit him. The eagle flew down to a high mountain (Poöpyenab, Banana mountain), rocky, without trees. He flew southeast and stopped up in the top, where nobody could go. When he got there, he left him there. He said he was going to thank him for all the good he had done him by feeding him. "This is my home. As you kept me in your home, now I am going to keep you in my home." So the eagle said, "I am going to get you some food to eat." So in the morning he flew down, and in the afternoon he flew up with a rabbit for him to eat. But he could not eat it, he had no fire to cook it. Every day the eagle brought him a rabbit. So he lived for seven years. All that time the people were worrying about their town chief. The animals were dying; the river was drying up; the food was giving out. After four or five years people were starving to death, no rain, no wind. They were burning from the sun. After six years people were dying. Old people would go to the ash heap to look for old bones and hides. The town chief had a pile of the rabbits the eagle had been bringing him, he ate

nothing nor drank. At the beginning of the seventh year he began to sing his song:

ai ai ai pitsaai  
ho'taiyai ho'tayai  
ai ai hau hau

The town chief would talk to the sun. The sun was keeping him alive. As he sang, a bird flying below in the rocks heard him. "The town chief is singing somewhere," he said. He found out where he was. The bird flew down and went to the kabede (chief) of all the animals and birds (like humuhu). He told him he had heard a song and listened and found out it was kaade chumi,<sup>69a</sup> head man of all the world. Then the wa't'aikabede did not believe him. So he had to send somebody else with him, some other bird. They got halfway up the mountain; they were tired. Then they heard the song way up on top. Then the other bird said it was the head man of the world. They flew down and told wa't'aikabede. Then he believed it. He sent those two all around the world to summon all the birds of the world, and all the animals. They had a meeting. The wa't'aikabede asked all the flying creatures if they had heard any song up on that mountain? All answered, no; nobody could reach up there. Then the chief chose the best flyer, the eagle, and said he would send him up. "Prepare yourself with food, and to-morrow morning fly up there." So next morning he flew up. He flew and flew. At last he got tired and came down and told the chief he had to come down. So they talked and they chose paköite'ere, bald-headed eagle, to fly up. The chief told him to prepare his food. Next morning he was to fly up. So he went and flew up and up. The sun struck him so hard that he burned off all the feathers on his head. (This is always given as the reason the eagle is bald-headed; he flew up so close to the sun that he was burned.) So he had to come down, and he said he had heard the song. The third day they chose iokuakwebau're (see The Sun's Kick Stick). The chief told him to prepare his food. So he went up and up and up and up. At last he reached the very top of the mountain. He heard the song, but he was so tired he fell down. He had to give up and go down, and he told the chief there were only a few rocks farther for him to go, but he was so tired he fell down. (That is why from this experience iokuakwebau're always helps people who are falling.) Then they were thinking who would be the best to send. Somebody said, "Let us try pakaiile'de (bat)." The chief said, "Prepare your food. You have to go up there and see who is there." So he asked for a little bowl (boruu', it is made of wood). He tied it under his wing, filled with grease.

<sup>69a</sup> Ceremonial term.



Next morning he flew off, flying from tree to tree. At the mountain he flew from rock to rock. Up at the middle of the mountain he was resting and eating from his bowl. He flew up and rested on a rock and he flew and rested. He heard the song of the town chief. Then he stopped and ate. He felt very happy. He flew up again. At last he reached the top. He was so tired he stayed there, eating his grease. With two or three jumps he reached the top. Then he saw the town chief sitting there, on the top of a big rock. All around were lots of dried rabbits. Bat said, "My father, what are you doing here where nobody lives, no animals, no ants?" "Yes, son, I have been living here seven years now." Then he told him all the story about the eagle. Bat was wise. He said, "Well, my father, I will go down and tell my chief about it. You have been here seven years. You can stay four days more. Then we will take you down." "Well, my son, I am thirsty." Bat said, "I will get you some water." He went back of the rock and prayed to his god (Wəpide) to give him some water in his pot. So he got some and gave the town chief a drink. The town chief said, "Well, my son, I have not enough in that pot." "Do not think of that, but drink." So the town chief drank, and what was left bat drank. So bat flew down. When he came down, they gave him a seat. He asked for a smoke. Then the people knew at once that he had reached up. So they gave him a cigarette. He thanked (i. e., smoked) in all the directions, that he had gone and come back well.

So he told the story. They were sad that the chief of all the world was up there and they began to think how they could bring him down. One would say one thing, one, another. At last the Ant kaade thought it over<sup>77</sup> and said: "Let us get a spruce tree seed (koatā) and let us bury it tonight, and let everybody carry water and water it, so the tree will come out in the morning." So they all said yes. They buried the seed, and every animal carried water in their mouth—birds, lion, ants. The seed swelled up and at sunrise it began to sprout. When the tree was so high (indicating 6 inches), the chief told bat he was the one to go up there. So he went and sat on the kaptu (tip of spruce). Then they kept watering the tree, and it grew and grew (that was the power of the ant, his opinion) until it got to the middle of the mountain, the third day. At last, the fourth day, at noontime, it reached to the top of the mountain and there on the tip was the bat, and he talked to his father again. And the town chief asked for a drink, and bat gave him a drink. So the town chief gave thanks for getting help before he died. So bat sat him on the tip of the tree. Bat shook the tip and far below they knew he was ready to come down. And all the animals began to pull it down. It took four days for it to come down. Then the town

<sup>77</sup> "They say the ant is the best man to think things over."



chief thanked Wgide that he had come down. From the time the bat had first spoken to the town chief, at the village of the town chief a cloud began to appear, like a thread. When the tree was down the people could see clouds and they began to think that the town chief was coming back again. So the town chief explained to all the animals what had happened. They fed him. He stayed with them for two days. He was anxious to go home. He knew very well that his people were starving.

At last the animals prepared food for him for his journey. Then he got his whistle and blew it, and it began to rain in that country and the clouds appeared at his village. The animals started with him on his way. Then they said goodbye to him, and he went on. Every day he would whistle, and every day it would rain, and the people saw the clouds closer. It took him six months to reach his village. Toward the seventh month when he whistled the clouds were still closer to the village. On the first day of the seventh month the people planned in four days to go out and meet the town chief, for they heard his whistle, in the southeast. The animals began to revive, the river ran, and the springs. On the fourth day they went out and met the town chief. Then they took him to his place. Everybody in the village came there and asked him for something to eat. So the town chief began to start his ceremony and he gave a few corn grains to all the people, to each the color according to his own corn color. They said that was not enough. But when they went back to their houses, their houses were full of corn. Then they had plenty to eat. They started their ceremonies again. From bat the chichu kabede gets his power, and the town chief helps him, and at that time the town chief feeds the ants,<sup>78</sup> because the ants were the ones to make the plan to get the town chief down.

#### 10. THE FIRST RATTLESNAKE

Natöai lived an old woman with her son, Nachööchi. He was a great hunter for all in the village and a helper to all. He had a friend who was a witch. They used to go out hunting together. When Nachööchi killed any deer, the first thing he did was to feed the ants and to leave a hind leg for the animals to eat, the rest he would carry home. When he got home, he would distribute the meat to all the people as long as it held out, saving only a little for his mother. So everybody loved him so much that his friend got jealous of him. His friend said to him one night, "My friend, let us go out hunting to-morrow and not come back for two days." Nachööchi said, "All right. Let us go and stay as long as you like." So his mother got a lunch ready to last two days, and the next morning

<sup>78</sup> Anybody going out from the village might sprinkle crumbs for the ants.

they started off. When they got where they used to hunt, Nachööchi killed two deer, one for himself, one for his friend. His friend said, "No need for us to go back because your mother does not expect us until to-morrow. Let us see who can ride horse the better." Nachööchi said, "All right. Let's try it, but do not have any bad thought against me." His friend said, "All right. You try first, if you suspect I might do something to you, and I will try next." So Nachööchi got on a log and tried to pick up something as if it were a rooster. When he picked up nothing, his friend sat down on the same log. His friend picked up the stick they were pretending was a rooster. He said, "Iyxa! (Gee!) that was easy and you could not do it. That was as easy as anything." Nachööchi said, "Well, let me try once more." So when he sat down to try he stooped down and when he raised up, the log rose up with him into the air, stood upright. His friend said, "Well, goodbye, my friend! If you are lucky, you will come down. If you are not lucky, stay up there!" His friend took one deer and went home, leaving the other deer for the animals to eat. When he got back, he went and told Nachööchi's mother that Nachööchi was not coming back because he went out working somewhere.

After Nachööchi was gone a long time, there was a drought and they could raise nothing, no corn, no wheat. Meanwhile, as he was sitting on the log, an eagle used to come with food from akebailiu, mother Spider old woman, and the ants were digging under the log so it would fall down. Finally that log fell down and he got off. He was so tired he could hunt only for a few rabbits. With them he went home. On the way he met mother Spider old woman. She said, "The first one who will come to see you will be the friend who did this harm to you. You take this belt with you. Put it on so your friend can see it. He will wish he had this belt. You tell him, 'I will let you have this belt, if we go and wash our faces early in the morning.'" So the next morning early his friend came, and he said to him, "Let us go and wash our faces." Nachööchi said, "Do not be in haste. Wait till later. I know the time for us to go." Just at dawn, they went to the river to wash their faces. After they washed their faces, his friend said to him, "I thought you were going to let me have your belt." Nachööchi said, "Yes, I will let you have it, but not forever." "Come, let us hold that belt! If I get it first, it will be mine." "No, if I roll it and you catch it before it unrolls, then it is yours." So he rolled it up tight. Nachööchi started to throw it. He hurled it forward three times. The fourth time he threw it and when his friend jumped for the belt it turned into a big snake. Nachööchi said to him, "My friend, do not cry!" His tears were falling. "When you tricked me, I did not cry. You know that I was the father of every creature and everybody in this world, and

you know I held everybody under my arms, and see what you did to me. Since you are greedy, I will give you all this mountain to travel on. I will leave this corn meal for you. If you are lucky, people will remember you with this meal." So Nachööchi gave him corn meal and sent him to the east, the north, the west, and the south, and finally to the east where stands the big rocky mountain. Then Nachööchi went home. He went to the boy's sister and relatives. He gathered them together and told them what he had done on account of the trick his friend had just done to him. Therefore people have to believe in the rattlesnake (chararde) for the rattlesnake was a man. From then on Nachööchi lived on as before, until he was ready to get married. And that is as far as I know.

#### 11. HOW THEY BEGAN TO RACE FOR THE SUN

At Namchurtainin<sup>79</sup> (earth yellow people) lived bad people. They used to hate each other, and one time the Yellow Earth people went to Nabatötöe (white village) to ask them to have a race and bet one man from the Yellow Earth people and one man from White village. So the people of White village agreed to run. The head men of the Yellow Earth people proposed to bet their lives. The White village people agreed to it. They had a meeting for one day and over night. The Yellow Earth people had their own witch ceremony (na'ihü). The White village had the ceremony of the medicine men (lifietoynin, root medicine men). The White village people chose a runner and they worked their power over him, so he would be light and strong, and they gave him the power to run as a deer. They made three cane cigarettes (wire). They told him he was to go körtim, in all directions (all around the world). When he got to pathüwetöe (east side), where the piaunen<sup>80</sup> are, he was to light a cigarette and smoke it in all the five directions and leave it for the piaunen. The Yellow Earth people prepared their runner and made three bundles of nafi (dust or powder). They told him to blow the nafi before he reached pathüwetöe and when he turned from pathüwetöe to koafiwetöe (the north) to blow the second bundle of nafi. On the second day they started for Turshuma natqai, Yellow Bird Hill. When they got there the Yellow Earth people wanted to stand on the right side and so did the White village people.

They began to fight. Then they said they would toss for it (ifun'-urihi). The medicine man had already made a ring (maxö'), for they knew beforehand that they were going to dispute positions. The head man of the White village people said, "Let us choose the sides

<sup>79</sup> The houses just across the river have been so referred to. In this tale the mesa bluff above those houses is the home of the Yellow Earth people. Below the bluff is where the White village lay, where stand the houses occupied to-day.

<sup>80</sup> See p. 344.

we want." So the witch ceremony head man (naihude) chose the side that was the sun and the White village people chose the side that was the moon. Then they tossed it up. When it fell it was on the moon side and the White village people won and were to stand on the right side. They stood up the two runners. When they said one, two, three, wiba! wichu! pachuwini! the runners were to start. They counted and they started, and the Yellow Earth people and the White village people were praying hard. The runners got far out, they could not see them. When they were getting to the end of the world in the east, midway the Yellow Earth people racer, takiaōwade, Hawk youth, blew his powder. When he blew his powder, the sun struck very hot on piōwade, Deer youth, of the White village people and made him tired and hot and thirsty. Hawk youth passed by him and left him. Hawk youth said to Deer youth, "Yutin beyabem, this is the way a man does!" So he turned into a hawk and flew away. Deer youth was tired and hungry and thirsty. Hawk youth was the first to reach pathūwetōe. He said, "Akuwam!" And the piaunen answered, "Akuwam menhura!" "Same to you." So he started north to koafiwetōe. Then, late, Deer youth arrived, and he said, "Akuwam!" And they answered, "Akuwam menhura!" As he started for the north side, he smoked his cane cigarette, in all the directions, and left the cigarette at pathūwetōe. The clouds began to move, and as Hawk youth was midway to the north side, the rain began to fall and wet him and he could not fly. He had to stop under a rock to wait until the rain was over. Deer youth was running happily and he passed Hawk youth and left him behind. Deer youth reached the north side first. He said, "Akuwam!" They answered, "Akuwam menhura!"

He lit his cigarette and smoked in the directions and left it there, and he turned to the west. Then Hawk youth got to the north side and said, "Akuwam!" and they (piaunen) answered, "Akuwam menhura!" When Hawk youth turned to the west he blew his powder and the sun began to strike hard again. Deer youth was so hot and thirsty he could not run and had to stay in the shade under a tree. Hawk youth was flying fast. When he passed Deer youth he said, "This is the way a man does!" He was approaching close to fierūwetōe (the west side), when it began to rain, and Deer youth overtook him and both reached the west side together. Both together said, "Makuwam (dual)!" and the piaunen said, "Menkuwamhura!" So they were to start again, but Deer youth staid behind to smoke his last cigarette and Hawk youth started first. When Deer youth started, Hawk youth was far ahead. The sun began to be hot again. Deer youth had to stop under a tree. When he was midway to the south the wind began to blow from the south, and Hawk youth could not fly, and had to get under a rock. Clouds came behind

the wind, and the rain began. Deer youth began to run fast and he came to where Hawk youth was sitting and he said "Friend (poyu), this is the way a man does, so I will say good-bye (huaiyu akuterimi)." And Deer youth ran on. When the rain was over, Hawk youth started to fly, but he was all wet. The people saw them coming. Yellow Earth people were sure their man was ahead; the White village people were sure it was their man. So they all began to wave blankets and to shout. At this time he was not a deer, but a young man. They saw the other man coming behind. Deer youth came in first. The Yellow Earth people were sad, and the White village people were glad they had won. They all went to their respective villages. Next day the White village people made their ceremony of lightning and thunder (nashau upinide au koanide au) to kill the man. The clouds came, it rained, it lightened and thundered. Some of the Yellow Earth people ran out of the village and hid. And the others were killed. And none was left in that village. That old village (natoihuli, village old, i. e., ruin) is still there. The people who hid reared children and the witches of to-day have come from them. From that time they started the races for the sun. What we call the t'aikabede's races.

## VARIANT

Natöai there were living two different peoples, namchör tainin, Yellow Sand people, and nampatö tainin, White Sand people. Yellow Sand people would always game and gamble and wanted to excel White Sand people, but somehow they could not get their power good, the way they wanted, because little pilüde (big head) belonging to White Sand people had power just like theirs. So Yellow Sand people one time had a council. They decided they would go over to White Sand people and bet their lives and they would get a boy to race against the witch people's boy. Some of the Yellow Sand people said, "But how can we race? We do not know whether we will beat or not." But the leader (kabede) of the Yellow Sand people said, "I will bet my life and the lives of all my children (people) because I know the way." They asked him, "What do you know?" Kabede said, "After we leave the starting place, I will run myself. When I get far away from the Yellow Sand people I will turn myself into a hawk (takiede). I will leave the other runner far behind. I will get in by dinner time long before he gets in." Then all called out, "That's good! Let us do so, so we can take the village away from them." They went to White Sand people and made the bet with them. White Sand people said they had to wait until the next day because they were going to make their council that night. Then the White Sand people called out for a meeting. After they met, they said the Yellow Sand people wanted to bet their lives. The White



Sand people boys said they did not want to run because the Yellow Sand people were too tricky. The White Sand people kabede said, "I will get you out of the trouble." The boys asked him since there were no toynin (medicine men) there how could he run against the Yellow Sand people who had so much power. He said he was going to get his power from the thought of God.<sup>61</sup> His people did not know yet that he was a powerful boy.

He (big headed boy) said he would take up the bet with the Yellow Sand people. All he wanted was for his people to think they were going to beat. So they sent word to Yellow Sand people they would race as they wanted. After the Yellow Sand people got this word from the White Sand people who were very few and knew nothing, on the fourth day in the morning at sunrise they all came together where they were going to start. The Yellow Sand boy did not know he was going to race with a powerful man and he was happy because he was going to turn himself into a hawk. When he told them good-bye he told them to expect him about noon. Then White Sand boy told his people, "I am going. Good-bye. If God help me, I will be back by sundown." Away they went. The White Sand people stayed crying, thinking they were going to lose their lives by sundown. The Yellow Sand people stayed laughing and dancing and singing because they were so sure they were going to beat. When the two racers got out of sight of the people, the Yellow Sand man turned himself into a hawk. Away he flew ahead. "Good-bye!" he said to the little boy. "If you are lucky (akamuun), you will catch up with me. If you are not lucky, you are going to stay here." Big headed boy answered, "Good-bye, my friend! If you are lucky, God will help you. If you are not lucky, I will overtake you." As soon as the hawk flew away, the little boy started to smoke. Every time he smoked, the clouds began to come out. The more he smoked, the more clouds came out. Pretty soon he turned himself into a little deer (piude). Pretty soon it started to rain hard. The harder it rained, the stronger the little deer got. The stronger the little deer got, the weaker the hawk got until he could not fly any more. Finally when he overtook the hawk, Hawk was sitting on a tree crying and as wet as he could be. When the little deer passed by, he said to Hawk, "Do not cry, my friend, keep up! I did not cry when you passed me."

After he had gone a long way ahead of Hawk, the sun started to shine again. It got so hot that the little deer got tired. Then Hawk overtook him. Then Hawk said, "This is the way I am going to do with you. Now, you stay where you belong." Little Deer answered, "All right, my friend. If God help you, go on. I will

<sup>61</sup> Thus freely translated was kimka'awei (our father) atika'an (fathers). Ati was translated Indian spirits.



take a rest." While he was resting he smoked again. As soon as he smoked, the clouds came up again. Then when the clouds came up, he cooled off and he started running. The more he ran the more the clouds came, and it started to rain again. He overtook Hawk again. Hawk was crying away, thinking he had just one more chance to make the sun come out. When Little Deer saw Hawk crying, he said, "Do not cry, my friend, do not cry. You were the one who wanted this bet." Away the little deer passed again. Again Hawk did his business and made the sun come out. Again he overtook the little deer. When he reached Little Deer, he said, "My son, let us both go together from here. We will take it easy and neither one win, and we will come in together and save our people's lives. Little Deer said, "No, you looked for it, go on ahead. I can not overtake you. I am too tired." Hawk started crying. Little Deer said to him, "Do not cry, let's smoke together." But Hawk would not do it. He went on ahead. Then Little Deer stayed smoking. The more he smoked, the more clouds came out, and soon it began to sprinkle. As soon as it started sprinkling, Little Deer got strong again. When he started on, it was almost dinner time and he was getting close to the starting place. As he got close he changed himself into a boy again. When the Yellow Sand people saw him coming, they started to catch the White Sand people to kill them. They were so sure it was their man coming. When the little boy got there, he was alone, and the man was left behind. White Sand people said, "We are not going to kill you. Wait till your man comes, too, but we won't kill you." By sundown the man came in. As soon as he got inside the line, he dropped dead, he was so ashamed of himself. At that White Sand people told Yellow Sand people they would not take their lives away from them but God knew who was in the right, and they would leave it to God. Just one thing White Sand people asked of Yellow Sand people, that they must always remember and not think less of other people because they knew a little more than the others. After that White Sand people were not disturbed by the Yellow Sand people and they increased, and the Yellow Sand people died off from sickness.

Gaw'ikiemu.

## 12. THE SUN TAKES A HEAD<sup>82</sup>

Natōai there was a man living with his wife. He used to go after wood to bring on his back early in the morning before sunrise. When he got to the woods he used to chop wood and load it on his back and hurry back before the sun rose. He used to bring it that way all his life. Finally, one time, the sun came out while he was chopping the wood, and the sun chopped off his head and took it with him. The

<sup>82</sup> Compare Picuris, Harrington and Roberts, 313-323

sun buried his body and took the head where he lived and hung it inside of his hooded chimney. Finally, after he was killed, they learned where he was killed, and how he was killed. He had two little sons, and they grew up. After they grew up they asked their mother who was their father. Their mother said their father was killed by the sun, long since. She understood that the sun had taken their father's head to where he lived and that was all she knew. They said, "Mother, will you make us a lunch, and we will track Sun to where he lives?" "No, my sons, you are too small, yet." "That's all right, mother, but we will try our best." So finally they persuaded their mother to prepare a lunch for them, and the next morning they started out to look for their father's head. As they were going along and were far from home, they came to Spider Grandmother's place. She asked, "How did you get here where nobody ever comes?" The little boys answered, "We are going east to where Sun rises to see where he lives." Then Spider Grandmother said, "Nobody ever comes here. You are the first to come. You say you are going to look for Sun. Sun is pretty mean. You could never get close to him, but I will see to it that you can get near him. Take this cigarette for Sun and take this cigarette for yourself to smoke when you approach the hot place." They kept on going until they got near where Sun was living. When they were close to the hot ground, they smoked the corn-husk cigarette Spider Grandmother had given them.

When they smoked the clouds came out, and it started to sprinkle, and it cooled off the hot ground. When they got to the house of Sun the boys gave him the cigarette Spider Grandmother had fixed for him and Sun started to smoke it. With that cigarette he got drunk. Then the boys asked him where the head was lying. Sun answered that it was under the chimney, because he and Sun had bet that if Sun came out before the man ever finished chopping wood he was to cut off his head. Then the younger one said, "Father, you better smoke another cigarette, and then you will surely feel good." After he smoked he went to sleep and knew nothing more. When Sun went to sleep, the boys went into the other room and took the head down from the chimney. So they took the head and went home. When they got to Spider Grandmother's place, she said, "Are you going home, my grandsons?" They said, "Yes; we are going home." She asked, "How did you fare?" "Grandmother, we came out all right. The cigarette you gave us we gave to Sun. With the first smoke he got dizzy, and with the second he fell down and went to sleep. As soon as he went to sleep we went and got the head, and here it is." Spider Grandmother said, "You take this head home, and you look for two ceremonial white mantas, lay the head on one and cover it over with the other one. Tell your mother not to peep in until your father stands up. You learn this song from me and sing it, when you are

bringing your father to life." From there they went home to their mother's house. When they got there they told their mother that they got the head, and that Spider Grandmother told them she must look for two ceremonial mantas, and on one they would place the head and with the other cover it over. But nobody must peep in to see what they were going to do until their father sat up. So they put their mother out, and they laid down the manta and put on it the head and covered it up, and they started to sing:

tabu'rikun<sup>83</sup>   lio  
                                   woman  
 inkaiwem  
                                   my father

They sang this twice, then he started to move his head. The third time he had all his body. The fourth time the body was complete. The fifth time he raised his head up and stretched his arm. Then his head fell back. So they thought somebody was peeping, so they sang:

tabu'rikunlio  
 inkaiwem ai ai!

They sang it five times again, but he did not move. They uncovered him. He looked as if he was newly dead. So they called in their mother and their relatives to show that they had brought back their father's head, but because their mother peeped in their father did not come to life.

13. UNWELCOME SUITORS; IMPREGNATION BY SUN; LAKE BOY; THE TWINS SEEK THEIR FATHER SUN; SHOT INSIDE THE ARROW; GRANDMOTHER SPIDER'S LITTLE POT; DOVE GIRLS; THE TWINS MAKE THE SERPENT DISGORGE; HEART IN THE EGG; SUN TESTS IN OVEN; SUN GETS A NEW HEART

Natōai a man and a woman were living in Shamnue'tōe' (Picuris). They had a daughter (apiutōai), Pəchuri (road yellow). Her father was always jealous (hiapiai) of the boys who came around. Her mother never scolded her; she loved her. Kabede he'wai wei'wa (chief east belonging) asked for her, bringing white clothes for her. Her father and mother told him to wait until they asked her and showed her the clothes. They called her. Her father said, "The chief of the east came and asked you to marry him. What do you think about it? He brought clothes for you, if you wish to marry him." She was looking at the clothes; she said, "Ō'ri! (oh, my!) What will the people of the village say if I marry him and use the white clothes? They will say, 'There comes the pashimtere'de (white long)!'" She felt ashamed and did not want to marry him. So next day the chief of the east came to see what they thought. Pawieban,<sup>84</sup> they pump-

<sup>83</sup> An esoteric term for three ritual sticks.

<sup>84</sup> Pumpkin or squash.

kined him. When the chief of the north (heui kabede wei) heard that this girl did not want to marry the chief of the east, he said, "Well, I am going to ask for her." So next day he went and asked for her, taking all black clothes. When he asked for her, the man and the woman said to wait; they would ask their daughter what she would say. So when he was gone they called the girl and asked her if she wanted to marry the chief of the north. So she was looking at the clothes. She said, "Ö'ri! If I marry him what will the people say to me with these clothes? They might say, 'There comes crow (karade)!'" So she did not want to marry him. When the chief of the west (henai kabede wei) heard that the others had been pumpkin-kined, he said he was going to ask for the girl. So the chief of the west asked for the girl, bringing the clothes with him. So the old man (hulire) and the old woman (liure) told him to wait; they would ask the girl. So when the man went away, they called their daughter and asked her. She said, "Ö'ri! What would the people say about me if I dressed up in this? They might say, 'Here comes tujurmale (yellow bird)!'" So she gave him the pumpkin again. Then the chief of the south (hekui kabede wei) heard that the others had got the pumpkin. He said that he was going to try; he was sure to get her. So he asked for her, taking the clothes for her. The old woman and the old man told him to wait for what she would say. They called her and showed her the clothes. She said, "Ö'ri! What would the people say about me if I dressed up in these clothes? They might say, 'Here comes koawalöakeri (blue jay)!'" So she would not marry him. Törchu kabede (all colors chief) heard about it. He said he would try for her. He took the clothes with him. They told him to wait until they asked her. When he went away they called her again, and asked what she would say to the last ka'a (Father) who asked for her. They showed her the clothes. She said, "Ö'ri! What would the people call me? They might call me ko'arade (an all colored bird which lives in cottonwood trees)!" So she gave him the pumpkin. Next day he came and took his clothes. He was sorry he was pumpkin-kined.

The old man got mad at her. He scolded her; tried to whip her; and the old woman was protecting her. The old man got so mad he locked her into a cellar. He kept her there all the time. Her mother took the food in to her. It was dark in there, but somewhere there was a little hole (as big as this match). At noon the sun shone into this crack. On the floor when the sun shone, she used to come and lie, looking at the sun outside. She stayed there a long time. Once when her mother took in her food, her father came in to see her. He saw she was big with child. He got mad. He asked the old woman what had happened that their daughter was growing big with child. The old woman did not believe him. So they went in again

together; and the girl began to cry and said to her father that nobody had come in, only her mother bringing in the food. Her father was so angry that he put his daughter out of the house. So she went. It was growing dark. She went around the village, ashamed to go into a house because of her figure. She was passing a house where an old woman was living alone. Then she asked the old woman if she could stay with her. The old woman was pleased to take her for a *chabe* (younger female relation) or *maku* (grandchild). Then she told all about it to her grandmother (*chi'i*). While they were living there the time came for her to have the baby. She had twins (*kuyu*), and the old woman was very glad to have more grandchildren. She told the girl that all she had would belong to them.

So the little boys were growing up. They began to go out and wanted to play with the children of the village. The children did not like the little boys and would make them cry. One day, in the morning, the twins thought to go to a lake near the village to play. They came in and asked their grandmother to let them go and play. Their grandmother said, "No, grandchild, I won't let you go and play at that lake; you might get drowned." But they decided to go, and they hid from her. When they got to the lake, they threw stones into it. Then a young boy (*öwa'de*) came out of the lake, *Paw'iesöan*, Lake boy. He said to the children, "Why are you casting into the lake. Don't you know people are living in the lake? You might hit somebody." The boys said no; they did not know anybody was living there. Lake boy asked the children who was their father? They said that they had no father, only a grandmother. Lake boy said yes; they had a father; the sun was their father. "You better go; do not stay around the lake here. Stay in the house with your grandmother." So they started back home. When they came in their grandmother asked, "Where have you been, *pikhorun*, you rock heather?" "Grandmother, we have been out to the lake throwing stones, and a young man came out and asked us if we did not know people were living there." The old woman began to scold them, too. "Why did you go? No children go there, and you *pitung'en* (big heads) went there. Did I not tell you not to go, and yet you went. Now you know what you do not need to know." "Yes, grandmother, we know the sun is our father, and we want to see him." "Ea'wö', you are not the sons of the sun, you big heads! You snotty nosed (*lerelungen*; Mexican, *mokosso*)—who would want you for sons?" The little boys paid no attention to their grandmother. They played horseback (with sticks). Late in the evening the boys told their grandmother and mother to prepare a lunch for them, they were going to look for their father. "Ea'wö', grandson, you can not reach him. You will die first. He is so far." The boys said they were going anyhow.



Their mother began to make them bows and arrows; their grandmother made them *akula're* (wheaten slapjacks in lard). Next morning early they all ate. When the sun rose they started. "*Aku-terini*, good-bye," they said to their grandmother and mother. They left them worrying and crying. Out far from the village younger brother got tired. Older brother said, "I'll take you." He took the cord of tendon<sup>85</sup> off his arrow and took off the oak stick (*pikwiri*).<sup>86</sup> He asked his brother to go into the cane arrow. When his brother went in, he tied the arrow again. He put it to the bow and shot to the east. It fell to the center of the world. Then he ran on himself to the middle of the world before his younger brother should choke inside the arrow. It was stuck in a hill where *chi'ipauhiu* (grandmother Spider old woman) lived. She came out and took it into her house. When older brother got there he found only the mark of the arrow, and the footprints of grandmother Spider old woman. He tracked her to her little house, to a little hole. He said, "*Akuwam'!*" "*Akuwam'*, grandchild," she answered, "come in, grandchild." The boy said, "How can I come in? I can not fit into this door." "Yes, you can come in if you but try to come in." Then the boy tried to go in, and it was a big house. He asked for his arrow. Grandmother Spider old woman said she did not take it. "Yes; you took it, for I tracked you right to your house." She had it hidden behind the wall of the fireplace. "Yes; I did take it," she said, and she went and got it and handed it to him. *Hawō', chi'i* (thank you, grandmother). Then he untied the oak end and out jumped the younger boy.

Grandmother Spider old woman was surprised to see him. When he jumped out, he said, "Grandmother, grandmother!" and the old woman said, "Grandchild, grandchild!" and embraced him. Then she began to ask how it happened that where nobody came around they had come. The older boy told the story of how they lived, and how they found the pond, and how the young man told them the sun was their father, and how they went out to look for him. Grandmother Spider old woman said, "*Ea'wō'*, grandchild, you will die before you can reach him, but I will try to help you arrive where your father lives. I warn you that when you arrive there, your father being mean, is not going to recognize you. He lives at *Toshapaw'ie* (sunrise lake). He has another heart. He has not his own heart; that is why he is mean. But I will give you something to change his heart—put a new heart in him, then he will recognize you. Do not be afraid. I will help you." (She had a little power.) The children were pleased and thanked her. "Before you start to go, let us eat a meal together." The older boy said, "No, grand-

<sup>85</sup> Shie, from back of sheep, used to make bowstring and to sew moccasins and fasten arrows.

<sup>86</sup> Fastened to the end of the cane arrow.



mother, we are not hungry"; but the younger boy said, "Yes, I am hungry. I want something to eat." So grandmother Spider old woman went to her fireplace. It was a little fireplace, with a little pot, with the bone of an ant boiling in it. Older brother said to her, "Well, grandmother, there is nothing there for me." The old woman said, "No, grandchild, you eat and you will get full." So they started to eat, and the pot kept filling up. They had plenty, and there was some left for her. They thanked her. And she gave them something for their father. She told them they would find a lake there, and on Sunrise Lake they would find three doves swimming, and to try hard to catch the youngest one, and she would tell them what to do. The elder put the younger into the arrow again and shot the arrow toward the sunrise. The arrow fell near the lake. Then he ran fast himself and got there before the younger one choked. He let him rest a little. They walked nearer to the lake. They got to the edge of the lake, watching over night for the doves to come.

Early, early in the morning those doves would come and swim. They would take off their clothes—i. e., their skins—and become girls and go into the water. The boys ran and got the clothes of the youngest girl, and she stayed in the lake. The other two girls came out and put on their clothes and flew away to the mountain near by. The girl said to the twins to please give the clothes back; her sisters were waiting for her, and her father and mother would be worrying about her. So they said to the girl, "If you promise to tell us where our father lives, and how to get to his place, we will give them back." So she promised to tell, and the twins gave back her clothes to the dove girl. She told them, "Your father is my grandfather. He lives across the pond. He is mean. If he sees you coming, he will try to kill you. But do not worry, I will help you myself." She told the boys to go to the mountain where she lived. So they went, and the older sisters came out to meet them, and they said to the youngest girl, "Where did you find our two little brothers?" The youngest girl went into the house and told her father and mother they were going to have two little brothers to live with them. The old man and old woman were glad and told her to bring them in and give them breakfast. After breakfast the little boys looked around. This man had sheep, and the youngest girl used to herd the sheep. So the boys asked the old man if they could go and herd the sheep and let their little sister stay home. "No," said the old man, "she can herd them; you stay home." "No, we are men; we can herd them." So the old woman made some lunch for them. The old man told the boys not to go around the pond to water their sheep; there was a serpiente (serpent) living there on the east side of the mountain. "If he saw you and the sheep, he would eat you up." So the little

boys went out to herd the sheep. They went one way, but turned around in the direction of the pond and took the sheep to drink.

While they were there the serpent came down from his cave, with mouth open to swallow them. The serpent said to them to go away, he would eat the sheep. The twins said they were man enough to fight. When they said this, the sheep the serpent had swallowed came out of the pond. He had swallowed them into the pond. So the boys had more sheep than before. The youngest girl the father had told to follow the boys and watch them. So she was watching them. Then the boys turned back to go to the corral. The girl ran on ahead and told her father, "What you told the boys not to do they did and went to the lake and tried to fight the serpent, and more sheep came out of the lake, and we have more sheep than before." So they went for three days to the pond and fought with the serpent, and the more they fought, the more sheep they got. On the fourth day the serpent said this was the last time he was going to fight. "All right, we are man enough to fight." And the younger got his bow and arrow, and when the serpent was going to swallow him he put his bow up against his mouth. The girl was still watching them, and she ran to her house and told her father the boys were fighting with the serpent. Inside of the serpent was the heart of their father, the sun.<sup>87</sup> That is why they were fighting him. The younger boy called with his power (nashau) the bear and the lion. The lion and the bear came and the eagle, and all fought the serpent, and at last they killed him. The older boy wanted to open the serpent with his stone knife. When he opened it a dove was sitting on the heart, which was an egg, and the dove flew out with the egg and lit on a high tree in the mountain, and the younger boy called the eagle to catch the dove, and the eagle flew and caught the dove. This dove was the youngest girl who was taking care of her grandfather's heart. The eagle brought her down. The younger boy cut open the dove with his knife because she had swallowed the heart. When he opened the dove a rat ran out with the heart. Then the lion ran after the rat and killed the rat, and they took out the egg. They gave thanks to the lion and the eagle and the bear. Then all the sheep that were in the lake came out, and the lake went dry. Then all at home were glad. Next morning they said to the old man they were going away, leaving lots of sheep for him.

So they went out across where the lake was, and at last they reached where their father was living. They came near the house. He had an old man there. He was surprised to see the boys. "What are you doing here? The sun will kill you. I am going to tell him." "Call them in," said the sun. They went and said, "Akuwam

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<sup>87</sup> The girl had told that to the boys.

ka'a!" "Akuwam imuwe, my sons!" They told him how they were born, and the sun did not like it. "I have no sons in the world like you, with a big head and snotty nose." The sun was mad. He said to the old man, "Build a big fire in the oven and put them in. If they come out alive they are my sons; if they burn they are not my sons." These boys were powerful, and they slept well that night in the oven. So the next morning they came out hollering and laughing, and the sun said, "Yes, my boys, you are my sons." Then the sun asked the younger boy, "How do you use those bows and arrows?" The boy drew the bow and shot his father in the heart and killed him. The older one opened his chest with his knife. He had a rock for a heart. The boy took out the rock and put in the egg they got, which was his right heart. The younger boy went and sewed up his father.<sup>88</sup> After a while the father woke up and said, "My sons, I fainted." So the boys said, "Well, we will take care of you." That is why sometimes the sun has two sons, one on each side. This means it is going to be a good year—the sun has recognized his sons.

14. TEST FOR PATERNITY; VARIANT (LAKE BOY; THE TWINS SEEK THEIR FATHER SUN; SUN TESTS IN OVEN)

There was an old woman living by herself. She had a daughter. Their father was dead. Everybody hated them. The girl had nothing else to do but grind and make blue bread. That way they were living. At last the girl appeared to be pregnant. They wondered how she was like that when she did not go outdoors or anywhere. They thought the wilawe would call a meeting at the house of the t'aikabede and find out how the girl had got that way. At the council they brought the girl and her mother to question them. At the council they could learn nothing because the girl never went anywhere. She did not know how she had become pregnant. The t'aikabede decided to let her go until the child was born. While she was waiting for the birth, they were never out of corn or wheat or deer meat. When the child was born, 12 days later, they made another council. Two boys were born. When they had the meeting again, they asked who had put her in that trouble. She said she had never been with anyone in this world. They told her if she really did not know she must get ready and take the children to the spring pawiha.<sup>89</sup> After they told her that, t'aikabede told her, "I will prepare and on the fourth day in the morning you go and throw the children into the spring." On this fourth day the t'aikabede and the 12 wilawe had to have moccasins ready for the children. On the fourth day in the morning they took the little moccasins to the woman, telling her that

<sup>88</sup> Compare Parsons 17: 86.

<sup>89</sup> Informant stated that the blue lake at Taos was referred to. But I incline to think from the song given on p. 400 that a lake or spring in the sacred mountain of Isleta is being referred to.

she must take the children, tie the moccasins to the children, and throw them into the spring. They gave her some eagle feathers and turkey feathers. When she and her mother got to the spring, she took one child and threw him in. After she threw him in she did not want to throw in the other one. She drew back. After that she and her mother talked of how they could raise up the other child. Her mother said, "We will take him and leave him in the woods and cover him up well, and at night we will come after him." And so they went home without any children. They told the t'aikabede they had done what they were told to do, and he was pleased.

Afterwards the grandmother went and got the little boy and brought him home. They raised him secretly. He grew up very fast. A few months afterwards they learned that this girl had a child, and they called another council (natöim). After they called the council they brought in the girl and her mother and the little boy. They brought in every man that was around the village. Then they started to ask the woman again to whom the child belonged. Why had she not done as she had been told? The girl said she had obeyed and thrown away one to please the t'aikabede, and she had kept one for the sake of the pains she had before the child was born. So the t'aikabede asked her again who those children belonged to. She said she did not know for she had not been around with anybody, unless it was our Wind father (kikaawei watasön) or our Sun father (kikaawei huride) or our Moon father (kikaawei paide). "What makes you say this?" said the t'aikabede, "when you are only a sinner in this world (nabürlade)"<sup>90</sup> and how do you expect to have a child from one of these three men?" After the t'aikabede asked this she answered again, "Nobody comes into the house, no man but Wind father, Sun father, and Moon father." They decided, "If that is so, we will let the little boy stay here and let all the men come in, and he will go to one of them, and that man will have to support him, and if he is the son of the Sun of God he will go where Sun comes through from the hole in the roof. If he is the son of Wind, he will go out where wind is blowing. If he is the son of Moon, he will go out and lie down and wait until Moon comes out. In this way we will find it out." So they took the baby out of the woman's arms and put him in the middle of the kiva. After they put him there the baby looked around, laughing and smiling. Soon he started crawling to the east and then back, and then to the north and then back, and then to the west and then back, and then to the south and then back (there in the center where his little moccasins were lying), and then he went around (in circuit) all of them sitting there and picked up his little moccasins and went to the spot where the sun was coming in. They said, "Probably he is the son of Sun. If he is the

<sup>90</sup> Somebody might say, "I wish I could see through the wall." Another would reply, "You can not; you are nabürlade; you have not the power; only a person not a sinner can do it."

son of Sun, let us wait until Sun comes in and see which direction he will go to." They waited, and wherever the sun shone down the baby followed until the sun was gone. When the sunlight was gone the little boy took his little moccasins and went to his mother. Then the t'aikabede and the others decided to let the little boy go until he got older. The little boy grew so fast that in four days he was already a youth.

One night while they were sitting by the fireplace somebody knocked at the door. When the young boy (öwade) opened the door there was another young boy standing at the door, and he told him to come in. When this boy came in and sat down he called the woman, mother. "I came to ask you if you would please tell me where my father is." The woman answered, "I do not even know who you are, my son." The boy said, "Mother, do you remember the baby you took to Blue water?" The woman said, "Yes, I remember." The boy said, "I am your child, mother. I am the one you took to Blue water. I have come back." He told his little brother he was his brother and that was his mother. He brought a dress and manta (white, secret ritual blanket) and moccasins for his mother to wear while she was on this earth. He said he brought these things for her because it was time for them to go and look for their father. Their grandmother and mother began to cry, wondering how they could reach their father. The boy who came in and brought the clothes said, "Mother, I am the son of Sun. I have got to go and look for my father so I can go around with him, to give life to the people (waidemai) and luck (nakamu) and watch over them. His mother started crying. She said, "How can you find your father?" He said, "You get our bows and arrows ready. In four days we will go." On the first night the boy from the blue water began to sing:

Way over east from the pueblo  
Where the blue lake is  
Where my mother gave me up  
Right there I was told  
From the middle of the lake  
To come up by the ladder  
To bid good-bye to my mother.  
So, good-bye.<sup>91</sup>

The first night when the t'aikabede heard this song, he paid no attention to it. Nor the second night. He thought it was the boys improvising a song,<sup>92</sup> because they had heard of the woman casting away the boy. But the third night he learned it was the boy himself who had come back. The fourth day in the morning the paiwilawe came in, wanting to find out what the song meant and where the boy had come from. The little boys were all ready to leave to look for

<sup>91</sup> "It breaks our heart, that song."

<sup>92</sup> See p. 210.



their father. So paiwilawe told them they could not go. They had to come to the meeting that night. Paiwilawe kept on insisting, but the older boy said, "That is true, father, you are the leader of the pueblo. You are the headman; but at the same time I am commanded by my father to leave the pueblo and look for him and help him in this world."

They said good-bye to their grandmother and mother, and they went out toward the east. As they were going, the t'aikabede called out for them to bring back the little boys. All the fast runners in the pueblo ran to overtake them, and all the people in the pueblo ran after them, but they could not catch them. The faster they chased them, the faster they ran. They kept on chasing them four days. On the fourth day they gave up, for it began to rain and rain and rain, and the more it rained the faster the little boys ran. After they came back, on the fourth day, at night, they called for another meeting, but it was too late. They could do nothing about it. They went and talked to the toyide (medicine man). He said that it was always better to think in advance of doing anything, and that it was now too late. Because the t'aikabede made this mistake of planning too late, afterwards in this world people would always plan too late. From there the little boys went on and went on until they came to the house of Spider grandmother. That was on the eighth day after they had started out. Spider grandmother asked them where they were going. They were so small and nobody ever came around there, and how did they get there? They told where they were going and for whom they were looking. Spider grandmother said, "My grandsons, you are going very far. You will get over there four days from to-day; but I think you will never talk to the sun because he is very, very mean. You will be burned before you get close to him." The little boys said whether or not they got burned they had to go. So the next morning they started again. They told Spider old woman good-bye. She told them what direction to go in, and how they would come to a big mountain. After they went out they passed just where Spider old woman told them. The younger boy was getting tired over the rocky mountain. He was falling back and did not want to go any farther. That was on the tenth day. His brother said, "We have to go. Do not think of giving up. Our mother is thinking too much about you. That is why you are getting tired. But do not think of mother. We will see her every day in this world and take care of her. No matter how far we are from her we will watch over her every day. You will find that out after you get over there." That made the little boy feel happier, and he went on again.

On the eleventh day they got as close as they could get. On the twelfth day in the morning they got right inside where Sun was, and there was a man standing at the door. They asked him if they



could go in and see the son of God.<sup>93</sup> He answered, "There is nobody in the world who could ever see him or talk to him." He asked how did they get there where nobody ever came. The older boy answered they were sent over there by the people in the blue water,<sup>94</sup> and told they were the sons of the sun, and they were looking for him, and they wanted to talk with him.

So the guard (wilawe) went in and told Sun that two boys were looking for him and claimed they were his sons, and what should he do with them? Sun said, "If they claim they are my sons, you let them stay with you and see if they can stand the heat I am going to give for them." So the guard came out from Sun's house and told the little boys, "Sun says for you to stand out here until he is ready for you." So they stayed there, and for three days they slept; they never woke up. They did not feel the heat of Sun, although the ground was as if boiling; it was so hot. They slept soundly as if under a tree. On the fourth day in the morning the wood which the guard had been gathering was all ready. Then the little boys were put in the oven where there was fire. Should they not burn, they were the sons of God. If they burned, they were of no account. The next day when they opened the oven the little boys were as happy as birds playing on top of snow. So Sun said, "Well, these are surely my children. Bring them in here!" When they got in, their father said to them they were his sons. He took them to be his helpers. The one from the blue water came up with a little bow and arrow, and that bow is the rainbow which comes out after it rains, and the little boy who cried for his mother was the little rainbow<sup>95</sup> that stands by the sun when he goes down. He was a little coward, so he had to stand close to his father.

#### 15. SUN AND HIS SONS

Long ago our father Sun had two sons. After he started in the morning, after he arose, he went on all the long way to Welimai. He went underground on his way to the east again. He would get there early in the morning. When he was ready to come out, he would meet his son to say good-bye. He said, "We shall see each other again to-morrow morning." There should be the two boys standing at the door, one on each side. The older son would say, "Father, we are ready to go with you to-day and help you all the way to Welimai." "All right, sons, we will all start. When we get to Welimai I will say to your grandmother and grandfather that you are my sons. Then grandmother will want you to stay with her in Welimai, and I will go along by myself to the east again, and I will tell my wife

<sup>93</sup> Our father Sun (kikaawei luride) was regularly so referred to.

<sup>94</sup> Wenin, from whom the liwan get their power.

<sup>95</sup> It is not shaped like a bow, but it has rainbow colors.

about you two boys." Then he said to his wife, when he got there, the sun, "My wife, how will you look at this now, what I am thinking about our children? The oldest boy I think I am going to give him a wife now." "All right, my husband, let us do so." So when they agreed on the boy having a wife, they went to the cacique's house to ask for the girl. And the cacique talked to his wife, too, about their daughter. They thought it was well for the girl to get a husband from the sun. So they all, Sun's wife and Sun, and the cacique's wife and the cacique, agreed on the two children getting married. When the two children were married, Sun said to his son, "Now, my son, this is your wife, I have given you what you needed; through her you are going to be happy; through her you are going to be cheerful; through her you are going to do your work cheerfully; through her you are going hunting cheerfully; through her you are going to be happy with the people. Her name will be Malinche.<sup>96</sup> My son, I will make your home over by the salt lake, and we will come every day to see how you are getting along. After this you shall go hunting for deer, rabbits, birds, to support her nicely. This will be the conclusion by your father of establishing you where you shall always stay."

That is the last of it.

#### 16. HOW THE DEER GOT THEIR RED EYES

Deer old woman and Wolf old woman were good friends. They used to go out together after wood and after food. One day when they were out gathering wood both were tired, and they sat down to rest under a cedar tree. Wolf old woman asked Deer old woman to let her comb her hair. When Deer old woman sat down, Wolf old woman hit her and killed her. Then Wolf old woman got some meat and took it home to her children. When she was passing the house of Deer old woman's children, she gave them a piece of meat and told them their mother would be late coming home that night. Then Deer old woman's children took the piece of meat and went inside to roast it. As they were roasting it, it started to talk; it said it was their mother's flesh and that Wolf old woman had killed her. So they sat down and cried all night long. Next morning Wolf old woman went out to the mountain to get the rest of her meat. Wolf old woman's children and Deer old woman's children came out to play together. Wolf old woman's children were asking Deer old woman's children how they got such pretty red eyes. Deer old woman's children told Wolf old woman's children that if they wished to have pretty eyes, too, they would show them how. So they got a lot of corn cobs and shut Wolf old woman's children in, and Deer old woman's children ran away before Wolf old woman came back.

<sup>96</sup> The Mexican term for the woman associated with Montezuma, his wife or sister.

When Wolf old woman came back, she found her two children smothered to death. So Wolf old woman ran after Deer old woman's children. Deer old woman's children came to a bunch of blackbirds and asked them to help them run away from Wolf old woman. So they put them inside of a football and kicked the football down south.

By and by Wolf old woman came to the blackbirds and asked them had they seen Deer old woman's children run by. The blackbirds did not answer. Soon Deer old woman's children came to a river and they told Beaver to take them across. When Wolf old woman came there, she asked Beaver to take her across. After Wolf old woman got on Beaver's back, he began to dive, and it took them a long time to cross that river, and by that time Deer old woman's children got to the cave where the other deer were living, and they told deer what had happened to their mother. Then all the bucks began to sharpen their horns to wait for Wolf old woman. Soon Wolf old woman came in. They told her to pass in. Deer old woman's children were in there. As soon as she came down they caught her on their horns and killed her, and they made soup out of her. All the deer were told to be careful and not drop any on the floor. If they did some wolves would come out from the den. One of the deer children happened to drop some soup on the floor. From that a lot of wolves came running. Ever since that time wolves and deer have been enemies.

#### 17. THE GIRL WHO MARRIED A BEAR

Natōai there were living a woman and a man and they had one daughter. Ever since she was a child she knew how to grind and make blue bread (pakushin). When she became grown (chape'chebak, after first menstruation), and while she was still living with her father and mother, the boys (ōwan) would come and ask her to marry them. She was very strict with boys. She wanted to marry nobody. She would say she would rather marry a bear. She was already a grown woman (tafiu raweai), and her father and others would tell her it was proper for her to marry, her father and mother were getting older every day. She said she would not do it; she would rather marry a bear than one of those boys. So one night when the dance was going on in the tula, and everybody was in there dancing excepting this girl, this bear came to the door. The girl went and opened the door to see who it was. Bear old man, kōafuli, said to the girl, "I have heard so much about you who wanted to marry a bear. Do you really mean it, or are you just saying that?" The girl said, "I mean it; that is why I said it." And she was not afraid of that bear at all. Bear old man said to the girl, "I will give you four days to think it over, and I will be back on the fourth night." And so Bear old man left, and the girl stayed home as happy as could be. When her father and mother (berka'a berkye) came home from the dance,

they found her very happy and glad. On the fourth day in the morning she told her father and mother that she never wanted to marry anybody until she found a bear, and that she had found Bear, and she was going to marry him that night. Her father and mother started crying and told her how crazy she was to think of marrying Bear old man. "How could Bear old man come and get you?" By night the girl was ready to go with Bear old man. When he came she went out with him. After the old man went out and saw the girl sitting on Bear old man's back, he asked all the people to help him kill that bear so he could not take the girl away with him. The men went out with their bows and arrows and koanla (thunder sticks) to kill Bear old man. After they went away, the rain started to fall and it washed away the bear's tracks. They could not find his tracks anywhere. When Bear old man and the girl got to the cave in the mountain, they took a big stone from the mouth of the cave. When they went inside the cave, they found a nice place like an Indian home. Bear old man told her that there she was to live and grind corn, but she could not go out anywhere. That way she lived with Bear old man day after day. Finally she got in the family way. She had two boys, twins. They were half bear and half human—bear babies (kōauu). They became great hunters. One time when they were out hunting the people saw them and tracked them to the cave. They killed the boys and took their mother home. (Bear old man was already dead.) When they brought the woman home, her father was no longer living, nor her mother, and she herself died from sorrow for her sons who were killed.

#### 18. THE BORROWED BEAR CUBS

There were living a man and a woman, and this man became t'aikabede. They had a daughter. All the people had to take care of the t'aikabede, give him food and clothes, and he never did any work. When his daughter grew up, she was the best grinder and maker of blue bread among the people. One time a man came to ask the t'aikabede to let him have his daughter to marry. T'aikabede said that he would not give his daughter up until he found a good hunter and shooter with bow and arrow. So the boys would practice shooting and would go hunting to become good hunters. Finally one appeared to be the best hunter of them all and the best shooter. T'aikabede called a gathering for them to shoot with their bows and arrows. He put the shiny ball of buckskin on top of the pole of his ladder. The rival marksmen were to shoot down that ball. Nobody hit it, except the one who said he was the best marksman. His arrow hit the ball. So he won the first trial. Then they had a council to tell the boy that he was to show he was the best hunter by bringing in

a little bear alive. So the next morning the hunter went out and looked around for a bear cave. On the third day he found a cave where Bear old woman (kōāliu) had two cubs. So he sat down and made a cigarette. When he got to the cave he picked up a little stone and rolled it into the cave. Bear old woman heard the stone rolling, so she peeped out to see what it was. The boy began to smoke to pray to Bear old woman not to jump on him. When she saw the boy praying, although she was angry she decided to take the cigarette from the boy. After Bear old woman had smoked, they sat down to talk, and the boy told her what had brought him there. Bear old woman said, "I have two little ones inside, but I do not care to intrust them to anyone. If I give you my little ones will you promise to bring them back to-morrow night?" The boy promised to do it. At the same time he made another cigarette and gave it to Bear old woman to give him enough power, for the sake of the cigarette, to take the little bears home and not have them run away from him.

So Bear old woman took this cigarette, and with it ordered her children to go with this boy and do as they were told by him. So from there they went on and got to his house on the third day at night. On the fourth day, early in the morning, before sunrise, this boy told the two little bears that they had to go to the t'aikabede's house, and that they were to play up and down on the ladder, and not hurt anyone and remember what their mother had told them. So all three went together over to t'aikabede's house and he set the little bears down outside, and he went inside and told t'aikabede, "My father, what I promised you, I have done. You asked me for one little live bear but instead of one I bring two." And so t'aikabede went out to see if this was so. He saw the little bears going up and down on the ladder. So he told the kumpawilare to gather all the people to come and see the little bears the great hunter had brought. So everybody came and saw the little bears going up and down on the ladder all the day, and t'aikabede gave them his word that he would give his daughter to this hunter. In 12 days every one was to come to their wedding. Then the hunter took back the little bears in the afternoon. On the way he killed a deer and took it to Bear old woman, and with that he paid Bear old woman for letting him have the two little bears. He gave the deer and promised her that the following year, if there were piñon, he would bring her a sackful. So after he came back, in 12 days, they got married. After that, as long as they lived he and his wife would pick piñon every year for Bear old woman, and he believed greatly in Bear until he died.



19. THE GIRL WHO TURNED EAGLE; THE MAN WHO UNDERSTOOD ANIMALS <sup>97</sup>

At Nafia' lived a man and his wife. They had a daughter. They loved her very much. The old man did not want his wife to scold her, nor did the old woman want him to scold. She used to grind corn early in the morning before sunrise. After she finished grinding, she would cook. After they ate, she would go after water to a spring. They lived near the mountain. She would clean the house, then she would prepare their dinner. The old man used to go around the village chopping wood. The old woman used to help other people in their houses. They would give her food. So they lived. One morning the girl went after water with her water jar. Some other girls were getting water in the same spring. She was waiting until they got their water. She never played with the other girls. One of the girls got her jar and threw out her water. So she went back and filled up her jar again. She put the jar on the ground and was talking to the girls. Another girl went and threw out her water. "Do not throw out my water! I will be late. They will scold me." "No, they will not scold you. We always play this way, and they do not scold us." A girl threw out her water again. And she was crying. So at last they let her go. She was late, and her father began to scold her for the first time. She said it was not her fault. She was worrying about being scolded. Next morning as she was grinding she began to think she would like to be an eagle, so she could fly away. As she ground, the first corn was white corn, the second time she ground black corn, the third time, yellow corn, the fourth time, blue corn, the last time corn of all colors. She was singing:

Awī ai ai  
Awī ai ai  
Awī ye ye.

The first corn meal, the white, she threw to the east, then she turned eagle from her knees down. The second time she threw to the north, black corn meal, and she turned eagle from her waist down. The third time she threw to the west, yellow corn meal, and she turned eagle from her chest down. The fourth time she threw to the south, blue corn meal, and she turned eagle from her neck down. She was singing and crying all the time. The old woman was listening. She said, "Old man, get up! I think our daughter is singing, but far away." The last time she threw up and down corn meal of all colors, and she turned eagle altogether. Then she flew out to the door, and from there to the ladder. The old man came out and saw the eagle, but he did not know it was his daughter. The eagle flew up on the roof. The old man went into the room,

<sup>97</sup> This is the first tale of the Arabian Nights.



and did not see his daughter. The old woman ran out and saw the eagle and said, "There is our daughter! It is your fault she has turned eagle, because you scolded her." They got sticks to throw at the eagle. The old man ran around the village to ask them to shoot the eagle. All the time the eagle was singing her song. She flew off to the mountains where she lived in a cave.

One time a hunter from another village was out hunting deer in the mountain. The first deer he found he followed. At last he shot the deer in the leg. The deer went into a big canyon. The hunter saw a bank and on top of the bank he saw smoke coming out. He went on top and saw a chimney, and he looked down and saw a fire, and at the fireplace he saw a little pot boiling. He went down and came to a big rock and moved it a little and went in. The girl was sitting sewing. He looked at her. The girl said, "Come in! How does it happen you come around here where nobody comes. If my grandfather and grandmother come back, they will kill you." "No, I have my gun," he said. "Sit down!" she said. Then he told how he had been out hunting and had followed a deer. (The deer was her grandfather.)

The boy sat thinking. He asked her if she would marry him. "I do not know if my grandfather or grandmother would let me. You come to-morrow and I will tell you." At that time her grandfather and grandmother came in like deer. "Who is here? We smell people." The boy was hiding. "Yes, grandfather, there was a boy came in; he saw the smoke and came in, but he is gone." The old deer said, "No, here he is. I am going to kill him." The old man started to butt him. So the boy stood there; he was not afraid. Then the old grandfather and grandmother took off their skins and hung them on the wall. The girl had her eagle skin hanging there. Then they shook hands with the boy, and he told them how he had come there and wanted to marry the girl. Her grandfather said yes, she could marry him. So she married him, and he stayed there. They had two sons.

Then one time he said he was going out to see the country. As he was going he came to a little village. A widow lived there. He knocked at her door. "Come in!" she said. She gave him something to eat. So he stayed there. He asked the widow if she would marry him. They got married. The woman had four or five chickens and a team. The man used to have wood to sell in the village. At last they began to quarrel together. The man decided to go hunting in the mountains for a few days until the woman got over it. In the mountains he met a little deer, and he shot at it. He ran up to it. The deer was crying and asked him not to kill her, she would pay him. All right, he said, he would not kill her if she paid him. What did he want her to pay him? He wanted to understand every kind

of animal. All right, she gave him this power. Then he went on and killed a deer and brought it home. The old woman came out and she was glad. They went on living there. The old woman said to him, "Let us take a ride." He went out to saddle the horse and mare, and she prepared the lunch. He rode the horse and she rode the mare, and she was left behind. The mare began to whinny, meaning to say to wait for her. The mare said to the horse that he was not tired because he was carrying only one person and she was carrying three persons. (Her unborn foal and the woman's unborn child.) The man heard and understood and began to laugh. The woman asked what he was laughing at. He would not tell because the deer told him that if he told, he would die. The woman got mad. That night they quarreled so much they did not eat supper. They kept on quarreling. Next morning the rooster began to crow, "My boss is sad. My boss is not man enough to boss his wife, and I have all these women and I can boss them." He raised his wing and said, "I can boss 40 women, and my master can not boss one woman. In his place I would get a whip and shut her up and whip her." The man listened and thought the rooster was giving good advice. So he got a whip and locked her in and began to whip her. After that they got on well. One day she said to him, "Do you love me?" "Yes." "Well, if you love me, tell me why you laughed that day when we were riding." So he told her, and he died, and they had a funeral; and the people asked her what he had died of; and she told; and from that time on they have told this story.

#### VARIANT (THE GIRL WHO TURNED EAGLE)

Old people were living. They had only one daughter. She was much interested in everything she saw her mother do. The mother used to scold the little girl because she was anxious to do whatever her mother did. Her mother said one morning, "I am going to grind to-day." The little girl said, "I am going to grind, too." Her mother said, "It seems to me you are in my way all the time. Whatever I say I am going to do, you say you are going to do." "Yes, I am going to do it." First the mother started to grind the blue corn. When she finished grinding blue corn, the little girl said, "It is my turn to grind the blue corn." The old mother said, "Ötapilire! Bushy-head!" The little girl did not mind her mother saying that, she just started to grind. Her mother said, "I am going to make a fire and make atole." The little girl said, "I, too, am going to make atole." Her mother said again, "Bushy-head!" The little girl repeated, "I am going to make atole, too." Her mother said, "I am nearly through." Then the little girl started to make atole again.

While her mother was folding the bread, the little girl sat down and started to make atole. Before her mother finished folding, the little girl was through. Again her mother said, "You bushy-head!" The little girl, as soon as she was through folding her bread, took some blue corn again, half a basket full, and started to grind. While she was grinding she began to sing ai! ai! ai! Then she turned, half of her, into an eagle. All she said was ai! ai! ai! Then she became, all of her, an eagle and started to fly. Her mother said, "What is the matter with my girl?" When she went in where the little girl was grinding, the girl eagle started to fly out, calling ai! ai! To-day she is still flying as an eagle. That is why we do not scold our children.

Kaw'inkæm, the tail is on you!

## 20. THE GIRL FLIES AWAY WITH EAGLE

Natöai there lived a woman. She had a stepdaughter (körure) and a daughter of her own (berpiu, her daughter). Her stepdaughter used to grind corn and wheat day and night. There was never a dance nor any pleasure for her. When the other girl ground, the meal would never increase even if she ground all day long. When the father went out, the woman would call her stepdaughter a witch, because her meal seemed so abundant. The stepdaughter became very sick of being so treated by her stepmother (berkörke), so one time she went up on the roof to feed the eagle. She was crying away as she fed it. She said to the eagle, "If you only had power enough, I wish you would take me away somewhere where I could have a better life. I am weary of this hard life, day after day, night after night." The eagle said to her, "Come and feed me to-morrow, and I will tell you about it, but tell nobody I have talked with you." So the girl went down and started to grind again and never said a word to anybody. Next day, again, she went up and fed the eagle. Her father had brought a rabbit. Then the eagle said to her, "Twelve days from to-day, my daughter, I will take you away from here, where you will have a better life, and from now on you get all the wheat and corn and blue bread (wafer bread) ready for your father." So the girl started to grind corn and wheat for eight days. She had ground so much wheat that she could find no more sacks to put it in. Instead of being glad, her stepmother scolded her, she scolded and scolded her for making so much meal. On the ninth day she started to make bread; for three days she made so much bread they did not know where to put it. The more bread she made, the more berating she got. She started to cry, thinking how she was about to leave her father forever. On the twelfth day in the morning she started to grind some corn meal for her father for him to use for his lifetime. About noon she went up to feed the eagle again, and she opened the

eagle's cage so he could be ready for her. Early in the afternoon she started to sing:

The corn and wheat I have ground  
Will last him the rest of his life.  
The meal I have ground this morning  
With that he will pray to our father Sun,  
So he can watch over me  
No matter where I may be.

When her stepmother heard this song, she began to berate her as usual. The last words she said were, "If you should have pity on me, tell my father to look for a ceremonial manta, and with that he should try to hit the eagle. If he strike him with that manta, we will return to the house we have lived in." Then away they flew. Since her stepmother did not care for her, she did not even glance out when she heard those words. When the neighbors saw the eagle flying away with the girl, they ran to tell her father; but he was not there, only her stepmother. Since she heard what the girl had said, she told everyone who had a ceremonial manta to try to hit the eagle before they went far. The eagle and the girl were sitting on the top of the ladder of the kiva when the people came out with their mantas. As the people began to strike at her, the eagle flew at once toward the east. From the east he returned to the ladder, and thence he went north. From north he returned to the ladder and went west. From west he returned to alight on the ladder and thence he went south. When he returned from the south he alighted on the tip of the ladder and pulled out one of his feathers, and he dropped it down to the girl's father, telling him to use that feather to pray for his daughter. All the tears she had let fall had gone for nothing, so the wenin were taking her away to have a better life. With these feathers he was to ask our father Sun to watch over his daughter. With the power of the wenin she was leaving everything in the house for him to have till he died. All the people started to throw whatever they had to hit the eagle with, but no one hit him, and they went on to the east. When they had gone far away, they came to Mother Spider old woman. The eagle asked Mother Spider old woman if the girl could sleep there that night. Then the next morning they started again. The eagle took her over to where the wenin were living and left her with them. As she belonged to the White Corn, she went to the wenin of the east.

## 21. FOUNDING OF LAGUNA <sup>98</sup>

Once at Acoma a man and his son were quarreling over their ceremonial things. The boy went out hunting. On his return his father told him to choose between the things on the right hand and

<sup>98</sup> Heard by narrator at Acoma

the things on the left. Those on the right were what they had brought up with them; those on the left what they themselves had made of wood. The son chose the left-hand things and took them with him to Laguna, founding Laguna.

## 22. ROCK GRANDFATHER (HIOTEE'RE)<sup>99</sup>

He used to live in a cave of the mountains 2 miles south of town to which he would come twice a year, into every house, and take away the children. People would hide their children in the house walls, plastering them up, but Grandfather Rock would tap the walls and find the hidden children. On each visit he would take away with him one baby. He was mean, nobody could shoot him.

Once there was a party from Spain, a *conduta*, in town when Grandfather Rock came in. They chased him out. From that time on they have never seen Grandfather Rock.

## 23. OUR FATHER DIUS AND OUR FATHER WÆIDE

The Catholic God, *kika'awei* Dius, our father Dius, and our Indian god, *kika'awei* Wæide, met to see who had more power, who could throw the stronger. Our father Wæide said, "Well, Elder Brother (papa), you throw to that spruce tree." Our father Dius got his gun; he hit the tree; the bullet went through. Elder Brother said, "Now, you try it." So our father Wæide shot with bow and arrow. With his power he made lightning which struck the tree and shattered it.<sup>99a</sup> "Well, Younger Brother, you are more powerful than I. You have beaten me," said Elder Brother. "Let us try another way. Let us see who will have the people." So our father Dius said that with his power he would build a church. He rang the bells and the people came and came and came. The church filled up with the people. The priest was making his ceremony at the altar. When he reached the middle of the Mass, Wæide came with his drum and, standing a little way from the church, he began to drum. All the people inside went out, leaving the priest alone. Wæide had more power, for all the people came to him. "You have beaten me," said Elder Brother.

## VARIANT

*Kikaawei* Dios made a gun and a *koanla* (thunder stick). He said to Weide,<sup>1</sup> his younger brother, to choose the one he wanted and the other would be for him, Dios. So Weide took the *koanla* and left Dios the gun. Then Dios fired the gun at a tree and made a little hole in it and Weide threw the thunder stick and it thundered and lightened and the lightning hit the tree and threw it down and

<sup>99</sup> Compare Taos, Parsons 22.

<sup>99a</sup> Compare Laguna, Boas, 225.

<sup>1</sup> Montezuma.



burned it up. Then Dios said he could not use that thunder stick except in war.<sup>2</sup> So Dios gave us bows and arrows to use.

## SPANISH TALES

### 24. MONTEZUMA

Montezuma used to live in a village near Sandia Mountain. He went away with his daughter. The Mexicans followed him as he was going north. Montezuma saw an old man planting corn. "Good day, my son," said Montezuma. "Good day." "What are you planting?" "Planting rocks." "Well, if you are planting rocks, rocks will come up for you." Then Montezuma stepped on a big rock and left his footprint in it. The Mexicans following Montezuma reached the old man. "Good day, my friend." "Good day." "Did you see anybody passing by?" "Yes." "When?" "When I was planting these rocks." The rocks were high. "Oh, it must be a long time since he passed by here." They saw his footprints in the rock.

On his way Montezuma came to a man planting wheat. "Good day, my son. What are you planting?" "I am planting wheat." "Well, wheat you are going to get. It will come up and grow fast and turn yellow. Tomorrow morning you will be cutting it." The Mexicans came by. "Good day, my friend. Did you see anybody pass by?" "Yes, when I was planting this wheat I am cutting." "Oh, that was long ago. He had to plant and irrigate and cut." So they turned back.<sup>3</sup>

After some years they captured him, in the desert, with his cousin. They took him to Santa Fe. Then they tied him to a mule to take him to old Mexico. At Tuturmapai (Mount San Mateo) he got away from them. They saw him going away as a deer. They had to take his cousin instead. That is why the Mexicans say they have Montezuma locked up in Mexico. Perhaps the Indians used to tell the Mexicans that their Indian god was Montezuma.<sup>4</sup>

Let me add an extract from a diverting and valuable book on New Mexico in the year 1855. The United States attorney to the Territory is at Laguna and has expressed a desire to see "their god Montezuma,"<sup>5</sup> who "with dancing and other rites" is invoked for rain. By one of the head men and the little son of Gorman, the Baptist missionary, resident at Laguna since 1852-53,<sup>6</sup> the United States

<sup>2</sup> When my father was 20 years old, the Navaho stole an Isletan boy. They used the thunder stick as medicine and brought thunder against the Navaho. They recovered the boy, but the Navaho had cut off one of his testicles and the boy died.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Parsons, 3: 258-259.

<sup>4</sup> Of this there is little doubt. Compare Dumarest, 230; Parsons, 14: 13.

<sup>5</sup> At Laguna I heard Montezuma referred to as Ts'itschinaku and identified with Poshean (Poshalani). See, too, Parsons, 3: 261-263. Montezuma was k'aukimuni, magical. "They sent him down to old Mexico." See Boas, 236-237.

<sup>6</sup> He was a member of the community "with all the rights and privileges of a full-born Indian," sitting "in the estufa in council." (Davis, 393.)



attorney is conducted to one of the 2-storied houses of the town.<sup>7</sup> "We ascended a ladder . . . and entered a small and badly-lighted room, where we found a shriveled-up old Indian, entirely naked, except a small cloth about his loins and moccasins upon the feet. Master James made known the object of our visit, and told him we were not Mexicans, and would neither injure nor carry away the god, which assurance was necessary, as none of that race are permitted to look upon it. A conference was now held between the man that accompanied us, the old keeper, and an old hag of a woman who had come in in the meantime, and in a few minutes we were informed that we could see Montezuma. The old woman was dispatched to bring it in, who returned after a short absence, carrying something in her arms, wrapped up in an old cloth, which she placed carefully upon the floor. The cloth was then removed, and their favorite god stood before our eyes. I was much disappointed in its appearance, it being a much ruder affair than I was prepared to see. I had expected to see something in imitation of man or beast, but there was presented to our sight an object that neither resembled anything upon the earth, in the heavens above, or in the sea beneath, and I felt that it could hardly be sinful in the poor ignorant Indians to fall down and worship it. The god Montezuma is made of tanned skin of some sort and the form is circular, being about nine inches in height and the same in diameter. The top is covered with the same material, but the lower end is open, and one-half is painted red and the other green. Upon the green side is fashioned the rude representation of a man's face. Two oblong apertures in the skin, in the shape of right-angled triangles, with the bases inward, are the eyes; there is no nose, and a circular piece of leather, fastened about two inches below the eyes, represents the mouth; and two similar pieces, one on each side, opposite the outer corners of the eyes, are intended for the ears.<sup>8</sup> This completes the personnel of the god, with the addition of a small tuft of leather upon the top, which is dressed with feathers when it is brought out to be worshipped upon public days. The three Indians present looked upon it with the greatest apparent veneration, they knelt around it in the most devout manner, and went through a form of prayer, while one of the number sprinkled upon it a white powder [corn meal]. Mateo, the Indian who accompanied us, spoke in praise of Montezuma, and told us that it was God and the brother of God. After contemplating this singular spectacle for a few minutes, we

<sup>7</sup> These surround the small central plaza. They are without doors, a ladder to the second story being used. The rooms are "small, low, and badly ventilated, and a few small pieces of foliated gypsum set in the thick wall admit the light." As to-day, there are three openings into the plaza. The population is reckoned at 1,000. One of the head men related that the site of the town was found by four men sent out at a time of famine to search for a new home. Also, that during the Great Rebellion of 1680 the people fled from the Spaniards to Zuñi. (Davis, 393-394.)

<sup>8</sup> Cp. Dumarest, 209, and figure 30

withdrew, quite astonished at what we had seen. Who would have believed that within the limits of our Union in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was to be found such a debased form of heathen worship."<sup>9</sup>

#### VARIANT

Montezuma or Weide used to ride on a white horse. He went down into the ground at Zia, leaving a ring of stones around the big stone where he went in with his horse. When the world is going to end or when white people fight with Indians, Montezuma will come back.

#### 25. SAN ESCAPU'LA

One time when a man was out herding sheep he found Escapu'la, a little head sticking out from the ground. He dug this santu out from the ground and carried him all the time on his back while he was herding. He went home. "My wife," he said, "I found this pastor. I am going to keep him. Wherever I go he shall go with me." "All right." They kept him in that little hole. When the man went herding, he carried him on his back again. The santu was right there with him. Then the man went and told the priest that he had found him. The priest told him to carry him to Santa Fe. He carried him there. When he came home, he found him back in his little hole. "Well, come out herding with me," he said to him. The old woman said, "Some day I am going to burn him up." "No!" The man went herding. On his return he found his wife all crooked, her mouth pulled to one side. He prayed and she prayed, to the santu, to make her look as she did before. So she got well again.<sup>10</sup> So people say that when they make a promise to San Escapu'la they must keep it.<sup>11</sup>

#### 26. THE SANCTUARY AT CHIMAYO

At Chimayo, the traditional home of the Tewa immigrants to the Hopi, there is preserved in a room of the church a hole in the ground of which the clay has in Indian opinion potent medicinal value, "good for pains in the body, and for being sad," said my Isletan informant. Twice he had visited the "san(c)tuario" or Shamno, as it is called from the man of Picuris (Shamnoag) who first found the saint.

He was out herding sheep. With his crook he was tapping some rocks and there by a big rock he found the saint, Sant Istipula. He was made of clay. The old herder took the image and placed it overnight by his pillow. In the morning the saint had disappeared;

<sup>9</sup> Davis, 395-396.

<sup>10</sup> Compare Parsons 11: 163. . . . Inferably, the saint, like Pueblo spirits, can cause the sickness which it can cure.

<sup>11</sup> A Mexican was sick. He gave a gold watch and \$20 to Escapu'la. On his return home he regretted he had given so much. The next morning the Mexican found the watch and money under his pillow. He took them back to Escapu'la. Again they were back under his pillow. Compare Laguna, Parsons, 2: 496.

he had gone back to his rock where the herder sought and found him. This time he carried the saint to Picuris for all to see. But from there, too, the morning after, the saint disappeared. The herder returned to the rock and there was the saint. So the herder thought there was no use carrying the saint away and on that spot he built a shade for him. Later in some way the Mexicans got possession of this place.

## 27. GUM MAN (TAR BABY)

Natō'ai, an old man, and an old woman were living in a little house. They had a little garden they were taking care of, a little chili patch, and they planted melons and watermelons. When the chili was ripe, every morning when they went to the garden, to hoe, they always found some chili gone. Rabbit was breaking the melons and making holes in them. Rabbit would do this at nighttime when the moon shone, or sometimes in the morning. The old man (tulili) did not know who was stealing the chili or eating the watermelons, so he said to the old woman (liuu), "Liuu, I am going to watch to-night to see who comes round and eats our melons." He left the old woman in the house and took a blanket and lay down in the chili patch to watch who was going to come there. The moon was shining and he was watching. So while he was watching, at midnight a little rabbit was walking to the chili patch. When he saw him coming, he got up and said, "You are the man eating my chili and my melons. I am going to kill you now." The little rabbit ran back to his hole. The old man ran after him with his stick to hit him. But he got to his hole and sat there scratching his face with his paw. The old man was mad, he thought he was making fun of him. He said, "I am going to catch you and kill you, so you will pay me back for the chili and melons." He went back to the old woman. "Old woman," he said, "I found out who is eating the chili and melons. He is a young man (öwari) coming to steal." The old woman said to the old man, "Why didn't you catch him and bring him so we could punish him?" "I ran after him, but he ran to his house and I could not catch him. I am going to get another young boy to catch him for me. I know a young man who could catch him right away. I am going to get him."

So they went to bed. Early in the morning he got up early and put up his lunch and went to the mountain and picked up some gum (kwji) and made it into the form of a man. He took it to his house. When he got to his house, the old woman said, "Old man, have you come back?" "Yes, I have come back." "Did you find the boy?" "Yes, he is coming." He had it hidden. "Well, the young man is going to come around about noontime." About noontime he said, "Well, old woman, give me some lunch. I am going out to hoe the

chili and see if the young man is coming around." He carried the gum boy in a bag. When he got to the garden he looked back to see if the old woman was peeping out. When he saw the old woman was not watching, he took out the boy and stood him in the rabbit hole and said, "Now, be a man! You have to catch the young man who is inside." So he went back to the garden and to the house. He said to the old woman, "Old woman, we have bad news." "What is it?" "The young man came around and said it was a bright day. He could not do anything, but he will be here to-night." The old woman began to cry, "We can not wait until to-night. By then all the garden will be taken away by the young man." "No, old woman, do not worry! We'll get him, we'll get him!" At sundown the old man went to see if the rabbit had been caught by the young man. Not caught yet. The rabbit wanted to come out, but he saw the form of a man, and he kept back. The rabbit was hungry. He said, "I am going out to get something to eat." He got to the door and said to the young man, "Who are you?" He did not answer. He asked him three times. The fourth time he asked, "Who are you? If you do not answer, I am going to hit you. I have to go out. You may be a man, but I am a man myself. I am going to lick you."

So the rabbit went close, and knocked him with his right hand, and his hand stuck in the gum. "I am a man," he said. "Let me go. But if you do not let me go, I have another hand to lick you." He licked with his left hand, and stuck to the gum. "Let me go, my friend (puyu)! If you do not let me go, I have my foot to kick you with." So his foot stuck. "Let me go, I have another foot to kick with." So he kicked him, and now he was stuck by his feet and hands. Then he said, "Let me go! To show you that I am a man, I have my head left yet; I can hit you with my head." So he stuck there. Next morning early the old man said to the old woman, "Old woman, I think I heard a noise. I am going to see if he has caught the young man." So he went out to the hole and found the rabbit sticking to the gum, and he said, "Heh, I got you now!" And he said to the gum, "I always knew you were a man and that you could do what I told you." He went to the house and called the old woman. "Old woman, you know what?" "What is it?" "The young man that I went to call to catch the other young man has caught him already." The old woman came out running and clapping her hands and saying, "Körkem! (thanks) Körkem! Körkem!" He went in with the gum and the rabbit and the old woman was surprised. And she looked at the rabbit and said, "Are you the one that was stealing my chili and my melons?" The old man put his hand to his forehead and said, "Yes, yes. You were the one destroying all my work. But now I am going to make (something) good out of you." And he said to the old woman, "Old woman, don't worry about him.

He'll pay us back again." So the old man told the old woman to boil some water while he was skinning him. Then after he skinned him, he cut him in quarters and put him to boil to make soup out of him. So they had breakfast. The old woman said, "Ha! ha! ha! You ought to get me another one. This soup is fine." So that is the way they killed the young man who was stealing in the garden, and that is how they showed the little boys to make soup. So from that time on that is the way they make soup; they go out and kill rabbits and make soup to this day. Then the little boys who are listening to this story will say, "Well, I am going to take bow and arrow and go out and kill rabbits." And the little girls will say, "Well, when you bring the rabbit, I will make soup out of it."

Kaw'æ'kyem!

Ha!

#### VARIANT

There lived an old man and an old woman. They had a garden of chili. Every morning the old man found the chili all gone. He could not find out who was stealing it. When he came back from the garden, he would say, "Old woman, old woman, again somebody stole our chili." Finally the old man got tired and he decided to make a doll of gum (tar). He put it in the middle of the garden. At night that little pōchiula (field rat) came there and said, "Who are you standing there?" The doll did not say anything. "If you don't tell me, I am going to hit you with my right hand." The doll said nothing. He hit him. His right hand stuck to the doll. "If you are not going to say anything, I will knock you with my right foot." The doll said nothing. He kicked and his foot stuck. "Are you not going to say anything? I have my left foot yet." He kicked him with his left foot. Then he stuck all together. Next morning when the old man came there, he found the thief. He took him home to his house and said, "Old woman, old woman, here I have brought you the thief this time." The old woman asked the little field rat, "What made you steal all my chili like that and leave me none at all?" The little field rat said it was because he wanted to eat some chili, too. The old woman said, "If you wanted to eat some chili, why did you not buy some?" And then they killed him.

#### 28. HOLDING UP THE MESA; SCHOOLMASTER TO THE BEES; HAIL COMING; MOON CHEESE

One time Coyote (tu'w'e) was living in the woods (nakai, Mexican, bosque). He was eating a hen from a chicken house. He was very much pleased with it, so he was just playing with it. At that time tu'w'eshōū (coyote blue, Mexican, sorra) was coming along on the road. He saw tu'w'eluli (Coyote old man) playing with the chicken.



Fox said to him, "Akuwam poyo!" "Hello, friend!" He did not answer him. Then he walked up to him and he said to Coyote old man, "Friend, while I take the feathers off your chicken, go in and tell your children to get ready." While Coyote went in to tell his children they had a tender chicken to eat, Fox ran away with it. He went into a bush and ate up the chicken. Then he ran out. Coyote old man was coming after him. Fox said to himself, "If Coyote catches me, he will eat me up." He was so full he could not run. At last he reached a mesa which ran north and south. It was afternoon and the shadow was long. He stood there with his paws up against the mesa, holding it. Then Coyote old man came and said, "Fox, you ate up my chicken. You have left my children starving. I am going to eat you up." Fox said to him, "No, friend, I am holding up this mesa. I am afraid if it falls on top of me it will kill me." Coyote old man came near and said, "All right, I will not do anything to you because you are keeping the mesa from falling." "Help me to hold it up," said Fox. "Look up and you will see how it may fall." The clouds were passing and made it look as if it were falling. Coyote looked up. "It looks dangerous," he said, "as if it were going to fall." So he began to help to hold it up, and every time he looked up, it looked dangerous. Fox said, "Well, friend, I am very thirsty. I will go and get a drink and a little rest and then I will come back and you can go." "All right," said Coyote old man. Then Fox ran away and Coyote stood there, holding the mesa, and every time he looked up it seemed as if it was going to fall. At last he got tired, and he ran away hard so as not to be killed.

He ran after Fox. "Whenever I catch him, I am going to eat him up," he said. He tracked him. At last Fox got to a deserted village. He was looking around to see what he could find to eat. He came to a hole in which was a nest of bumblebees. One came out and stung him on the mouth. He was crying. Then he got a stick and poked it in at them, making them mad. Now up came Coyote. He said, "Fox, I am going to eat you up for letting me hold that mesa up." "No, friend," said Fox. "I am a great man now. You see all these houses. All the people have chosen me to be schoolmaster." He had a long stick. "Look, my friend!" he said. He poked at the bees. "Now read!" he said, and they began to bumble. "They are reading now," he said. "It is very hard. I have so many children. How would you like to be teacher with me? When we are paid we will divide everything." "All right, my friend, I'll help you." Then Fox took the stick again and poked them harder. They made a louder noise. "Here is your pointer," he said, "make them read; do not let them play." So Coyote took the stick. Fox said, "I am going into the next room to teach the other children." Then he ran away. Coyote began to poke, he poked them harder and harder. At



last they came out and stung him all over, eyes and nose and everywhere. So Coyote old man said, "No, children, do not play! I want you boys to learn well." At last he had to run away, the bees following him to sting. At last he came to some water and went into the water and the bees left him. Then he went after Fox. He was crying and all swollen up. "Now this is the last time. Wherever I catch Fox, I am going to eat him up."

At last he reached Fox, under a big tree. He had a gunny sack with him, tied with a rope. "Now, Fox, I am going to eat you up. You fooled me with those children. I am going to eat you up." Fox was tightening the gunny sack with the rope. "Friend," he said, "I do not know what we are going to do. I am afraid we are going to be killed to-day." "Why?" "Do you know what is going to happen?" "What?" "The people in these houses here say it is going to hail and kill us. So I am getting ready this gunny sack to hang on this tree to be under the leaves so that hail won't hit me. Well, friend, you better run away to your cave; but I am going to hang myself in this sack to this tree." Coyote old man said, "No, friend, hang me first!" "All right, I am stronger than you. I could hang you and then myself. But we better hang before the hail strikes," he said. So Fox put Coyote old man inside of the sack and hung it up on the branch of a tree. When he hung him up, he said, "I do not know what I am going to do. I shall be killed with the hail. How do you feel up there?" he asked Coyote old man. "Are you safe?" "Yes, it looks dark here. The hail can not see me." "All right, my friend, you shall be saved. Shut your eyes tight." Then Fox went around and gathered lots of small stones and piled them up. After he piled them up, he threw them at the leaves and branches of the tree. "Look out!" he said. "The hail is coming; I am going to die here." Then Fox threw the stones at the sack. "Oh!" said Coyote old man, "the hail strikes hard." He threw all the stones at him and then he ran away, leaving Coyote hanging in the tree. Coyote hung there until it got dark. Then he began to bite at the sack and tear it, and he fell down from the tree.

He tracked Fox again. "I am surely going to kill him this time," he said. It was night. At last he found him at a pond near woods. Fox was sitting there. Coyote old man said, "I have caught you. I am going to eat you this time." Fox said, "Friend, do not make any noise. Look way down! There is a cheese. I want you to tie me by the waist and lower me down, so I can get that cheese for our supper." The moon was shining. (Coyote old man believes everything Fox says.) Fox was preparing the rope to be tied with. Coyote old man was greedy. "No, friend," he said, "you tie me, I'll go in and get the cheese." So he tied him, and he tied the end of the rope to a tree stump. "Now, jump, friend!" he said. So Coyote

old man jumped in to get the cheese. Fox sat there waiting for him to come up. At last he said, "Now I am safe. Coyote old man is dead." Then he went away to the place where he lived. So they say Coyote old man always wants everything for himself and to do everything himself. So my people say to anybody who is greedy, "You are like Coyote old man. You want everything for yourself."

29. VARIANT (HAIL COMING; SCHOOLMASTER TO THE BEES); DUCK SHEEP; VARIANT (MOON CHEESE)

Natōai Tuw'e'huli (coyote old man) and Tuw'e'shōu (coyote bluish fox) were living together. Coyote old man never wanted to work, he was depending always upon Fox. So Fox got tired at last of Coyote old man and made up his mind to kill him. So in the evening when Coyote old man came home, Fox said, "My friend, I am getting a gunny sack ready because I hear that to-morrow it is going to hail hard and I thought if I put myself in a gunny sack I would be safe." Coyote old man said, "My friend, why don't you put me in and save me and put yourself in some little hole?" Since Fox was making the gunny sack for Coyote old man, he said, "Certainly, I will do it. I think I had better save you first." The next morning they looked for a tree and Fox put Coyote old man in the gunny sack. He tied it firmly and hung it to a tree. After he hung him to the tree he said "Be careful, my friend. The clouds are beginning to come up." That was the time Fox was gathering up all the stones he could find. "Be careful, my friend, the clouds are getting thicker," he would say. After he finished gathering up the stones, he said, "Take care of your eyes, no matter if your arms get broken." He began to throw the stones at him. He said the hail was falling. After he finished throwing the stones, he ran away. When the hail passed, Coyote old man began to holler for Fox, asking him if the hail had passed. But he got no answer. When he heard no answer, he began to tear the sack and finally got out of it. He found nothing but the stones Fox was throwing at him. He said, "After we had been such good friends, what made Fox do me like this? I am going to track him until I find him."

While Coyote old man was going around to and fro looking for Fox, he came across a great big log. Fox was sitting right by that log. Coyote old man asked, "Why were you treating me like that, throwing stones at me. I have come and I am going to kill you." Fox said, "Listen, don't be mad, listen to what I am going to tell you. They appointed me school teacher for the school children inside of the log. I have to hurry them up. They will soon bring my dinner and we can eat together, if you do nothing to me." Coyote old man said, "All right, if you will divide your dinner with me, you will be safe. I won't do anything to you." Fox said, "Let me get a long

stick. I am going to poke them and make them hurry up and learn their lesson." Fox got a long stick and poked it into the log where there were a lot of bees. When he poked them, the bees began to make a noise as if there were a lot of scholars in there. Then he said to Coyote old man, "You take care of my scholars while I go over to that hill to see if they are bringing my dinner. But keep on poking them." So Coyote old man stayed there with the long stick poking the scholars, while Fox ran off again. While Coyote old man was poking, the bees got mad. He said to himself, "I guess I am a better teacher than Fox. They are making more noise. They are singing louder now." Finally the bees all came out, all alighting on Coyote old man. He did not know where to slap himself and he ran off to look again for Fox.

Finally, as he wandered about, he found Fox again at a pond where there were a lot of ducks. Now Coyote old man said to Fox, "This is the time you will not be saved. I am going to get after you." He said, "Here, here, take it easy, don't talk so loud; because I have a flock of sheep. If you talk loud, they will run away from us. If you want to join me, I will go talk to the boss (lö'mide). You can be my partner and we will kill a sheep every night." Coyote old man said, "All right (he'wei), I will stay while you go." Fox said, "Now be careful, do not make much noise!" So Coyote old man stayed there until he began to wonder why Fox was away so long. So he went near the bank to chase the sheep toward the hill. When he came close, the ducks [the sheep] all flew away and left Coyote old man looking up into the air. He got mad again. "Now I surely will catch Fox, wherever he has gone."

There were two ladies, young, pretty ladies, when Coyote old man got to where Fox was. "Now this time I am going to catch you. You will not escape from my hands." He said, "Hush! do not talk so loud. There are two ladies over there. Their husbands went out hunting and they will soon bring a deer in. Then they will surely give me some of the meat and we better wait together here." Coyote old man said, "You have lied to me so much, this is the last time I am going to believe you." Fox said, "I know this is the last time you will believe me. I won't fool you again. Now I am going down the river," he said, "to see if their husbands are coming back, for I saw them going down by the river to water their donkeys. Coyote old man said, "Now, Fox, if you do not come back, I am going to eat you up. This is the last time I am going to believe you." "Yes, I know it is the last time, you wait here and I will come back." Then Fox went out and looked for a long wire. When it was evening he called Coyote old man. He had left the wire at the bank of the river. When Coyote old man got there, he said, "Haven't those men come back yet?" "No, they are not back yet." He said, "The reason I have

come back is that they have dropped a big cheese in the river. I wonder could you take it up. You are bigger than me." He said, "Well, we are waiting for meat, what should we do?" "Let us take the cheese out first, then we can come back and get our meat." "All right, let's go." When they got to the river, Fox said to Coyote old man, "Did I not tell you the truth? There is a big cheese down there. Can you see it?" Coyote old man said, "Cheese! that is a big one, how are we going to get it now?" Fox said, "You can think better than me. What do you think we ought to do?" Coyote old man, as he was always wanting to be the first to eat, said, "I am going to jump in and get it and you pull me out." So Fox said, "All right, but let me tie a wire around your neck so I can pull you out if you can not get out. The cheese seems to be pretty big." So he tied the wire around his neck. He said, "I am going to tie a stone around the other end, so the stone will help me pull you up." Coyote old man jumped into the river and then Fox threw the other end of the wire with the stone on it into the river, too. So Coyote old man stayed in the river forever with his cheese (which was the moon shining in the river). Gaw'ikiemu, you have a tail.<sup>13</sup>

### 30. THE SKELETON WHO FELL DOWN PIECE BY PIECE

There was a boy living with his mother and brothers. They all went out to look for work and the boy found an empty house and he went to sleep there that night. From the top of the house he heard, "I am going to fall." "Well, fall!" An arm came down. "I am going to fall!" Another arm came down. Soon there stood there a whole skeleton. "You are a brave boy, won't you wrestle with me?" "Wrestle with a bony man like you!" They wrestled together and the boy beat and threw down the skeleton. "You are a brave boy and I am going to let you have all the riches I have here." So the skeleton gave the boy a candle to light so he could go into a little room where the skeleton kept his gold and silver. Then the skeleton jumped on the boy's back and said, "You got to carry me." "All right, I will carry you." When they got to the room, Skeleton blew out the candle. The boy said, "I want to see what your riches are," and he lit the candle again. Just as he was about to see the money, the dead man blew out the light. Finally the boy got mad and threw down the skeleton and said, "If you are going to blow out the light, I will break your bones." "No, my friend, leave me alone, for I think you are a brave boy." When he lit the candle, he saw the money. The dead person said, "I am going to ask one

<sup>13</sup> "Mexican or Indian story?" I asked. "Indian story," and the narrator added that it was told to lazy children. A child might say, "I do not want to depend on any one. I rather work. They might throw me in the river like Coyote old man."

thing of you, my friend. After you have gathered up everything, you must assemble all the poor people and give a little money to everybody and help them, and the rest will be for you." And he left him, and that boy became a rich man.

### 31. HOW BURRO CATCHES FOX

There were some shepherds. They moved camp and they sent the burro to town to get some flour. The burro on its way back met a fox. The fox took all the sacks of flour the burro had. After the burro got to the sheep camp, the shepherds thought Burro had taken the sacks, and they started to beat him. Burro thought to himself he was not going to be punished for something he had not done, so he formed a plan. They sent Burro back to town after some more flour. When he was coming back, he knew at what place he had met Fox and before he got there he started to defecate. He kept on defecating all along the trail. After the fox saw him defecating, he went to find out what was the matter with him. As soon as the fox got close enough, the burro caught Fox and dragged him into camp. After he brought him in, the shepherds knew who had torn up the sacks the burro just bought. So they skinned Fox alive and let him go. The wife of the old fox was looking around for him. When she went outside, she saw Fox coming over the hill with a red coat on. The old woman hollered. "Say, señor with the red coat, have you seen my husband?" Fox answered, "I am your husband; don't you know me any more?" So the old woman fox sent out her two little children after some cow excrement. After the children brought some cow excrement they made a big fire. After there were some red-hot ashes, they put Fox old man on top to cure him, to leave him sano! sano! (well! well!). He was roasted.

### 32. THE GOAT AND THE PADRE<sup>14</sup>

An old woman at Zia had a pet goat. It protected her like a dog and would butt at people. Finally it died. There was a dance at Jemez. She went over to it and she went to Mass. The father had a long beard. When she looked at him, she began to cry. "What are you crying about, my daughter?" asked the padre. She would not tell him, but he kept on asking her, thinking she was in trouble. "Well, father, I had a goat with a long beard just like yours. Every time I see you bending your head I recall my goat." "You stay out of this church!" cried the padre. So the old woman was chased out of the church.

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<sup>14</sup> Heard from a man of Zia. For bibliography, see F. F. Communications, No. 1834.



## TALES OF WITCHCRAFT

33. THE DEVIL'S DAUGHTER<sup>15</sup> (LÆKURUDE<sup>16</sup> BERPIU)

A man and a woman were living at Tōailuñiai, elk old there; i. e., village. They had a son, Pabu. His father had a grape arbor. The boy used to tend to it. They made lots of wine. He used to drink, and was always drunk. So at last his father thought he would destroy the grape vines, since his son drank too much. Then, after the vines were destroyed, the boy would go to the village to look for wine and to sell whatever his father had—cattle, horses, goats. His father worried about it and he got sick and died. His mother worried about it and she died. Then Pabu sold everything, land, horses, everything for drink, and he became poor, and nobody in the village wanted him around. He had only one little room with nothing in it but a sheep pelt to lie on. He stayed there three days without food. Then he decided to leave the village. He crossed the river and began to walk out in the bosque (woods). He began to think that if Lækurude would come around he would ask him for work. As he was talking to himself, Lækurude came out of the wood and said, "Öwa kulade (boy young), where are you going?" He said he was looking for work. Lækurude asked what he had been thinking about. He said he would tell him the truth, that he had been thinking that if Lækurude would come, he would ask him for work. "Well, young boy, if you want a job, I will give you some work. What can you do?" "I can do anything, sweep, or anything." "All right. You come with me; but before we go, promise me you will do the work I will give you." "Yes, the best I can." "If you do not do what I give you to do, what will you pay me?" "I will give you my life. And what will you give me if I do the work?" "All that you need in this world." Then they made a contract. Lækurude said, "I have my buggy there. Let's go."

The buggy was made out of silver and gold, and he had a pair of white horses. "Well, young boy, get in, we'll go." They were flying along, in the air. And the young boy said to Lækurude, "Have you any whiskey (paleu, water burn)?" "Yes. I will give you some." He gave him a bottle. They were going all one day, that was one year, one year of travel in one day. So at last they reached the top of a big mesa, where Lækurude lived with his wife and three daughters. When they got there, he said, "We are home, get down. I will give you a place to stay." They arrived before sunset. He said to him his oldest daughter would come and give him supper.

<sup>15</sup> This was the narrator's own title.

<sup>16</sup> Læp, burn; kurude, a yellow flower. The term is translated devil.



"And after supper, you will go out to work. I work nighttime, and sleep daytime." So the young man said, "All right, my father (nkai). All I want is a bottle of whiskey to drink." He went to his room and was drinking. The youngest daughter (t'öaiwaii) came in to his room while the oldest daughter (ch'uwaii) was getting ready the supper. She said, "Akuwam!" He answered, "Akuwam!" She said, "What are you doing around here where not even the birds come?" He said, "Yes, inkwemwei (my younger sister), I came here to work with your father. He said he would give me work." She said, "My older brother (impapawei), you can not do the work he will give you." "Well, I will do what I can." "Well, I will help you out of danger, for if you do not do this work, my father will surely kill you. But just listen to me. I want to ask you if you are willing to marry me if I help you?" "All right, I promise to marry you." "The first job my father will give you will be to move the mountain from the south side of the house to the north side. You will not be able to do it; but I will help you. Do not eat the food my older sister (mtutei) will give you. She will bring you some food, but do not eat it. I will bring you some myself. I am going now." So when she went out, the oldest sister brought in the food. "Akuwam! papa," she said. "Akuwam!" he answered. "Are you going to work for my father?" "Yes." "I have your supper, so you will be strong enough to work at night." He answered, "I have just eaten, I am full. I want only something to drink, some whiskey." So she gave him some whiskey and took the supper away. He did not eat anything. Then the youngest came in with food for him, a bowl of sachu' (corn meal mush). She said to him, "Eat this, and you will be strong." So he ate it, and asked her for some whiskey. She said to him, "My father is going to take you to a room to get a shovel and wheelbarrow and pick. He will take you to the mountain and tell you to move it to the other side before sunrise. But do not worry and be afraid, I will help you." When she went out the old man came in. "Young boy, how are you getting along?" "All right, my father." He took him out to a room. He said, "Choose the wheelbarrow you like and the shovel and pick." He took him to the mountain. "This is your first job. I am going to give you three jobs." "All right," he said. He began to work. He filled the wheelbarrow with dirt and wheeled it to the other side of the house and he went on doing this. Before midnight the young girl came out. "How are you getting along?" "All right, I am moving this mountain." "You go to your room and lie down and sleep. I'll do the work." So the young boy went to his room and to bed. In a minute she changed the mountain to the other side.

She went to the boy's room and sat beside him. He was sound asleep, snoring. She sat watching beside him. Early in the morning

she woke him up and said, "Now go to the same work you were at." He began to wheel the dirt. Before sunrise the old man came out. "Well, young boy, how are you getting on?" "All right." "How do you like it?" So he put his hand to his forehead and said, "All right." "Go back to your room and sleep." So he went and slept all day. The second night it was the turn of the middle sister. The youngest sister told him the same thing about her middle sister as about the eldest. "Do not eat her food. When my father comes he will ask you, 'Did you see the pond miles and miles deep? The second job I give you is to move that pond alongside the mountain you moved.'" So she gave him the mush. At sunset the old man came. "Young boy, did you sleep well to-day? Have you had your supper?" "Yes." "Well, you are strong." So they went to another room and got a bucket and he took him to the pond. The boy filled the bucket and carried it across. At midnight the girl came, and sent him to his room. She did the job in one minute. She had the power to do it. She moved the pond to the other side. She went and sat beside the boy all night in his sound sleep. Next morning she woke him up and told him to return to his job. Before sunrise the old man came and said, "How are you getting along?" "All right. How do you like my work?" The old man put his hand to his forehead and told him to go to his room. So he went and slept. It was the turn of the youngest girl to feed him. "Now this will be the last job. It is the hardest. Do not worry, I will help you. Just listen, my father will come and he has a white horse in the corral, a wild horse. He will say to you, 'Get a saddle and bridle and rope and spurs and whip.' He will show you the horse and tell you to break him, before sunrise. The white horse will be my father, the saddle will be my mother, the bridle will be my oldest sister, the rope will be my middle sister and I will be the spurs and the whip. When you get on, try to whip him as hard as you can and dig in with the spurs. Pull him hard with the bridle. If you break him, you will be lucky." At sunset the old man came out. Close to the door he said, "Ha ha ha! Well, young boy, did you have your supper?" "Yes." "Well, the last job is ready for you. You are going to work pretty hard. I have a white horse I want you to break before sunrise." "All right, I'll try," he said. "I'll do my best." "Come on then!" So they went to the room where he kept the saddle, bridle, whip, spurs and rope. He got them all, and they went to the gate of the corral. The old man opened the gate. "There is the white horse," he said. He got the rope.

The horse tried to kick him, rearing at him, and to bite him. The boy dodged around among the other horses. At last he roped him by the neck and tied him to the post in the middle of the corral. The horse circled around until he tightened the rope, choked, and threw

himself on the ground. Then he saddled and bridled him and got on him and cut the rope. The wild horse bucked and bucked all night long. As the horse passed near the shed (*kaikirna*, Mexican, tapeste) he broke off a stick and began to hit the horse on the head. He stuck his spurs into his sides until they bled. He pulled on the bridle so his mouth was bloody. The horse bucked and bucked, going south to the mountain. On the edge of the cliff the boy could see below a big fire and the horse was trying to buck him off the cliff into the fire. At last he clubbed the horse on the forehead and killed him. He fell down. Then the boy took off the saddle and bridle and took them into the room, as the sun was rising. He went out. The old woman came out. "What do you want?" she asked. "I am going to see the boss." "Do not go in," she said, "my husband is very sick." "Well, let me peep in." He saw the old man with his head bound up, and sore all over. The youngest girl came to his room. "We are going away," she said. "Go to the corral and get the poorest horse you can find and the poorest saddle and bridle." The boy went to the corral and looked at the horses. There were some fat horses and the poor thin horse which he did not like. He took a good, fat horse and saddled and bridled him, and took him over to the girl. "Did I not tell you to take the poorest horse? My father will be after us and this fat horse will not run as fast. Anyhow, let's go!" she said, "before my father wakes up." They got on the horse, the girl behind. When they got to the end of that mountain, they could look way way down. "Close your eyes," she said, "do not open them or we won't get down." So he closed his eyes and the horse jumped down. Half way down he opened his eyes and they flew up again. She said, "If you do that, I am going to leave you. Now close your eyes." So he closed his eyes again and the horse jumped down. And this time they got down and the horse began to run.

At about 3 in the afternoon (*tarapeaiturkie'*, prayer, sun going down. At this time we pray to the sun), she said, "You look behind!" and they saw *pe'purade*<sup>18</sup> (whirl caterpillar), whirlwind, coming. She said, "That is my father coming now. He will kill us, if he catches us." He came closer and closer and the wind blew hard, throwing down trees and hurling rocks. She had a comb (she had some power herself), she threw it back. The storm stopped there, piling up rocks and wood like a mountain, and the old man had to turn back. They went on riding, all day and night. The second day at 3 o'clock they saw the whirlwind again. "Look back!" she said, "that is my father after us again." The old man made a river of sharp things, of knives and nails, which they could not cross. She had to work her power

<sup>18</sup> Caterpillar or worm (*purade*) is in the center of the whirlwind. There is a crater out of which the wind hits in the face 1 mile from Isleta, across the railway to the southwest, here the parade of whirlwind live. They will drop down into the sand of an old house, making a little hole.

to save them. She threw a pin toward the river. She said to her husband, "Close your eyes." Their horse went across. "Open your eyes!" she said, and he saw the old man on the other side and the river was piling up a mountain of all those scraps of iron. (That is why the mountains have iron in them.) So they went all night and the next day, the third day. In the afternoon, they turned back again and saw the whirlwind again. "That is my father again. This is the last time." He came closer and closer. With his power he made two rock mountains which they could not pass, for the mountains came together and parted and came together again. "Close your eyes!" she said, "and we will go through." He closed his eyes and the horse ran through and they crossed the mountain. When the old man got there, the mountains closed together and he had to turn back. That was the last time he followed them. Soon they came to the village where the young boy lived. He brought his wife to his room; but they had nothing there to cook with. The girl told him to lie down. While he was sleeping she made her power. She built up a great big house, with all kinds of foods and goods, and everything the young man might wish. (The old man had promised him everything he wished.)

When the people woke up, they saw a nice new building where the poor young man had lived. They were guessing about it. They found out that the young boy had come back. They made friends with him. He helped all the poor people. His wife used to work at night, and sleep in the day, and he would work by day and sleep at night. The people began to watch, and they found out he had a wife, seeing her work at night. Some of the people went and told the governor (*tapude*) that the boy had a wife who worked at night. The governor decided to call him and look into it. He asked him how it happened he had these riches and had he a wife? The young boy told him everything. The people wanted him to have his wife baptized. They had a meeting and called the man and asked if he was willing to have his wife baptized and be a Christian? So the man agreed. They appointed a day to baptize her. They called the bishop, and all the priests they could find. They sent word throughout the world that the *lakurude's* daughter was to be baptized. People began to come to the village in trains, in automobiles, on horseback, in wagons, and on foot. At nighttime the girl would peep out and see all the people who had come, and she said to her husband, "Why are people coming in all the time?" "Our feast is coming. That is why so many people are coming." At last the day came and the bishop and the priests began to get ready to do the ceremony. About 10, before noon, *picnuwanminai*, they went in procession to the boy's house. Some priests went to the roof, some stood at the windows and doors. The people were all around praying

with their beads. The priests had crosses. The bishop had holy water. She had been asleep, then she woke up and was surprised to see all the people. She was frightened and began to walk from room to room. At last the bishop went in, and the girl flew from corner to corner, and up on the roof where she saw the priest standing with cross and rosary. She was afraid. Some people took hold of her. The bishop came up and began to pray. All the priests were praying. When the bishop began to drop the holy water on her head, she fell dead. And she went right straight up to heaven (papuyai). They began to dig a grave, to have the funeral that same day. After they buried her, they made a fiesta, and gave out all kinds of food for the people to take home. From that time on we have made a feast after a baptism.<sup>19</sup>

#### 34. WITCH INITIATION

They were putting in a medicine man, so the witches thought they had to put in a new member also. One of them proposed putting in a friend of his. He met his friend out hobbling his horse, and invited him to go along to where some people were playing a game. He took him to Shimtua (a sheer cliff in the mesa to the southwest),<sup>20</sup> promising him a new kind of game at which there would be lots of girls. High up in the cliff they saw a cave. The witch boy with his power made a ladder. "Do not be afraid," he said to his friend. They went up and in. There was an old man sitting by the fireplace; another man was sitting next to him—witch chief (shaxo kabede) and his assistant (auki). Going in, they said, "Akuwam!" The chief said, "Do you know how to play at games?" "No." "Your friend can show you." The boy wanted to leave. He went to the side; there was no ladder; he could not get down. His friend said, "If you play a game with me, I will take you down." "All right, I will play a game." They went in to tell the witch chief. The boy saw his sweetheart in there. She said he would get power from playing a game. The games were contrivances to do harm to people. That same night the medicine man was going to be born (initiated). The friend said he was going to carry the boy on his back. The boy could see lights coming through the air. Coyotes were coming. The boy got on his friend's back. They were flying. All the witches were flying, flying toward the town. They stopped on top of the hill of the stillborn.<sup>21</sup> There the boy paused with the witch chief. Then he flew on the back of his friend near the house of the medicine society where they could see what was going on. . . . In the morning the witches of the town had taken food offerings out to the southwest edge

<sup>19</sup> This tale was heard by the narrator from an Isletan who died in 1902, aged 110.

<sup>20</sup> On top of this flat mesa there is a ruin. Sandia people are said to have lived here.

<sup>21</sup> See p. 300.



of the town whence the witches would carry them to their cliff. The witch chief gave a basket and bowl to the boy, which he took to his house. By this time he had changed his mind about becoming a witch. His father said to him, "If you do not tell me where you have been all night, I will lick you." So, having changed his mind, he told the whole story to his father, calling his witch friend by name. As soon as he mentioned his name, his friend began to sicken. The father of the boy summoned the t'aikabede (town chief) and kumpa and all the other chiefs and told them about it. As soon as he mentioned to them the name of the witch boy, the witch boy died. They buried him in the hills, not in the graveyard.

### 35. WITCH WIFE <sup>23</sup>

They were living at Shiw'iba. There was a woman who was a witch, and when she went to the witch meetings she would put a corn ear alongside her husband, to act in her place.<sup>24</sup> A medicine man who was a friend of her husband told him about her and that she wanted to marry the nephew (ch'unu) of the witch chief. That man was planning to kill him out hunting; but he was not to worry; he would go with him and make a ceremony to save his life. They went hunting. They took a donkey with them. When they reached their camping ground, they made a fahina (Mexican for shelter). The witch set fire to the grass around them; but the medicine man who had put the donkey inside the fahina stopped the fire when it reached the fahina. Next day they did not hunt because the mountain was all burned over. They set back for town. His wife, knowing he was to be burned, went into the town crying and saying her husband was dead. Her husband found her crying in the house. She said somebody had told her he was burned up. She prepared a dish for supper to poison him. His friend had told him not to eat in his house, to go out to another house for supper. She said, "Eat, my husband (insöawe). You must be tired and hungry." "No, my wife (inliawe), I am not hungry, I ate supper before I crossed the river." "You must be tired, my husband, we better go to sleep." He crossed his arms over his face, watching her. He began to snore. She said, "He is asleep now." She spoke to him. He did not answer. She placed the house broom next to him and said, "My mother (inkewei), you are to take care of my husband and serve him." "All right, my daughter (impyuwei)," the broom said.

She dug into a wall niche and took out a pair of owl eyes; took out her own eyes<sup>25</sup> and put in the owl eyes. "I am late for the meeting," she said. "They will scold me." She took out with her a basket of

<sup>23</sup> Parsons 17: 61-70.

<sup>24</sup> Variant: An ear of black corn which was to speak to the man just as his wife would speak. . . . When he went out he took the ear with him, saying, "My wife told you to watch over me."

<sup>25</sup> Variant: She hung her eyes under a beam of the hooded hearth.



bread and a bowl of stew. She met another woman on the way. "We are late," she said. . . . Her husband started to get up; the broom held him, saying, "Well, my husband, where are you going?" "Going out, mother. You are not my wife. She has gone out. I am going to follow." "Yes. Follow her. Do not let her see you. Keep in the shadow." It was moonlight. He went to his friend's house and woke him. They followed the two women. When the women looked back, the men would dodge into the shadows. They went to Shimtua,<sup>26</sup> to the cave. The women had dropped their shawls and gone into the next room. The men hid under the pile of shawls. They overheard the chief scolding the two women. "Yes, we are late," they said, "because we could not leave before our husbands went to sleep." The chief said to the woman, "Are you going to marry my nephew?" "Yes. How are you planning to kill my husband?" "I am going to kill him by a flood in the river. Do you like that?" the chief asked the woman. "Yes." At that the husband and his friend, the medicine man, came in. The husband had a stick (koanla) and with it hit everyone coming out of the door. With his power the medicine man killed the chief and his nephew. Some escaped, among them the woman. When the man got home she was there stirring the fire with the poker. He went to bed. She continued to sit by the fire. He said, "What is the matter with you? Why don't you come to bed?" He had taken away her eyes before he left the house and she had not been able to find them. Then he held her by the hair and drew back her head and saw the owl eyes. He beat her. He went and called her father and mother. When they came, he said, "My father and mother, I called you to see how your daughter looks." They saw her owl eyes. Her father clubbed her and her mother whipped her, whipped her hard. Then her husband killed her<sup>27</sup> and carried her to *nalitu*, the ash pile. He went to the house of *witawe* (war chief) to tell him to call out to the people to go and see his wife lying on the ash pile.

### 36. BEWITCHED INTO COYOTE

At Nambatötöe (earth white village) was living an old woman with her grandson. She used to cook for him and herself. Her grandson used to go out hunting in the morning to get deer for his grandmother. A man used to come in the evening to visit him. He was envious of him. One night he said to the boy, "My friend, how do you get deer? I go out and get none." "It is easy to kill deer." "Well, let's go the day after tomorrow." "All right, my friend." So they went. When

<sup>26</sup> See p. 430.

<sup>27</sup> Variant: After she was whipped by her father she died of shame. This variant was told as "a true story." The daughter of the witch of the story died an old woman during the influenza. She was a witch, too. She had funny squinting eyes, cat eyes, red eyes; they, too, had been stolen. She had brown hair.

they got to the mountains they made a fahina. They made a fire in the middle of the fahina and got their dinner. The man said they would not go out hunting until early next morning. Early in the morning the boy built the fire and made some coffee. He got breakfast. The man said to the boy, "You choose the direction to go in," so the boy chose the north. He went and a few hills off he found a deer. He killed him and butchered him and carried him into camp. The other man found some deer, but he could not kill any. So he gave up and went back to camp. The boy said they would divide the deer he had killed. Next morning after breakfast and a smoke the man said, "My friend, let us play a game." They put down a blanket and the man put down the belt he had brought with him. Boy asked him for the belt. "No, but I will try your luck." He rolled up the belt. "If you can catch it by the fringe you can have it." He unrolled the belt and when the boy caught it by the end he turned coyote. So the man said to him, "Goodbye, my friend, I am going. All this mountain is yours. Try hard and you will get a rabbit to eat." Then the man packed up their donkey and the whole deer, leaving the coyote crying.

When he got home, his wife said, "Where is your partner?" "I do not know anything about him. We separated in the mountains. I went one side, he went the other side." "Poor fellow," said his wife. Three days later the old woman heard that her grandson had not come back. She went to the man's house and asked about him. He told her the same story. Five days later the boy came to his grandmother's house as a coyote. He would sleep under the ladder. In the daytime the dogs would bark at him, but they did not harm him. They knew he was a person. But people said, "What is this coyote doing about here? Must be stealing chickens." So they set the dogs on him. Day and night his grandmother was crying for him. At last the coyote went away. He came to a camp where two men were herding sheep. The dogs started to chase him, but as soon as they came up to him they became still. Next morning the herder saw the coyote and sent the dogs after him. But the dogs did not worry him. One herder said to the other, "Coyote round here, but he does not harm the sheep." "Must be a good coyote." They threw some bones out to the coyote. "Poor little coyote, he is hungry." He was getting thin. He saw the tears were running down the face of the coyote. "Wonder if he is a person." So he said, "Well, coyote, are you a person?" Coyote nodded his head. He asked him three times. He told his partner. They went over to the coyote, who was still crying. They took him into their camp and put him on a sheepskin and fed him. After three days they put him on front on their burro and took him down into the village. They went to the house of the war chief and told him about the coyote. The war chief asked Coyote if he was a person. The tears were running down and he shook his head.

The war chief went and called the town chief and all the Fathers (ka'an). The town chief and the medicine men began to ask the coyote if he was a person. He just cried and nodded his head. "He is a person," said the cacique. So he asked the head kaade to make a ceremony for the coyote. The kaade called his helpers and told them about it. So for four days they were fasting. The fourth night they were going to have the ceremony. All the people came to see. They had a ring made out of sticks. They were sitting behind the Mothers (keide), and in front was the coyote. The chief sprinkled the medicine water on the coyote and asked the coyote if he was a person, and he nodded his head. He showed him the ring and said, "When I roll this, you jump through it." When he rolled it, saying one, two, three, the coyote jumped through and on one side was the skin of a coyote and on the other side a nice young boy. And the people were saying hau! hau! Thanks! Thanks! And the boy took some of the corn meal and sprinkled it to the Mothers. Then the chief gave him a drink of medicine water. Then the chief preached to the people how the boy was a boy again and counseled them not to be so mean as to do such a thing to anyone of their own village. Then he said they could go. But the boy and the Fathers stayed, and they asked him what had happened. He told them the whole story. When he finished the kaade said to him, "You pay him back. Go to your home. (They had made the ceremony at Shiaw'iba.) This man will know you are home and right away he will come and shake hands with you and ask where you have been."

They fixed a little ring for him. He went to the house of his grandmother and she began to cry. "I thought you were dead. I asked your friend and he said he did not know anything about you." His friend came in, running. "Well, my friend, have you come back?" "Yes, my friend. I was visiting in another village." His grandmother cooked for him. She had hardly anything to eat. "Well, grandmother, I will go and get you a deer." He went to his friend's house. He said, "I have come to ask you to go hunting the day after tomorrow." So they went out. When they reached the mountain they did as before, building the fahina and resting there that evening. The boy said, "While we are resting, let us play a game." As soon as the friend saw the ring he asked for it. "Give me that ring." "No, I would not give it for anything." He kept asking. "Well, I will roll it and you jump through it." And he said one, two, three! And he jumped through and turned to a rattlesnake. He loaded up the burro. He sprinkled some meal and pollen on the snake, who drew it in. He said, "If you are lucky, your sons will come round in the mountains and if they remember you they will feed you this way. If you are not lucky, you will have nothing and you will stay under the rocks." When he got home his grandmother asked him where was

his partner? "I don't know. When we reached the mountain I went one way and he another." When the man's wife came and asked, he told her the same thing. After that, whenever he went out hunting, he would feed the snake.

## VARIANT

A boy and his wife were living together. This boy was a good hunter. He would go out every few days and bring in a deer. He had a friend who used to go around with him. This friend the boy's wife loved more than she loved her husband. Pretty soon his friend and his wife went together. Then they wanted to get rid of him. So one time the witch boy said to the girl, "How would you like it if we got rid of your husband so we could both live together?" The girl said it would be all right if he knew how to do it. So the boy went to his witch chief and told him what he wanted. The witch chief said he would do his best. The witch boy said he wanted to turn the other boy into a coyote (tuwere). So the witch chief got some cane and made a *imakörpeban* (ring made it) and gave it to the witch boy to take home. He told him when he got home to bring together a few friends, all witches, and tell them that he wanted to make a dance and they were to bring his friend into it, and put him through the ring to turn him into a coyote. So the boy went home with the ring. When he got there, he gathered together some witch boys, and told them what he had been told by their chief. They all said, "All right, then let us have our practice tonight." When night came, he went to his friend and told him to come to the meeting that night, they were going to have dance practice. His friend did not want to go, because he never danced, but the witch boy told him to come just to listen, they were going to make up a new kind of dance. His friend, however, did not want to go. The witch boy said, "I will go and tell the *capitancito* that you do not want to come." When the witch boy got back to the *kiva* he told his partners that he could not make that boy come and asked how could they bring him.

Finally another boy went after him. He knocked at the door and said, "*Akuwam'*." The man inside would not answer "*akuwam'*." He knocked hard again and said, "*Akuwam'*." The man inside answered, "*Akuwam'hura* (come in)." And so he went in and said, "We sent for you a while ago, why did you not come?" He said, "I never dance, and I know nothing about dancing." "That's all right. You must come. Let's go!" So he took the man out to the *kiva*. When he got there, they all talked to him pleasantly. One of them said, "Before we talk about the dance why don't we go out and steal a chicken." The others said, "All right, but how are we to do it so nobody will find us out?" Another one said, "I have a ring by which we can turn ourselves into a coyote." They all started to

laugh as if they wondered how they could turn into a coyote. The other boy said, "I will show you how. It is easy. We will all take turns." So each in turn rolled the ring and another would go through it and turn coyote, and they rolled it again and went through and became a person again. This poor man's turn came last. They made him go through it, too. He went through the ring and turned into a coyote. Then the ring disappeared. They looked for it and looked for it and they could not find it. Finally they said to the coyote, "That is your fortune (akamu'un). You must go out and look for a living." The coyote began to cry. The boys chased him out. He ran away to his house. Then he scratched at the door of his house with both paws and his wife came to the door to open. She saw only a coyote, so she called out for help. While she was calling out, the boys were coming behind him with bows and arrows. When the coyote saw them, he had to run away not to be killed. He went around outside for a long time. When they missed the boy out of the village, they looked for him and could not find him anywhere. Finally they stopped looking. One night this coyote came down to his brother's field and he got a ripe muskmelon and ate it. He came close to the house where his brother lived. In the morning when his brother got up, he saw a coyote lying a little way from the house, and he went for his bow and arrows to kill it. When the coyote saw his brother coming with bow and arrows, he cried, like a man. His brother said, "What kind of a voice has that coyote?"

So he set the two dogs on the coyote. Both dogs ran over to where the coyote was. When they smelt him, they just wagged their tails and would not bite him nor chase him away. The man thought, "That is strange, why do the dogs not chase that coyote away?" His grandmother said, "Do not shoot that coyote, my grandson, it might be your brother." He said, "I am going to see if that is my brother. If he is my brother, he will come where I am." So he called his name. He said, "Turwib (sun kick-stick), is that you? If so, come on here!" The coyote came up, but very slowly and reluctantly. He was so miserable he could hardly walk. When he got over there, his brother asked him, "Are you really a coyote, or are you a man?" The coyote said nothing. He just put his tail between his legs and started to cry, the tears were rolling down his face. Then his brother asked, "Are you a coyote?" He shook his head—no. His brother asked, "Are you my brother?" The coyote began to drop tears again and he nodded yes. His brother and mother and father started to cry, and they took him into the house. They all were crying. They brought him food to eat. In the evening they went to gather up their relatives, they showed them the coyote and said he was their son. His wife heard about it and she came over to see him, too. But the coyote would not let his wife come close to



him. He jumped up against her and chased her out of the house. After they gathered all his relatives, they decided they would look for a toyi'de. Then the next morning they [the medicine men] took their four days. On the fourth day, in the night, they did their work, but they could not turn him into a man. So the White Corn told them to go to the Black Corn on the north, probably he could turn him into a man. After they talked to the Black Corn toyide they had to stay in four days again. The fourth day, at night, they tried to give him back his own shape, but they could not do it. Black Corn toyide said they better go to the Blue Corn. When they went to the Blue Corn they had to stay in four days again. On the fourth day, at night, they tried, but failed. So Blue Corn toyide told his brother he better go to the Yellow Corn. They had to stay in four days. On the fourth day, at night, they tried to make him a man, but they failed. So Yellow Corn said he better go to the middle toyide (where they have all kinds of corn). The middle toyide took the corn meal. He said, "You have to bring in your brother's friend to be with us while we are working these four days for your brother." His brother said, "He had so many friends, I do not know which to bring." "His best friend, the one he loved most. You take this coyote and he will show you which one turned him into a coyote and that man you bring with you." So the two little captains went with him and the coyote to call that man. His brother told that man, "They want you over at toyide's place, to speak to you." The man said he could not go because he was sick. The little captains said he had to go, whether he was sick or not. So they dragged him out and took him to the toyide's place. While they were in there the four days they made the boy go and get the ring he had used to turn him into a coyote. He said it was already burned up. So toyide said, "If it is already burned up, you are going to say before our four days are through if you are going to turn him back into a person or let him stay always as a coyote. You have to stay here with us." On the fourth day in the morning those toynin asked, "What is your thought, my son? Are you going to change him into a person or let him go on this way?" The boy decided he would change him back as he had been, if they would spare him. Toyide said that it was up to him to live or not. On the fourth day, at night, they had that ring ready again. When they rolled it, the coyote went in and his head turned into a person's head; the second time, his arms turned human; the third time, half his body turned human; the fourth time to his knees he turned human; the fifth time he was as he had been, only he was wasted away, all bones. Toyide told the boy, "Take the ring. Since you made it, keep it. It is not ours." The boy took the ring and walked out. When he got to his house he burned up the ring. He told his mother he had heart trouble and he died of shame before morning.



## 37. THE GIRL WHO WAS RESTORED TO LIFE

My father told me about a girl who was living with her brother, and a boy came and asked her to marry him. She said she did not want to marry him, that her brother would take care of her. That evening when her brother came home she told him about the boy and how he had said she would remember him some day. Her brother began to worry about it. Still they lived along pretty well. At last the girl fell sick. But that morning she said, "You better go out to work. I do not feel very sick." He got water and wood for her and went to work. When he came back she was very sick. He thought he would get a medicine man the next morning. That night the girl died. They buried her. At the grave was a medicine man who said to her brother, "You stay here behind." They let the people go. The medicine man encircled the grave with his stone point. He said, "Your sister is not dead, although we have buried her. The young man who asked her to marry him, when she refused, worked (made) his power and she died. Those bad people want her very much. She is not dead. They want to carry her away. We will not make the (death) ceremony for her. We will watch here." So they went into a corner of the graveyard and watched. That night a black dog came into the graveyard and looked around and sniffed in every direction. The next night they watched again. The black dog came again. It was that young man (the rejected suitor) dressed up as a dog. The fourth night the medicine man said, "This is the night they are going to take her out. We will watch." At midnight four men came and dug her out and carried her to where the witches were and brought her to life. They said to her, "You see what happened to you because you would not marry that young man. Now you are married to him." She began to cry. Then the chief of the witches said to the young man, "Now you can have her." Another man said, "If you do not want her, I will take her." So they fell to fighting about her, when in came her brother and the medicine man. The medicine man seized the witch chief, and had more power than he, and the witches ran away. The girl's brother took her into his arms and carried her home. The medicine man made a ceremony for her. She used to work at night and sleep by day. The people saw how well kept the boy's house was and how well washed his hair and how clean his clothes. And they wondered who was taking care of him. After two years they found out. The war chief summoned him and he had to tell how his sister had come back to life and how the medicine man had helped him. That is the way the people learned how the witches exhume a dead person and bring him back to life. That is the way it happened some time ago in our village; in no other place, just in our village.

## 38. THE HUNTER'S HAIR CUT

Natōai, some years ago, a man used to go out hunting every day and he used to bring rabbits in the evening and his wife used to come out and meet him. She was happy to see him coming back with the rabbits. He was glad to have his wife run to meet him. She would say to him, "My husband (nsōawe), you are lucky (akamoai)! Kōrkem, kōrkem! Thanks, thanks!" She would have her husband rest a while inside. Then she began to ask him how he got along out hunting. He said, "Why, I was all right on my way hunting." "Now I will give you supper." She gave him rabbit stew and atole (kweri).<sup>28</sup> When he finished eating, he thanked his wife, and thanked for all he had got that day. Then the woman began to scold him. "I do not see why you do not go deer hunting. Every day you bring the same thing." Then he said, "Why are you scolding me? Don't you get enough to eat?" "Yes, I get enough to eat, but I want some other kind of meat, and I want you to hunt deer." Then she met another woman and they talked about sending their men out to hunt deer. Those two hunters were honest and good men. Those two women were meeting two other boys. They said when they met, "Let us get the two men out of the way. One of us will turn bear, the other turn mountain lion." The next day when the men went out, they saw two deer. "Let us go after them, our wives are waiting for deer meat." They had gone out happy, singing, with their bow and arrows. When they saw the deer, one went on one side of the two deer, one on the other. The two deer whistled when they saw the men. "Did you hear that?" "Yes." "What do you think about it?" "I think they are not the kind of deer we are looking for. Shall we let them go?" "Yes." It was almost sundown. When they were coming to the plaza their wives started out to meet them. The men looked sad, because they had not killed anything. In their houses their wives said, "You killed nothing?" "No, I had no luck to-day. Maybe to-morrow."

When the daylight came he said to his wife, "Wrap me up some wafer bread (pakushōre)." He put red paint (pari) on his face, he started with bow and arrows, "Now I am going to stand like a man to-day." Then he saw the same deer he saw the day before. The deer whistled. The sun set and he turned back. When he got back, she came out to meet him and scolded him for not killing anything. Then he said, "There is something wrong in me. I am going to work to see what is wrong in me. Now you wash my hair." She said, "You want your hair washed and you haven't killed a deer yet!" "Maybe if you wash my hair, I will kill a deer," he said. "I am going over to my friend and invite him to go hunting with me

<sup>28</sup> Corn flour and water.

to-morrow," he said. When he went to his friend's he said, "My friend (impoiwei), let's go hunting to-morrow." "All right; let's go. We have to take notōko." When they went out they came to a hill and sat down. One said to the other, "Why is it we do not kill a deer? These women are cross when we come to the house. Don't you think there is something wrong about my wife and your wife?" "I have been thinking about it. I feel so heavy. I am not able to run and chase a deer. Undo my chungo and see if there is anything wrong in it." His friend undid it and there his hair was cut. When he found that out, he went right back home, crying. "What is the matter, my husband?" "You did that! you did that! You took the luck away and gave it to somebody else." After that the poor man could do nothing but cry. "My wife, my wife, you did this to me. And now we shall have nothing for our living until my hair grows back as long as it was before."

#### VARIANT

There were two women living together. They were witches. The husband of one was toyi'de, the other husband was a common man who knew nothing. One night they said, "Let's go after wood to-morrow morning!" "All right, we will go." So their wives got their lunch ready. They went the next morning to get their wood. While they were getting wood, they saw a deer coming. The common man said to the toyi'de, "There comes a deer. Let us go after it!" But the toyi'de did not want to go. He said, "No, we better not go. You have to see what kind of a deer it is. You go and see if his eyes are marked around with pari (red paint). If he has no red, we will go after him, but if he is marked with red, we have to let him go." When the man went to see, he saw no red, so he kept on after it. Then the toyi'de followed him. When he overtook him, he said, "My friend, I told you to leave that deer alone. Let us go home! It will be sundown before we get home." They went home. Toyi'de said, "My friend, let us tell our wives we are going hunting the day after to-morrow. They will be glad to have us go." So when they got home, this toyi'de told his wife about it. The next day the two women prepared lunch for the men to go hunting. The third day they took their lunch and told the women they would not be back for five days. After they started out, the first night where they slept the toyi'de said, "Now, my friend, I am going to tell you something. There are two women who are against us. They want to get rid of us, and they are going to a council tonight and we will go and see them, if you are brave enough to go with me." His friend said, "Wherever you take me, I will go." When it got late (after 10 o'clock), they went. They got to a big cave. All the witch people were there, excepting the two women. At last the two women came. As soon

as they saw them going in, they went behind. (It was a cave east of Isleta, on the other side of the river.) They lay down. Since the *toyi'de* had power, nobody could see them.

When the women arrived, the witch chief asked them why they were late. They answered that their husbands were going out hunting that day and they had not had time to get ready till afternoon. The witch chief said, "I can not stand it this way. You two women are the only ones late when we have a meeting. Now you have a good chance when your husbands are out hunting. Let us try to get rid of them. So tomorrow morning follow your husbands, both of you, and by the time we get over there, change yourselves into deer. Let them follow you, and you take them into a long arroyo which they can not climb out of and where they will freeze to death. Then we will get rid of them and you will do your work better hereafter. Now let's all put on our clothes. We will all go out in the different directions I will name." They all started to take down their clothes—owl skin, fox skin, eagle skin, and wolf skin. When they wanted to change into the skins (i. e., animals), they could not do it. They tried all night long. The witch chief said, "Somebody must be around here." He told the two *wilawe* to go out. But since the power of the *toyi'de* was stronger, he was not discovered. When the two *wilawe* came in, they said, "Nobody is around. We can not discover anybody." The witch chief said, "Well, let's try again. Put on your clothes!" They tried and they failed. Finally the witch chief got mad and told the *wilawen*, "I think we are having this because of these two women's husbands. So I want you two boys to turn into bucks tomorrow and go with these two women to help them to work and kill their husbands. Take them to the long cliff and the two does will go at the foot and the two bucks at the top and when the men come to the edge of the cliff, you butt them down over it. We can not do much while these men are troubling us."

So everybody hung up their skins and they were excused until the next night. The two men knew what was going to happen to them the next day. Instead of waiting till noon to kill their bucks, they killed them just as the sun came up. *Toyi'de* said, "Kimkaaweiimba (our fathers) have helped us, so we better divide these bucks and go on home before those other bucks arrive. Now, remember, when we get home we are not going to find our wives. They will come home late, almost at sundown, but say not one word to your wife. See what they will tell us when they get home." They went on and when they got home, they found nobody excepting their brothers-in-law (*imyiewein*). They started to make their food and they waited for their wives. A little after sundown the women came home. They said, "Ena'mui! (exclamation of surprise). Did you come home right

away? We went to look for work and we were working all day in a Mexican's house. We agreed to work over night. Should we go, pali (dear)?" "Certainly, if you have work, you must go back and settle it the best way you know how."<sup>29</sup> So their husbands gave them food, and after they ate, they went back to work. When the women went out, the toyi'de said to his friend, "What do you think, my friend? Had we better follow them tonight again? You know they are not working at the Mexican's house." "Yes, any way you want, I am willing to do it." So that night the men followed their wives again to the cave. Like the night before they lay down. Everybody came in as before. Then the witch chief asked if everybody had come. "Yes, we are all here." They asked the two men who were going to be bucks and the two women who were going to be does, "Well, how did you fare? Did you get rid of your husbands?" The women said, "No, when we got home they already had a buck and they had already started home. So we could not do anything. This evening when we got home the men were already home, waiting for us. But we told them we were working for Mexicans and they let us come on." "But we can not go on this way. We have to get rid of those two men. So you take some medicine tonight when you go home. When they are about to eat tomorrow, you take one dish for both of them and put in this medicine. When they eat it, they will die instantly. That is the only way we can get rid of them." The women said, "All right, whatever you tell us to do, we will do it." Then the witch chief said to the others, "Put on your clothes and let us go where we did not go last night." They all took down their skins and tried to change themselves and failed, just as the night before. The witch chief said, "I am going to see if there is something outside. Otherwise it would not be like this." The witch chief told the witch wilawe to guard him as he went out to find somebody.

While the witches were getting ready in the cave, the toyi'de on top was getting ready to kill them. When the witch chief went up, the toyi'de shot him with an arrow. Right away he fell dead. The second one was coming up. As he got up, the toyi'de shot him, too, and killed him, too. The third one as he came out, he shot and killed also. Then he laid the three witches together and took his white flint and marked on the ground around them five times, so they would not come to life before the sun rose, and the people might find them there. He said to his partner, "This is enough, my friend. We will go home and see what time our wives will come back tomorrow." The witches staying in the cave waited almost until morning for the others to return, but they did not return, so they had to go home. Next day about dinner time their wives came home, and they found their husbands as happy as if they knew nothing about it. Then the

<sup>29</sup> Had she been quick, she would have known from this that he knew what she was doing.



toyi'de asked his wife, "What happened to Pashorkui (water blue pretty) to-day?" His wife said, "I know nothing about it. We were working at the Mexican's place." Then her husband told her that people were saying that three men got killed; but nobody knew who killed them, only that they were pierced through with arrows. His wife said she knew nothing about it. Her husband said, "That's why their people are crying." In the evening the two women got the food ready and told their husbands to come to supper. The toyi'de said to his wife, "Why do we not eat all together, as usual?" Both men sat down to eat, and the women did not want to sit down to eat. Again the toyi'de said to his wife, "Let us eat all together." The women said, "No, we do not feel like eating. You go on and eat." The toyi'de said, "You are doing as you never have done. I want you to taste this food before I taste it." His wife started crying. "What do you mean by that? Why do you want me to taste the food first?" The toyi'de asked, "What are you crying about? Because I asked you to taste it first?" She said, "Yes, maybe you think I am going to do something to you. What makes you think that?" So the toyi'de went and called his wife's father and mother and the father and mother of his friend and left the food standing there. When the old women came and the old men, the toyi'de started to tell what he had seen and what the women were planning against them. So the woman's father said to her, "I want you to taste that soup and see if it is true what your husband is saying, or if he is just talking about you." Neither woman wanted to taste the soup. They wanted to throw it out. Her husband said, "You taste it. The plan you made against me you can use against yourself." Both women knelt down before their husbands and said it was true that they had done this because Pashorkui had so advised them. The toyi'de said, "We will forgive you; but we want you to taste this soup." Finally they had to eat it. Next morning they were both dead. The two men were saved, and the five witches died.

## TALES OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

### 39. HOW JUAN WAS CURED OF ANTS

I was working at the threshing machine with my friend Juan. Near by was an ant hill. Juan poured oil on it and set it afire. A year later Juan fell sick of sores which ran like water and itched. I said it was the ants and he must find someone to cure him. So he asked the intukaade (Ant Father)<sup>30</sup> for his ceremony. After sunset the Ant Father came to Juan's house, bringing his corn Mother (iema'paru), a stone point, and his two eagle feathers. He scolded Juan. Juan said, "Can't help it, tata, I did it." "But you have

<sup>30</sup> "He is my father's sister's son."



waited so long. The ants have a home now in your body." The Ant Father placed his Mother (keide) and stone point on the sheepskin he had asked for, the hide uppermost. Juan had to remove his clothes and put on a breechclout. "Pray to Wæide," he said to us. He was chewing his root. He looked all around and said, "I see that those ants are not living outside, but in your body. I see you are going to get well and going to make a trip to Mescallero, where you were thinking of going before you got sick. You are going to meet an old man with a dog and he is going to try to sell you the dog. If you buy the dog you will be lucky, if not, you will be unlucky."

The Father went and spat of the root in each corner of the house and then on Juan. He asked for some ashes from the fireplace. (He would not take them from the stove, so we had to build a fire in the fireplace to get the ashes.) He rubbed the ashes on Juan's body. Then he made a circle of ashes on the sheepskin, singing all the time. With his feathers he brushed the ground outside of the ash circle, and tapped one feather against the other, the feathers at right angles to each other. Three times he did this. This rite of brushing he repeated on each side of Juan, the third time turning away from him to tap the feathers. Grasping the feathers by tips and butts he breathed from them, turned toward the east and forcibly breathed out. Now he wiped Juan down with cotton, and as he brushed him with the feathers, the ants fell from Juan's body into the circle of ashes on the sheepskin Juan was standing on. The Father told Juan to step off, cover himself with a blanket and sit down. Then the Father sprinkled ashes on the ants, then pollen, then meal, then bread crumbs, feeding them.<sup>31</sup>

Now the Father went up to Juan, held him by the head and sucked something from it. As he did this he fell down, as if faint. Juan was frightened, he bent and rubbed the Father and stood him up. The Father tottered. Then he spat out of his mouth all the pebbles and sand he had sucked from Juan's head. The room was full of dust. Three times the father spewed these out from his mouth. Then he gargled with warm water, washing out his mouth. He brushed up the pebbles, sweeping them on to the sheepskin where the ants remained, unable to leave the circle of ashes. The Father asked for some tobacco which he carried out together with the sheepskin of ants and pebbles, beyond the village. On his return he told Juan to dress. Five times he waved his feathers in front of Juan and then up and down, giving him breath. (It is down and up when you take breath out.)

Four nights this ceremony was performed. Juan got well, but as his eyes had been eaten by the ants, he can not see clearly. He did

<sup>31</sup> Lucinda referred to "getting ants" and to sprinkling bread crumbs for the ants, as she had learned to do from Laguna parents-in-law.

go to the Mescallero country where he did meet an old man with a black dog which the old man sold him for \$5. On making camp Juan found that the dog would not eat. There was a deserted house near by. Juan started to go into it, then turned back. The dog went on into it. Later, Juan went there and found the dog dead. As he himself would have been had he gone at first into the house, for the dog was bitten by a snake, the Snake Father subsequently told Juan.

Incidentally, I may note that there is a ceremony for snake bite, but as it was not described I have referred to that part of the treatment which was mentioned under sickness and cure.

#### 40. AFTER I KILLED A BEAR

I was out hunting for deer. I saw a bush and the leaves were moving. I shot at it. It was a bear. My sister asked the tutude (town medicine society) to work for me. They put me alone in my own house for four days. No relation could come in, only a woman assistant brought me food. She never came close to me. On the fourth evening tutude came for me to take me to their house. He knocked at the door and said, "Akuwam'!" He came in where I was sitting and spat on me what he was chewing, from my forehead down. His two eagle feathers he waved [antisunwise] in front of me three times and then rubbed one feather against the other [slicing motion of discard], cleaning me. He spoke my name. I answered, "Ka'a." He said, "Asöm'pian" [meaning unknown]. He gave me the tips of the two feathers to hold. He said, "Stand up." Then I stood up. His hands holding the feathers were crossed, so he unfolded them behind his head and I was left behind him, still holding the tips of the feathers. This way, holding the feather tips, I followed him to their house [society's house]. The other people in my house followed us, first my sister, then my father and daughter, then the rest of my relations (*kərim matun*, all relations) followed in single file. At their house, Ka'a knocked the door with his foot and said, "Akuwam'!" An assistant came and opened the door and threw a line of pollen from the door through into the next room where the altar (*nake'e*) was. All my relations stayed in the first room as well as the other people who came to see, many of them. We went on into the next room, Ka'a set me down in front of the altar. Then he dipped his feathers in the medicine bowl and sprinkled me, and then he circled me with the feathers three times, calling out "truhi'! truhi'! truhi'!" Then he spoke to the others (12 of them) sitting behind the *iema'-paru*, and they stood up and came around me.

They began to sing and to circle around me three times, each time each passed me, he circled with his feathers and said, "Hae'!" Ka'a

came and gave me the tips of the feathers again and set me by the fireplace. He waved his two feathers to the Mothers (ke'e), and then gave me their breath, moving the feathers in front of me three times. Again he said to me "Asömpiani!" He went back to his seat. When he went back to his seat, the last helper (assistant) gave him a cigarette. He smoked it in the directions, then waved it toward the Mothers (keide). Then he spoke to his helpers that they were to do all they could for their son, not to be afraid of anything. He got up and dipped the tips of his feathers and sprinkled me and said, "Inuwe (my son), asömpian, do not be afraid. You will see with your eyes that the bear you killed is still alive and will come to you. Do not be afraid. He will not do anything to you. Try to be strong." He went over to the Mothers and swept with the feathers from them to himself three times. He came back, on his way dipping the feathers, and he gave me a taste of the medicine water. He said, "Do not be afraid of anything. That bear was sent by some one who was envious of you in order to kill you. Where you got scared when you killed, there in that place is half of your heart. Do not worry. You will get well. Just have good thoughts. Ask our god (Wəide) and iema'paru to get well. Ag'uterimi (good bye), my son." The medicine men came out and stood in a half circle round the medicine bowl into which Ka'a was looking to see the place where I had killed the bear. Then his chief helper picked up the crystal from the altar and all the helpers looked into it to find the envious person, and they got mad and said, "A'a'!" Ka'a picked up the flint and made as if to shoot in the direction of the mountain and toward me. The helpers took their places again. The chief helper held up the crystal for Ka'a to look into. As he looked, he was drawing help from the Mothers. Also he looked at me, and moved toward the door, his helper sprinkling meal ahead of him to the door. His chief helper then took his place behind the altar. Outside Ka'a called the eagle, whistling like an eagle; and so he got the power of the eagle and flew away.

The war chief called all the people into the room, leaving just a line to pass through. My father and sister and aunt they gave a seat near me. The chief helper left his place and looked into the medicine bowl. He looked toward the mountain, he was watching Ka'a as he traveled, in case he needed help, so he could send to help him. The war chief was advising all the people to wish and hope that I get good luck and be restored to health. The chief helper took up from the altar the sun and waved it three times in front of me. Then he covered me with the sun. He told me not to be afraid, just to make myself strong. When I felt faint, when the sun covered me, he shook me and said, "Asömpian!" My sister began to cry, and some of my relations. One of the helpers stood up and advised

the people not to cry, only to wish and hope that I get well. (Within three-quarters of an hour Ka'a was to come back as a bear. The mountain was 25 miles away.) As he watched, the chief helper would run from the medicine bowl to the door and back, and then to me. When he saw the bear was coming close, he stood inside of the door with some pollen. The bear got to the door and knocked three times with his paw. The chief helper opened the door and sprinkled pollen from the door to the stone point and then scattered some upon the altar. The bear followed the pollen line and looked around at the people. (Fig. 26.) Some got scared and covered their face with their hands. I was trying to make myself strong, but I could not stand it; I was feeling faint. I tried to look at him, but my eyes swam, and I felt faint. The bear hit the post of the house, and hit the floor, and stopped and growled.

He smelt around the altar and acted as if he was going to spring on me, opening his mouth and growling. I was not afraid of him, but I was feeling faint. The closer he came to me, the madder he acted. When he came up to me he struck at me with his paws, and held my head—the sun was still covering me—and shook me. Then he went back to the altar, and the chief helper sprinkled medicine water on him and then on me. All the time the helpers were singing. Then the bear sat in front of the stone point,



FIGURE 26.—Chamber of Laguna Fathers during curing ceremonial. (Note Bear and Sun)

swinging his head, and then three times he did like that [expelled forcibly his breath]. The last time, I saw he threw something out. The chief helper picked it up and looked at it. The bear lay there. The chief helper dipped up some medicine water and brought it to me, and in his hand was something white. He said to me, "Do not be afraid! Be strong! Asömpian, my son. I give you this, and you swallow it." I swallowed it and he gave me the drink. (It was that half of my heart.) Then he went back again. After a little while I felt well, strong. Then he stood out in front of the altar and preached to the people, advising them to thank our god and iema'paru that we had come out all right with our son. He was going to live long. All the men began to say, "Hauwö'! hauwö'! thanks! thanks!" and the women, "Korkem! korkem! thanks! thanks!" The chief helper went back to his place, and they gave him a cigarette.

He smoked in the directions and over the altar. Then he went up to the bear, and smoked all over him. Then he came and gave me

the cigarette and told me first to smoke in the directions, next to the Mother, next to puff the smoke toward the bear, lastly to swallow the smoke. What was left of the cigarette, to give to my (own) father. Three helpers came forward and with their feathers they motioned (the cleansing motion) over the bear, each, three times. Then my father and aunt and sister sprinkled some pollen on the bear and thanked him. Also my daughter, who was crying. Now other people might go and sprinkle. Some went, but others were afraid. Two of the other helpers came and stood me up and gave me pollen and meal and took me over to the bear. They pushed me toward him, so I would not be afraid. I gave him meal and pollen and thanks for saving me. I took my seat. Then all the helpers stood around the bear, calling ai! ai! and cleansing with the feathers and singing. The bear got up, smelling. He came up to me, clapping his paws and growling. The chief helper sprinkled pollen in front of him to the door where he went out. Then the chief helper told all those present what had happened to me, and advised them not to do such a thing to anybody. Some of them began to cry. The chief helper now looked into the bowl, watching for the return of Ka'a. Then he came in, saying, "Akuwam!" Then we saw the same man we had seen before. He went up to the altar, drawing in with the feathers, then to me, waving the feathers out to me. Then he gave me a drink from the medicine bowl with the shell. He asked me how I felt. I felt all right. "Do not worry, do not recall what has happened to you." Then he took the sun off my head and the sun closed, and he waved it in front of me. He went to the altar and waved the sun to the people, and everybody waved it in to themselves. Then he told the people they might go. Only my relations stayed there. He told them again all that had happened to me. He told them to give thanks to Wāide and iema'paru that I had my heart back again. Now they took apart the altar and my relations brought food into the room, lots of food; it filled up the house. We gave it to Ka'a, and he, to his helpers, and he told us all to eat together. When we eat together, everything is washed out, clean. After eating, they divided up all the food between the helpers to take home. Then my relations took me home.

#### 41. THE INCONTINENT MEDICINE MAN

Five years ago, Agostin, a medicine man (toyide), three days after he had finished his ceremony, went to see his sweetheart; he could not wait the four days. (For four days after the night of his ceremony, a man must not touch a woman, or kill anything, not even an insect, nor hurt anybody's feelings.) After he had found her, he saw himself lying dead. He promised that if he could be saved, he would go and dance at the San Antonio feast at Sandia (on June 13). That would



be the seventh day after he did that (after his broken taboo). On the fourth day he did not die. He went to Sandia and danced hard all day. At the end of the dance there came a lizard<sup>32</sup> and went round him five times (anticlockwise), and then went off in the direction it came from. Then he knew he was going to die. The people saw it. They followed the lizard. It went to the graveyard and into the earth. . . . Agostin called a council and told what he had done. He advised them if ever they became medicine men to keep their four days. . . . He went back to Isleta and then openly went to the house of his sweetheart. Her husband was there. He asked him for some tobacco (sacred tobacco). The woman told her husband to go and get it for Agostin. Her husband went and returned and said that they did not have any more. "Why do you want it?" Agostin said, "I finished my ceremony. I did not wait the four days. I went to my sweetheart. She did not counsel me properly. She was as hungry as I was. From now on she will be sick until she dies. In four days I will die." Then on the ninth day they heard he had a heartache, on the tenth day a headache, on the eleventh day he called a council of all the men and of all the boys old enough to go into the ceremony. He said to them, "I had finished my ceremony. I did not wait four days, but went to see my sweetheart. To-morrow I die. Even if my wife kill me to-night, I will tell you all about it." By sundown on the twelfth day he was dead. His wife did not cry for him. She shed not one tear. If that was the kind of man he was, she said, she would not cry for him. His sweetheart was sick for two years with hicoughs. Three years ago she also died.<sup>33</sup>

#### 42. HOW I RECOVERED MY STOLEN GOODS

About a year ago I had stolen from me some silver necklaces and bracelets, a gold ring, some turquoise, and a rifle. I told my friend who is the Indian policeman. "Why don't you ask the birka'ade (Laguna Father) to come and tell you who it is?" he asked. So I did, and the birka'ade came. He spread out a buckskin, sprinkled it with pollen, and on it he placed a stone point. He made a lightning mark with pollen on the back of his outstretched left hand. In his right hand was his gourd rattle. After he ate some lifiew'a<sup>34</sup> (the power-

<sup>32</sup> 'Napapuride, blood spit animal. It is greenish with two stripes on its back.

<sup>33</sup> This story suggested to the narrator the familiar Keresan-Zuñi-Tewa story of the mask which stuck, which she had heard from one Tomas' of Zia. Tomas' had told her how 25 years ago, when he was 15, he was in the same dance with the man who broke his rule. On the last day of the dance he visited his sweetheart. The Clowns came after him. His mask had gone into his face; tears were running down the mask. His armlets went into his flesh, also his moccasins; his belt was so tight they could not untie it. The medicine men (toyin) began at once to take their days; but they could not do anything. On the fourth outside day (fourth day after the dance), everybody in Zia went with him to the spring. . . . With prayer-feathers he went in. His mother wept. . . . ("I said to Tomas', 'Better that he become a powerful man for his people than be burning in hell as a sinner. She should not have cried.' Tomas' answered, 'Our Virgin Mother cried over her son.'")

<sup>34</sup> Navaho root medicine? Navaho, telieb.



giving root of the medicine men) he began to rattle and sing. His left hand began to tremble, his whole body trembled. His left hand pointed to the bracelet and ring the thief had left behind on the floor. His eyes were open. He kept moving his left hand. He was tracking the thief. In about an hour his hand dropped suddenly, he had found the thief. "Now, my son (inue')," he said, "rub me!" He was exhausted. My friend, the policeman, and I rubbed him. After a while he recovered. He began to laugh, and so heartily, we laughed too. He told us the thief was one of our own town boys. He was a young boy, at work in Albuquerque, and when he came to Isleta he would stay only a day or two. In Albuquerque he was boarding with his older brother. He had a mole near his left ear. He had sold the jewelry, but kept the rifle. . . . My friend and I went into Albuquerque. The first Indian we met was this boy. He asked us to come to eat at his house. "We might come," we said. We did go, and there on the wall hung the rifle. After he finished eating, my friend asked the boy where he had got the rifle. "Bought it from a Mexican," he said. "How much you pay?" asked my friend and he took it down and on it read my name. He charged the boy with stealing it. The boy said nothing. My friend got an order of arrest. The boy paid for the value of the jewelry and they kept him only six or seven days in jail. . . . I gave a present of \$10 to the birka'ade. From this I know the birka'ade has power.

#### 43. OTHER THEFTS

Mrs. A's sister had a child by a man who would not marry her. So one night when the man was away from his house across the river, Mrs. A. and her sister and Mrs. A's Sant Ana husband <sup>35</sup> broke into the house and took out the jewelry, the blankets and buckskins to Mrs. A's car. The owner's brothers saw the car and followed it to Albuquerque, where in her house there Mrs. A. deposited the blankets and buckskins. She returned to Isleta with the bundle of jewelry. Seeing that the boys were following her, she threw the bundle into a field. The boys found it and they got the Isleta policeman to arrest the woman. She was one week in the jail at Isleta, and three months in Albuquerque jail.

One time the kiva ladder was stolen.<sup>36</sup> An old man (the detective Father) was working to find the thief. He was paid lots of turquoise and buckskins. He said the ladder was stolen by three Indians, a woman and two men, who sold it to a white man in Albuquerque. After four or five years the ladder was brought back and left in the churchyard. It was very bad luck to take the kiva ladder. People think it was Mrs. A. who took it.

<sup>35</sup> See pp. 201, 451.

<sup>36</sup> See pp. 208, 266.

Lucinda had a lot of jewelry stolen from her trunk, bracelets which covered her whole forearm, and many necklaces. After Lucinda's daughter had died she had put this jewelry away. A year later she was going to begin to wear it, a little, again. "In my family we wait two or three years after somebody has died before wearing jewelry." When Lucinda looked into her trunk, the jewelry was gone. They went after the "old man" (the detective Father) who had gone to Acoma. At Acoma they said he had gone to the Navaho country.

From this story it is inferable that there is in Isleta only one detective Father.

#### 44. MARCELLINA AND AMERICAN LAW

Why did my sister Marcellina break into the house of José Padilla with an ax and take out his blankets and burn them? Marcellina's son was going to marry a girl. The girl had written to him already and my sister had already spent \$200 for the wedding. Then the girl took her other suitor, the son of José Padilla. For three months that boy kept driving the girl past my sister's house and whistling and making a noise to get my sister's attention and then he would kiss the girl. The boy did not have to pass that way. He went out of his way to go past my sister's house. My sister sent word to his father about it, but still the boy went on as before. Finally it was too much for her. So she went and burned the blankets.

The American judge fined her \$32 which she refused to pay; but her son paid it. Then she snatched the money from the hands of the judge. He sentenced her to 90 days, and she was to report herself to the jail. She did not report for 21 days and they did not come after her. That was because she was doing what she knew how to do. She has power. In jail she had a comfortable bed and room and good food. Her children were allowed to visit her and eat with her. On a fiesta they took her out in their car for the day. All this, because she was using her power. No other prisoner was treated this way. It was because of her power. If my sister gets into trouble and is caught at once, she can't do anything; but if she has one night to work in (performing ritual) she is safe.

#### 45. A REJECTED SUIT

One day that woman came to my house. She knocked and came in. She said, "I want to give your daughters lessons, so they can have whatever they wish." Then she proposed that one of them should marry her son. I said my daughters were getting on all right. I did not want them to get married. Later when Antonita died, I remembered all that. Perhaps that woman did something to her. But this is the first time I talk about that to anybody.

## 46. WHITE ARROW-POINT

## I

One time, about 12 years ago (1913), my father-in-law was on an antelope hunt in the Jicarilla Mountains.<sup>37</sup> A woman neighbor came in to our house and asked us if we did not want to know what was happening to our father, and was there not something of his we were familiar with? We thought of the white flint (arrow-point) in a buckskin bag he always carried under his shirt. That night the woman left. The next morning when she came into the house, I said, "Have you come back?" "Yes. I have come back. . . . Your father has killed five antelopes. That is all he will kill. He will be back in three days, in the afternoon." Under her arm she had wrapped in her handkerchief my father's white flint. He did come back three days later. In the morning they sent a messenger on in advance. We went to help them cross the river. There was no bridge then; we used a boat. It was afternoon when our father reached our house. He told us about losing his flint. He had gone to sleep with it; in the morning he did not feel it in the bag of his bandoleer.<sup>38</sup> He retraced his tracks for two days. On his return, next day, somebody said perhaps he had lost it in the blankets. He shook them; in the last sheepskin he shook, he found it. We told him about our neighbor. He was not surprised; he knew she could do such things. She did them only for good. She had power, she was *nathörde*.

## II

I was hunting deer with two other men. One night while two of us were boiling coffee the older man stood near us laughing. "What are you laughing at?" "Well, boys, I will tell you my thought. Would you like to know what your family are doing?" he asked me. "Would you both like to know what your sister is doing?" "Yes." He took out his white flint and some pollen. He put the pollen in his left hand and on it his white flint. He said, "Your sister has gone to the river to get water. A young man has come to talk to her. She is throwing water on him. He leaves her. She has filled her jar, and is going back. She sees the young man under some trees. She sets down the jar and goes over to speak to him. They see a woman coming along. The girl says she does not want the woman to see her. She has picked up her jar and is going on home." After I returned home, when I had an opportunity, I asked my sister about it. "Yes, it happened just that way," she said. After a year she married that boy who talked to her at the river.

<sup>37</sup> Sixty miles away.

<sup>38</sup> The notorious Mrs. Chavez was said to have a medicine bag which she lost on a visit to Zuñi. A child found it and threw it in the fire. "So now Mrs. Chavez's luck is cut at Zuñi."

## 47. HOW MY FATHER WENT AFTER THE APACHE

The White Mountain Apache had made a raid on Isleta and carried off 30 head of cattle. Our war chief called out. Our men were to go after them on foot. It was easier to go on foot, says my father, than on horseback. You could hide better, and you did not have to stop to feed horses. You took your own lunch of corn meal tied around your waist. You were not let smoke or make a fire. They could smell the smoke and see the light. You could not drink water. . . .

The Isletans went to the Rio Puerco. They sent three men on ahead to creep up on the Apache. They found them asleep, tired from not having slept for three nights. One of the three scouts wanted to steal their guns, but the other two were afraid. They returned to their party that now made a circle and closed in on the Apache. They killed lots of them. . . .

One of them was not killed because he was sleeping at a little distance. He was a captive from Isleta who had been caught as a boy herding cattle. They took him away blindfold. Later—after the counter raid—he came to Isleta. He said he had got used to the Apache and he called them his brothers.

## 48. HOW THE RAILWAY CAME THROUGH ISLETA

Vicente Hiron<sup>39</sup> was governor when the railway was to come through Isleta. Vicente had been a fighter against encroaching Mexicans, and he was also against the railway coming into the reservation. He said, "I am a man. I am in charge of this village." And he sent out word to the men to get ready to fight. Three white sheriffs came out from Albuquerque to arrest the governor. The war chief told the people not to let the sheriffs take out the governor. So they put the sheriffs in stocks in the jail. The white judge and railway representatives came to Isleta. The railway men agreed to pay for right of way, and to give the Indians free passes on the road. So they set the sheriffs free from the stocks.

The people would go on the trains to sell fruit, peaches, apples, and grapes, at El Paso.<sup>40</sup> Also they would haul wood a distance of 30 miles in the car the brakeman would give them. Finally, the women and girls took to these free train rides. The governor's wife went to El Paso, and he did not know where she had gone. He sent two or three men to get her. She returned after a month dressed as an American, in shoes and fur boa. People laughed at her. However, until she died in 1924, an old woman, she used to talk of how she had gone to dance halls and of the rest of it at El Paso. But the

<sup>39</sup> See picture in Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 623.

<sup>40</sup> Where, no doubt, they visited their kindred at Isleta del Sur.

townsmen after five years of the free pass (and of flighty womanhood) put an end to the practice.

#### 49. TWO CELIBATES

My wife's sister would not marry anybody. So they found a man for her and she was going to have to marry him. The boys who had wanted to marry her were jealous and they bewitched her and she died. But the medicine man said she was not really dead and if her family would give him four strands of coral beads and one strand of white beads and a pair of turquoise earrings he would bring her back to life. They would not pay that much. In the bluff over the river, before the bridge was built, there used to be a cave (pakek, water cave) and here, they say, that girl used to sit at dawn and at twilight and she would also swim in the river. People saw her. . . .

This girl had a brother who would not marry any one. One day he was passing by a house where there were four girls. They asked him to come in and all that day they played with him (with his bird and eggs), so at night he could hardly walk and in two days he was dead. The medicine man said he, too, was not really dead and he would bring him to life again if they paid him, but they would not. They did not want to call either of them back from the dead.

#### 50. HOW MY BROTHER WRESTLED WITH THE NAVAHO

In 1903 they were building the railway to Williams. I was asked to gather together 30 or more Isletans for a work camp. There was a Navaho camp, too. The Navaho worked with pick and spade, the Isletans with machines. I used to drive the dinner wagon to the camp. One day as I was driving past the Navaho camp, their boss, who was a Mormon (ours was a white man), said a Navaho wanted to wrestle with me. I said I did not know how to wrestle. I was afraid. The boss insisted. I got down and wrestled and threw the Navaho. His head was cut. Later the Navaho sent word they wanted to wrestle with us again. We were afraid, Isletans are always afraid Navaho will do something [magical] to them. But we had to agree to wrestle. We had some trials and my brother was chosen to wrestle with the Navaho.

The Navaho don't do anything without making a ceremony; so my brother said he <sup>41</sup> and our uncle <sup>42</sup> who were both Laguna Fathers and another Laguna Father who was in camp would hold a ceremony, too. We were not to be afraid to bet, to bet anything we liked. We bet the money we had earned; the Navaho bet buckskins, blankets, guns. The Mormons bet on the Navaho; the white men on us. We

<sup>41</sup> He was Rattlesnake Father.

<sup>42</sup> See pp. 455-456.

had our ceremony beforehand. As we came near the Navaho camp we saw three women dancing with cedar twigs in their hands; maybe that was the Navaho ceremony, and the Navaho men were calling out like coyotes, foxes, crows. My brother and the other two men just laughed at them for holding their ceremony so late. Before my brother started, our uncle held him in his blanket and did his power. My brother was afraid, but our uncle told him not to be afraid. . . . They began and the Navaho could not get a hold, his hand kept slipping. (That was from the power of our ceremony.) After a while the Navaho asked for a belt. Then my brother hugged him. He could hear his ribs crack and blood came from his mouth and nose. The Navaho called out. The umpire called stop. Then they started again. My brother threw the Navaho, who fell against a wagon wheel, breaking three spokes. That was the end of the fight.

My brother's hands were swollen. I went with him to the white doctor's. We returned in four days; he was all right. The day after we returned, the Navaho died. All the other Navahos, 40 of them, packed up and left camp. They took the corpse with them. Maybe they were afraid we would take his scalp. From that time on, nobody, white or Mexican, said anything to us; they were afraid. Our boss gave my brother 60 dollars for winning. We all gave him 1, 2, or 3 dollars, for we all won so much through him.

A year later, the same day of the year the Navaho died, my brother was out hunting rabbits. His horse fell and the pommel went into him. After that for 20 days he was sick, spitting blood. We asked the Laguna Fathers to make their ceremony. They made it, in their house, two or three times. In their ceremony they saw that the Navaho had made a ceremony against my brother. When he was hurt he should have died, but somehow he lived on. The Fathers saw in their ceremony that my brother would die; but they did not tell us.

#### 51. HOW THE LAGUNA FATHER PERISHED

In the ceremony of the Laguna Fathers José would bring down thunder and lightning. Besides, on his own, he might go out in the daytime and bring a little cloud and from it make lightning strike a rock and shatter it. He knew of himself how to do this; he had not learned it from anybody, nor did he teach it to anybody. He was very powerful. So powerful that somebody in his ceremony (i. e., society) was envious of him.

In 1916, when he was 40 years old, José went to herd sheep for a white man near Phoenix. He stayed away too long. Seven months, instead of the five months he was allowed to be away from his society. So he was punished by him he worked for, by Lightning.



The white man telegraphed us that José was missing. José was my father's sister's son.<sup>43</sup> So José's father and mother, and my father, advised together and they decided to send me to look for him. I went to the sheep camp and with another man set out to search for José. I found him sitting under a pine tree. His thumbs were under his chin. His blanket was wrapped around him, his bandoleer lay at a little distance from him. I picked up the bandoleer, for I had to give it to his chief. I was afraid to go closer to him. So I shot off my gun three times. In the camp they answered with some shots, and I shot again three times. It was late in the afternoon. We left him sitting there until the next day, when three Mexicans moved him with crotched sticks into the grave. His body was black like ashes. He had been missing nine days. I wanted to take the body home, but the white man said it was too late. I did not eat the day I found him, nor the next day.

The Laguna Fathers performed their [death] ceremony for him. They gave his Mother [iema'paru, corn fetish] to his widow to look after; but two years later she married again, and they took it from her.

José was extremely powerful. Even now, if anybody is sick or wants something, they will take a candle out to the western hills for José. They build a little mound, anywhere, and plant the candle in it. We of the family put candles out for him in the western hills on Dia de Todos Santos. Once my girl had a bad toothache. She said she was going to give her "uncle" (memei) a candle. In an hour her toothache was gone. That evening I went out with her and we put down the candle. José was extremely powerful.<sup>44</sup>

## 52. THE DEATH OF FRANCISCO

One year after pinitu, Francisco said he was not going to dance any more. The next day he went on the housetop and watched the people going off on a rabbit hunt. He came down and dropped dead. He swelled up right away. When Lucinda heard about it she began to cry. Francisco was her husband's uncle. While Lucinda was crying, a woman came in and was told the news of the death, which was not news to her. "That's what I heard last night," she said; "they were choosing last night." (She was referring to a witch meeting where the death of Francisco was planned.) Some time later when Lucinda's husband returned from herding, Lucinda told him what the woman visitor had said. "Why didn't you tell them before they counted his days?" he asked. (He was referring to the four days after death before the deceased is speeded away. Evidently he thought his uncle might have been brought back to life.)

<sup>43</sup> All Poplar people.

<sup>44</sup> He was the Snake Father (piruka'ade). His Isletan name was Kimrato, White Lion.

## 53. THEY REAR THEIR GRANDCHILD

Natōai', long ago, there were living a grandfather and grandmother and they had a grandchild. They were rearing him on the baby board. They were very poor. The grandchild was left to them by their daughter. They wondered and wondered how they could rear that child. They cried together to see the child without his mother. Grandfather and grandmother talked it over and over, how they could save the child. Finally, grandmother said to grandfather, "You might go out hunting." He went out and killed one little bird. He came back, they cried, and grandmother began to cook the little bird. She made a broth and she took the bird's leg and the baby was sucking the broth from the leg. Every day grandfather had to go out to kill a bird for the child. Finally the boy grew up, through his grandfather hunting those birds. They were very proud when he was reared well. He was growing big. Then his grandfather and grandmother said to him, "Now, grandchild, see what you can do now. When you were a baby you were left by your mother. We reared you on the flat board. Now we are very old. See what you can do for us." Then the boy said, "Yes, father and mother, you have done so much for me. Now it is my turn. I will ask you, grandmother, to make two tortillas." Then when grandmother made two tortillas he tied them around his waist. He said, "I am going out hunting. If I am lucky, I will be back to-morrow. You raised me, and now it is my turn." He went hunting. He was gone two days. In two days he returned, carrying a big deer on his back. When he was coming, his grandmother saw him. She called out, "My grandson is coming! My grandson is coming!" When he got to the door she said, "Kōrikem!<sup>45</sup> kōrikem, maku. Thank you! Thank you, my grandson, that you bring the deer." After they brought the deer in, they laid it right in the middle of the house, and the boy summoned all his aunts and uncles and relatives to the house. Everybody came and passed their hands over the deer.

## 54. THE PRIEST WHO RESURRECTS

Long ago<sup>46</sup> a padre was buried under the altar of the church. He comes out every seven years, when our padre sends word to the bishop. . . . The dirt rises up and up comes the coffin. The body is preserved. He has gold teeth, no hair. . . . Three times I know of this happening, and I have seen him. . . . We don't know what he wants.

<sup>45</sup> Hawō', a man would say for thanks. (See pp. 313, 447.)

<sup>46</sup> During the Rodriguez expedition of 1580 Fray Francisco López was killed at old Sandia. "More than 33 years" later the whereabouts of his body was revealed to Fray Estevan de Perea, who reinterred the remains. (Benavides, 221.)

## 55. THE HAUNTED HOUSE

About 12 years ago a house in Oraí'bi (house 41) was lived in by my comadre and a boy of Laguna descent who worked for her. He called her "mother." One day as she was standing by the well she dropped. Her children, a married son<sup>47</sup> and married daughter, asked the Laguna Fathers to hold a ceremony to find out the cause of her death. The Fathers did so and reported that she died because she had sold a ceremonial basket they called kumpa licha (basket) to a white person for \$150. This basket had been missing some time. My comadre did not belong in a ceremony, but being a rich woman she would help the medicine societies, giving them what they needed.

After a time people began to say that they heard noises in that house (house 41), and they saw a white figure going up and down on top of the second story. Then the house was rented to some Italians who were building the schoolhouse. The first night they heard noises; the second night they saw the white figure; the third night one of them was seized by the foot. They were frightened and ran away from the house, and did not come back to it.

The children of my comadre asked the Laguna Fathers to hold a ceremony to find out what was the matter with the house. My comadre's children went to the ceremony. The chief chewed his root and went to sleep [i. e., into trance], and went to the house (house 41) [in spirit]. On coming back he said that their mother was still suffering, she was still going around, during the day her soul (wai'de) was at the well where she had left it. He had found it there. Also he had found some money which she had kept plastered up in a wall niche of the second story room. After the ceremony her son went and opened the niche and found in a tin can \$750, also gold rings and pins and bracelets. (Six months before her death she had distributed her houses and lands between her children.)

During the ceremony they sent away that wai'de.<sup>48</sup> Afterwards there were no noises in the house which has since then been rented to whites and Mexicans.

56. THE HAT<sup>49</sup>

A man was living, and American hats were just coming in, and the Indians wondered what they were for. This man bought a hat, and the white man told him to put it on his head. As he was a bad man, he thought, "This is a good way to carry my stuff on my head." When he got home he said to his wife, "I have bought something

<sup>47</sup> Pablo Abeita.

<sup>48</sup> In an account from another person, a Navaho shaman had said that the old woman (i. e., her spirit) was in the well, that she had been dead only two days and, if they wished, he could bring her back. But they did not wish him to bring her back.

<sup>49</sup> Heard from Tomás de Zia, whose father's brother was the man with the hat. Hats are not worn at Zia.

nice." Some called it a head bag (pimu). Others said it was a head trunk (pilaburu, head wood hollow). That night he made up his mind to put some lard in the hat and take it to his sweetheart. Just after he put it in and put the hat on his head, some visitors came in. He was sitting a little way from the fireplace. His friends said, "Sit by the fire; let us smoke." "No; I am all right." Then they said, "Show me that head bag." "No; it would be very unlucky (teh'-hebahi) for anybody to touch it but me, particularly at night." But anyhow they made him come closer to the fire. After the hat got warm, the lard started to melt. His wife saw it dripping down, so she said, "Oh, my! my husband (enamui insöowee), what are you crying about?" "I am remembering the time before I bought my head bag. I was not unlucky. It seems now I am going to be unlucky." The lard was dripping down. Finally he was able to leave. Since his sweetheart was living by herself, he took the lard over to her right away. A few days after that, the woman's husband returned from sheep herding and he went to the meeting that night. Her sweetheart decided this was the time to go and see her, so he put some beans in his hat and he told his wife he was going to the meeting, too. From the time he left his house the beans began to drop through a hole in his hat until he reached his sweetheart's house. When he got there, he said to his sweetheart, "My God (emamwitataure)! this is a fine bag I have with beans in it for you." His sweetheart said, "Come to bed. The old man is not returning till morning." So he took off his shoes and lay them by the shoes of the woman's husband. Then he heard a footstep and thought it was the woman's husband coming, and he took one of his shoes and one of the shoes of the woman's husband and ran out, taking his hat bag.

When he got to his own house he went to sleep and did not look at his shoes until the next morning. Next morning when he got up he told his wife to bring him his moccasins. One was dark red, one was light red. But she never noticed that. She threw the moccasins at the foot of his bed. He sat thinking. His wife asked, "What is the matter with you?" He acted as if he were scared. He said, "I am thinking, mali. I am afraid somebody is bewitching me. I am afraid it is all on account of that head trunk. They are envious of it. You bring that head trunk to me. See if there is anything inside of it." She got it and took it to him. He found some beans sticking in the hatband. "My wife, I think somebody is going to hurt me. I am going to track them by these beans." So he and his wife went out, following the track of beans. When they got to the woman's house, he knocked at the door and spoke to the man. "My friend, I have come following somebody's tracks, and they lead here. Look at my moccasins! Somebody stole them." Then the woman's husband showed his moccasins. He said, "I am afraid it is you who

stole my moccasin from here." "No, my friend; ever since I got this head bag everything has been unlucky for me. I am afraid somebody is trying to hurt both you and me. You remember when I bought this head bag you kept trying it on, you wanted it so much. Don't you think we better burn up this head bag? Somebody stole one of your moccasins and one of mine, for us to go crazy." "Yes; I think we better burn up your head bag." So they put the hat into the fire right then. That way he saved himself.





## GENEALOGY II

- |                                   |                                       |                          |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. M. Manuel Ho'hola, d. _____    | 7. F. Doloritas Ho'hola, d. 1912, 19— | 13. F. Isabel Abeita. 16 |
| Shure', White                     | Black Eyes, Yellow                    | Black Eyes, 'Yel-        |
| + 2. F. Juanita Abeita, d.        | + 8. M. Juan Pasqual Abeita. 33       | low                      |
| Shure', Yellow                    | Shure', Black (Kōara)                 |                          |
|                                   | — 9. M. Pedro Ho'hola. 45             |                          |
|                                   | Shure', Yellow                        |                          |
|                                   | + 10. F. Predicana Abeita, d.         |                          |
|                                   | Black Eyes, Yellow                    |                          |
| 3. F. Dominga Abeita. 45—         | 11. F. Candelaria Abeita. 23          |                          |
| Older sister to 2                 | Black Eyes, Yellow                    |                          |
| Shure', Yellow                    | + 12. M. Crescencio Ansara. 24        |                          |
| + 4. M. Felipe Abeita. 50         | Shure', Yellow                        |                          |
| Black Eyes, White                 |                                       |                          |
| 5. M. José Benino Enkelino Abeita |                                       |                          |
| d. 1921, aged 55                  |                                       |                          |
| Brother to 2                      |                                       |                          |
| Black Eyes, Yellow                |                                       |                          |
| + 6. F. Carmelita Carpio, d.      |                                       |                          |
| Shure', White                     |                                       |                          |

[illegible]



## GENEALOGY IV

|                        |             |                      |              |                             |
|------------------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. M. Lorenzo Churina— | 3. M. — — — | 12. F. Tita Churina— | 28. M. — — — | 41. F. Larita Trujillo, 17. |
| + 2. F. — —            | + 4. F. — — | Blue                 | Blue         | — 43. F. Rey Lujan          |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 46. M. Escapula Lujan     |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 47. M. Remito Lujan       |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 48. M. Pedro Lujan        |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 49. M. Y. — — —           |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 50. M. Y. — — —           |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 51. M. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 52. M. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 53. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 54. M. Vicente Abella     |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 55. F. Maria Damasia      |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 56. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 57. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 58. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 59. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 60. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 61. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 62. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 63. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 64. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 65. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 66. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 67. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 68. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 69. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 70. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 71. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 72. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 73. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 74. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 75. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 76. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 77. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 78. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 79. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 80. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 81. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 82. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 83. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 84. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 85. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 86. F. — — —              |
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|                        |             |                      |              | — 88. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 89. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 90. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 91. F. — — —              |
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|                        |             |                      |              | — 94. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 95. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 96. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 97. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 98. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 99. F. — — —              |
|                        |             |                      |              | — 100. F. — — —             |



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INTRODUCTION  
TO ZUÑI CEREMONIALISM

By RUTH L. BUNZEL

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## TABLE OF SOUNDS

The following symbols have been used in the texts and the recording of native names.

### Vowels:

a, e, i, o, u have their continental values. As in English, long vowels tend to be closed, short vowels to be open, but the quality is variable and not significant. o is always closed, and is distinguished from o which is open.

ä—English hat.

ai—English i.

w—English w.

y—English y.

### Consonants:

p—French père.

ḡ—Glottalized p; the glottalization is very slight and the sound is frequently confused with the medial.

t—French té.

ṭ—Glottalized; glottalization very slight, as in the labial.

k̄—Palatalized k, unaspirated.

ḡ—Palatalized k, glottalized.

k—Spanish boca.

ḡ—Glottalized k.

m—English m.

n—English n.

ŋ—English ng (before k only).

l—English l.

l̥—Voiceless l.

s—English s.

ç—English sh.

ts—German Zeit, but without aspiration.

ṭs—Glottalized; with slight force of articulation almost like dz.

tc—English church.

ṭc—Glottalized with slight force of articulation.

h—More affricative than English h.

ʔ—Glottal stop.

Length is indicated by a point following the letter; both vowels and consonants may be long. All accented syllables are lengthened, some of the length being accorded to the terminating consonant. Where not indicated the primary accent is on the first syllable; the secondary accent, in words of four or more syllables, on the penult. Compound words retain their original accents.





# INTRODUCTION TO ZUÑI CEREMONIALISM

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By RUTH L. BUNZEL

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## CONDITIONS OF LIFE

The Zuñi tribe numbered in 1928 approximately 1,900 individuals, settled in the desert of western New Mexico on land which the nation had already inhabited for many centuries prior to the advent of the Spaniards in 1540. The reservation which they now hold under Government protection is a strip of land roughly following the course of the Zuñi River from its headwaters near the Continental Divide southwest to a point some miles east of the Arizona border. The general conformation of the land is a high, broad valley dropping sharply from northeast to southwest. The upper end of the valley is hemmed in by rugged mountains of red and white sandstone, cut by deep canyons densely forested. Toward the west the country lies open. The average altitude of the valley is about 6,000 feet.

The Zuñi River which drains this country is a permanent stream, which, however, varies greatly in volume of water. For the greater part of the year it is a thin trickle threading its devious way through broad, glistening mud flats. During the summer season this trickle may be transformed within a few moments into a raging torrent that inundates the mud flats and frequently overflows the containing banks. These sudden floods, caused by cloud-bursts in the eastern mountains, generally subside within a few hours, although the stream frequently runs high for two or three days during the spring freshets, when the river is said to be impassable for days at a time. The valley is traversed also by numerous arroyos filled with rushing water in times of flood, but otherwise quite dry. In all the surrounding mountains are numerous permanent springs of sweet water.

The mountains and canyons of the east, well watered by virtue of their nearness to the divide, are covered with thick forests of conifers. The arid plains of the west sustain only a meager covering of sage, greasewood, yucca, and small cacti, with occasional poplar and cottonwood trees near springs and along watercourses.

The high altitude and excessive aridity produce a healthy and invigorating climate. There are great seasonal and daily fluctuations in temperature. There are summers of blazing noons (110° F. is by

no means unusual) and cool, almost chilly, nights. In winter, especially in December, the nights are bitter cold, the days, for the most part, mild and sunny.

There are two periods of precipitation—in summer from July to September, and in winter from December to March. The summer rains begin early in July, increasing in intensity as the season advances. The rainy season ends about September 15. In summer the sun rises every day in an unclouded sky of brilliant blue. By noon this blue dome begins to fill with great puffs of white cumulus clouds, increasing in density, with heavy black clouds along the southern horizon. The late afternoon is generally marked by sudden and violent showers of short duration. These showers, which are very local, can literally be seen stalking out of the southeast just before sunset. The storms increase in frequency, intensity, and duration toward the close of the rainy season. The most destructive rains occur in September.

The winter precipitation starts with light snowfalls early in December. December is a month of low temperatures and frequent snowfalls. After the New Year the temperature moderates, but the weather continues very inclement, snow and rain alternating. There is a great deal of fog and continuous downpours of cold rain.

The spring months are marked by high winds of prevailing westerly direction. These winds from the open desert are laden with fine sand and cause untold discomfort. The sand storms of May, striking the young corn, are especially destructive.

### ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Zuñis have been agriculturists for many centuries. Since very early prehistoric time they have raised maize, beans, and squash by a system of dry cultivation.<sup>1</sup> From the first Spanish settlers they obtained the seeds of wheat. This, however, could be grown only in specially favored localities which could be irrigated by hand from large, permanently flowing springs. Recently, in 1909, the waters of one fork of the Zuñi River have been impounded behind a dam built by the United States Government. From this reservoir sufficient water is drawn to irrigate a strip of land on the north bank of the river, immediately adjacent to the village. This strip, approximately 1 mile wide and 6 miles long, is well suited for the cultivation of wheat and alfalfa. Maize is still raised by old methods of dry farming on sandy fields lying at a considerable distance from the village, mainly situated on the south bank.

From the Spaniards, also, the Zuñis got their first sheep. They now own large and profitable herds. These are kept in remote parts

<sup>1</sup> Zuñi agricultural methods are admirably described in Cushing's *Zuñi Breadstuffs*, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, Museum of the American Indian, vol. viii, pp. 157ff.

of the reservation. The wealthiest herders even rent land in surrounding townships. Rabbits are still hunted, primarily for sport, but the deer and antelope, once important items in Zuñi economy, have vanished from the mountains. Sheep, furthermore, are the chief source of negotiable wealth. The sale of wool in June and of lambs in October provides the herders with a considerable cash income for the purchase of luxuries of white manufacture. They have, also, horses derived from the same source and a few cattle, but the land is not suitable for cattle breeding. Cattle are not milked and are used for meat only. Some women have a few pigs and chickens. The labor of agriculture and herding is done entirely by the men.

Herding, of course, is an all-year-round occupation, at which men take turns, groups of brothers herding their sheep together and taking turns in watching them. A man with his own herd usually goes three times a year, for a month at a time, unless he is wealthy enough to pay some one to do this for him. All men who own sheep spend lambing time with their herds to see that all lambs are properly earmarked. At this time the sheep are herded at permanent camps, and the women also go out there. Lambing occurs in April and is followed immediately by shearing. Sheep dipping takes a few weeks for everyone in midsummer.

The first agricultural work of the season is early plowing and the planting of wheat in February or March. In March the irrigation ditches are cleaned. Corn must not be planted until after certain ceremonies held about the time of the vernal equinox, and frequently it is delayed until after wool-sell. The cornfields are plowed over, but the actual planting is done with the digging stick. The early summer, after the return from sheep camp and after the summer solstice ceremonies, is spent hoeing and irrigating. There is an alfalfa crop in June and another in August. There may be another in November, but this is not usually harvested. The horses are turned into the unharvested field for winter pasture. The wheat harvest begins in August and continues until all is in, which may not be until November. The wheat is cut with a sickle, threshed by horses, and winnowed by hand on primitive outdoor threshing floors.

Peaches, squash, and melons ripen in August and must be harvested before the frosts, which may occur at this altitude any time after the end of August. There is a spell of heavy rain in September which interrupts outdoor work. The first green corn is ready for eating in August, but the general corn harvest does not take place until November. This is the last agricultural work, except for a few people who do a little fall plowing. The months from November

until March, free of agricultural work, are given over to the great ceremonies—the Ca'lako, the winter solstice ceremonies, society initiations, the winter katecinas, and sometimes the general tribal initiation.

The 1,900 inhabitants live, for the most part, in Zuñi proper and its immediate vicinity. There are, however, three large farming villages and one small one, which are occupied for varying periods during the summer months. Even those families that make their homes there permanently return to Zuñi after harvest time for the period of the great ceremonies in December and January.

None of the farming villages have any civil or religious organization of their own, nor are any religious ceremonies performed at any of them, except when a dance set from one of the kivas is invited to dance there during the summer.

Despite modern expansion<sup>2</sup> the main village still remains a unit whose physical compactness is reflected in an intricate and closely knit social organization.

There are households, kinship groups, clans, tribal and special secret societies, and cult groups. A man must belong to several of these groups, and the number to which he may potentially belong is almost unlimited. There is no exclusive membership. He is born into a certain household, and his kinship and clan affiliations are thus fixed, unless altered by adoption. At puberty he is initiated into one of the six dance groups that comprise the male tribal society. He may, through sickness, be conscripted into one of the medicine societies; if he takes a scalp he must join the warriors society; and if connected with a sacerdotal household he may be called upon to join one of the priesthoods.

These groups all have their joint activities and a great part of a man's time is spent in participation in these activities. His economic activities are all bound up with the household, a communal unit to which he has certain obligations. His ordinary social contacts are all predetermined by his family and clan affiliations. Religious participation is confined to attendance at the ceremonies of those groups with which he is identified. In fact, the only sphere in which he acts as an individual rather than as a member of a group is that of sex. A man's courtship and marriage are matters of individual choice. In the bid for attention they suffer from being entirely divorced from group activity. At Zuñi no action that is entirely personal and individual receives more than passing interest. Births, deaths, and initiations figure largely in local gossip—marriages do not. It is curious to note that among the culturally related Hopi, where a marriage is the occasion for elaborate gift exchanges between the

<sup>2</sup> Population movements in and out of the town are analyzed by Kroeber in his *Zuñi Kin and Clan*, pp. 120, 198.

clans of the bride and groom, weddings are one of the most frequent topics of conversation.

The economic unit is the household, whose nature and methods of function illustrate admirably certain very fundamental Zuni attitudes. The household is a group of variable composition, consisting theoretically of a maternal family; that is, a woman and her husband, her daughters with their husbands and children. To this permanent population is added a fluctuating group of miscellaneous male relatives of the maternal line—the unmarried, widowed, divorced, and those rendered homeless by passing domestic storms. This group occupies a single house consisting of several connecting rooms. There is a single kitchen drawing upon a common storehouse. The household owns certain cultivated fields which can not be alienated. In addition, the various male members individually own certain fields—generally fields recently brought under cultivation—which remain their own after they have severed connection with the household. However, all fields, whether collectively or individually owned, are cultivated by the cooperative labor of the entire male population of the household. The products go into the common storeroom to become the collective property of the women of the household. The women draw on the common stores for daily food and trade the surplus for other commodities. Sheep are owned individually by men but are herded cooperatively by groups of male kindred. When the profits of the shearing are divided a man is expected out of these to provide clothing for himself, his wife and children, including children by previous marriages, and his mother and unmarried sisters, in case they are not otherwise provided for.

Personal relations within the household are characterized by the same lack of individual authority and responsibility that marks the economic arrangements. The household has no authoritative head to enforce any kind of discipline. There is no final arbiter in disputes; no open conflict. Ordinarily the female contingent of blood relatives presents a united front. A man finding himself out of harmony with the group may withdraw quietly whenever he chooses and ally himself with another group. With his departure obligations cease, and his successor fathers his children. Diffusion of authority and responsibility is especially marked in the treatment of children.

The tribe is divided into 13 matrilineal exogamous clans, varying greatly in size from the Yellowwood, consisting of two male members, and which will therefore become extinct with the present generation, to the large so-called Dogwood (Pi'teikwe) clan, which comprises several hundreds of individuals. The kinship system follows, in the main, the Crow multiple clan system, all members of one's own clan being designated by classificatory terms. There are different terms for classificatory relatives of the father's clan. Adoption is frequent,



and the usual terms are applied to adoptive relatives. The terms are stretched to include also all affinal relatives. There is no avoidance and no joking relations. There is some indication of a joking relationship between a man and women of his father's clan, especially his father's blood sister, who is also his most important ceremonial relative. A woman has important ceremonial obligations to her brother's children, especially his male children, and in most cases she is compensated for her services. The clan as such has no social or political functions, although each individual feels his closest ties to be with members of his clan, upon whom he calls for assistance in any large enterprise, such as harvest, housebuilding, initiations, etc. His closest ties, naturally, are with blood kin, especially the maternal household in which he was born.

Each male is initiated at puberty into the *kacina* or mask dance society, which thereby assumes the rôle of a tribal cult, in distinction to other ceremonial groups of more restricted membership. Other ceremonial groups are the 12 medicine societies composed of medicine men and those whom they have cured, the war society, the rain priesthoods, and innumerable minor cults, consisting in the main of members of maternal households to whom are intrusted the care of various objects of fetishistic power. Most men of advanced age are affiliated with several of these groups.

The real political authority of the tribe is vested in the council of priests, consisting of three members of the chief priesthood and the heads of the three other priesthoods. The head of the hierarchy is the head of the chief priesthood—the house chief (*k'a'kwemosi*), *pekwin*, who is priest of the sun and keeper of the calendar, is, as his name indicates, a sort of talking chief for the priesthood. Two bow priests, members of the war society, act as messengers and the executive arm of the priesthood. The heads of the *kacina* society are called on in an advisory capacity in matters relating to their province. The principal matters to come before the council for decision are the appointment of civil officers, choice of the impersonators of the gods at the annual festival, the insertion of important ceremonies, such as the tribal initiation, into the regular calendar, the discussion of what action should be taken in cases of calamity, such as earthquakes and drought, the determination of tribal policy in new contingencies—such questions as whether automobiles are fire, and should therefore be taboo during the winter solstice. The maintenance of these policies is the duty of the bow priests and the secular officers.

The priests do not act in secular affairs, being too sacred to contaminate themselves with dispute or wrangling. Crime and warfare are the concerns of the bow priests. Civil law and relations with aliens, especially the United States Government, are delegated to the secular officers appointed by the council.

The only crime that is recognized is witchcraft. An accusation of having caused death by sorcery may be brought by the relatives of the deceased. The bow priests examine the accused and review the evidence. If found guilty in former days the accused was hung by his wrists and subjected to other forms of torture until he confessed. If the confession was of such a nature as to vitiate his power by revealing its source, a common Zuñi idea, he might be released at the discretion of the bow priests, or he might be executed. Public torture and execution of witches has been stopped by Government authorities but convicted witches may be done away with secretly unless they escape to other villages.

Revelation of the secrets of the kateina cult to the uninitiated is a crime against the gods and is punishable by death by decapitation. Punishment is meted out by masked impersonators of the gods, appointed by the heads of the kateina society. No such executions have taken place within the memory of living men, but they figure prominently in folklore, and the authority and readiness of the priests so to act is never questioned in Zuñi. Flogging by masked impersonators has recently been substituted for execution. During one of the writer's visits kateinas were summoned to administer punishment to a youth found guilty of selling a mask. The accused escaped so the kateinas whipped all men in the kivas for purification.

Crimes of personal violence are rare, but such as do occur are considered matters for private adjustment, either with or without the help of the civil officers. Murder by overt means, not sorcery, bodily injury, rape, and theft are settled by property payments by the family of the guilty man to the family of the one who has been wronged. These payments are made promptly and quietly by the guilty man's relatives, since they are likely to fare worse in the hands of the officers than in those of private individuals. Adultery is not a crime. Along with stinginess and ill temper it is a frequent source of domestic infelicity and divorce, but is never regarded as a violation of rights. Sexual jealousy is no justification for violence.

The chief duties of the officers (governor, lieutenant governor, and eight *tenientes*) are the adjudication of civil suits, such as boundaries, water rights, inheritance, restitution for loss or injury to livestock, management of cooperative enterprises of a nonreligious character, such as road building, cleaning of irrigation ditches, execution of Government ordinances regarding registration, schooling, etc., and all manner of negotiation with outside powers. Because of the increasingly diversified contacts with whites, the office of governor is becoming more and more exacting and influential, although it still lacks prestige in native opinion. The civil officers hold office at the pleasure of the priests and may be removed by them at any time and for any cause. The office is not one that is sought, since the

settlement of disputes must inevitably be a source of grievance to someone, and the thing that a Zuñi will avoid above anything else is giving offense.

In all social relations, whether within the family group or outside, the most honored personality traits are a pleasing address, a yielding disposition, and a generous heart. All the sterner virtues—initiative, ambition, an uncompromising sense of honor and justice, intense personal loyalties—not only are not admired but are heartily deplored. The woman who cleaves to her husband through misfortune and family quarrels, the man who speaks his mind where flattery would be much more comfortable, the man, above all, who thirsts for power or knowledge, who wishes to be, as they scornfully phrase it, “a leader of his people,” receives nothing but censure and will very likely be persecuted for sorcery.

A characterization intended to convey the highest praise was the following: “Yes, —— is a nice polite man. No one ever hears anything from him. He never gets into trouble. He’s Badger clan and Muhekwe kiva and he always dances in the summer dances.” The informant could be eloquent enough when she wished to detract.

No single fact gives a better index to Zuñi temperament than that suicide is absolutely unknown among them, and the very idea is so remote from their habits of thought that it arouses only laughter.

### RELIGIOUS LIFE

In so far as the culture of any people is an integrated and harmonious whole, it shows in all its phases the same character and individuality. At Zuñi the same ceremonious collectivism that characterizes social activities is the essence also of all religious participation. The relation between man and the supernatural is as free of tragic intensity as the relation of man to man. The supernatural, conceived always as a collectivity, a multiple manifestation of the divine essence, is approached by the collective force of the people in a series of great public and esoteric rituals whose richness, variety, and beauty have attracted the attention of poets and artists of all countries. Nowhere in the New World, except in the ancient civilizations of Mexico and Yucatan, has ceremonialism been more highly developed, and nowhere, including these civilizations, has it gone so far toward taming man’s frenzy. In Zuñi, as in all the pueblos, religion spreads wide. It pervades all activities, and its very pervasiveness and the rich and harmonious forms in which it is externalized compensate the student of religion for the lack of intensity of that feeling. For although the Zuñi may be called one of the most thoroughly religious peoples of the world, in all the enormous mass of rituals there is no single bit of religious feeling equal in intensity and exaltation to the usual vision quest of the North American Indian.

## MAN AND THE UNIVERSE

## THE SOUL

According to Zuñi belief, man has a spiritual substance, a soul (tse'makwin, thoughts, from tse'ma, to think, ponder). This is associated with the head, the heart, and the breath. The head is the seat of skill and intelligence, but the heart is the seat of the emotions and of profound thought. "I shall take it to my heart" means I shall ponder it carefully, and remember it long. The word for life is *îekohanan'e*, literally daylight. The breath is the symbol of life. It also is the means by which spiritual substances communicate and the seat of power or *mana*. Inhaling is an act of ritual blessing. One inhales from all sacred objects to derive benefit from their *mana*. At the end of any prayer or chant all present inhale; holding their folded hand before their nostrils, in order to partake of the sacred essence of prayer.<sup>3</sup> The feather is the pictorial representation of the breath. Death occurs when "the heart wears out." When a person is very sick his heart is wearing out. "Medicine men can fix it up when they come to cure, and it will go for a while, but sooner or later you will have to get a new one." Getting a new heart is the first rite in society initiations.<sup>4</sup>

Dreams are believed to be of supernatural causation, and foretell the future if one can properly interpret them. Certain persons in particular are believed to "dream true." Dreams of the dead are believed to be visitations of the dead, and are always portents of death. Visual and auditory hallucinations are believed to be similarly caused. "Bad dreams," a term which includes hallucinations, is a disease of supernatural origin, as opposed to bodily disease, which is caused by witchcraft. There are special rituals for curing "bad dreams," to which we shall allude frequently in the following pages.

In rare instances the soul can leave the body and return to it again. This occurs during sickness and is a matter of great seriousness. A friend has reported such an experience as follows:

"When I was sick of the measles I was very sick. On the third day I didn't know anything. Maybe I fainted or maybe I really died<sup>5</sup> and came back. I never believed that could happen, but it really did, because when I came back the room was going round and round and there was a little light coming through the window, although there was a bright light in the room. While I was dead I dreamed I was going toward the west." The narrative goes on to describe her encounter with her dead grandfather and unknown dead women, her "aunts."

<sup>3</sup> See texts for symbolism of breath as the seat of sacred power.

<sup>4</sup> Texts, p. 802.

<sup>5</sup> The two words are the same in Zuñi (*acekû*.)

"I was so happy to see my grandfather. Since then I've never worried about dying, even when I was very sick, because I saw all these dead people and saw that they were still living the way we do." After this experience the girl was initiated into a medicine society,<sup>6</sup> to "save her life," because her people (i. e., the dead) had asked her for feathers.

Visual and auditory hallucinations are caused by supernaturals. They are regarded as omens of death. The most common hallucinations of this type are the apparent movement of sacred objects on an altar—especially masks.

Death is usually caused by witchcraft. The usual method of the sorcerer is to shoot foreign bodies into his victim. But other more indirect methods may be used. Sorcery, however, is never practiced openly as in Oceania. No one admits having sorcery, and everyone suspects others very vaguely. Suspicion of sorcery subjects a person to social ostracism, but a death caused by sorcery is an occasion for formal interference on the part of the authorities. There is considerable internal and comparative evidence in the body of witchcraft belief and practice to indicate that their present great development is post-Hispanic, and that the belief in less specific supernatural causation is earlier and more aboriginal.

Considerable confusion exists in the Zuñi mind concerning the fate of the soul after death. General folk belief has it that for four days after death it remains in Zuñi, causing great inconvenience, and, indeed, danger, to survivors, and on the fourth day departs for Katsina Village (koluwala'wa)<sup>7</sup> in the west. However, various cult groups hold beliefs at variance with this. Dead medicine men, probably not all members of medicine societies, but those who possess the ultimate powers of "calling the bear," join the beast priests at Cipapolima in the east.<sup>8</sup> The name Cipapolima is undoubtedly related to the Keresan shipap<sup>a</sup>, the place of emergence and the destination of the dead. The word shipap<sup>a</sup> is not known at Zuñi, but wenima (Keresan wenimatse) is sometimes used esoterically in songs for Koluwala'wa. When the priests invoke the uwanami in prayer they also call by name deceased members of their order,<sup>9</sup> indicating that deceased priests join the uwanami at the four oceans of the world.

Corpses are prepared for burial according to the ceremonial affiliations of the deceased. All are clothed in everyday clothing, men in white cotton shirts and trousers, women in calico dresses and black woolen blanket dresses. In addition, each wears the characteristic garment of his group: male members of societies the hand-woven

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 528, 791.

<sup>7</sup> See text of origin myth, p. 574.

<sup>8</sup> See prayer of medicine man, pp. 804, 829, 831.

<sup>9</sup> Stevenson, p. 175, substantiated by further information.



loin cloth which constitutes their ceremonial costume, officers of the Katcina society the white embroidered kilt and embroidered blanket of the katcinas and, possibly, masks.<sup>10</sup> Priests, curiously enough, are adorned for burial with the face paint and headdress of warriors.<sup>11</sup>

Infants were formerly buried within the houses, as was common in almost all prehistoric villages; because "they thought they would have no place to go," and so they "wanted them around the house." Most people admitted that there was some doubt whether the uninitiated, for example women, are admitted to Kokuwala-wa, although folk tales frequently allude to their going there to join their husbands.

The rôle of the dead in the religious life is described below (p. 509). At this point it need only be said that they are the bestowers of all blessings, and are identified especially with rain. If rain falls the fourth day following the death of a noted man it is usually thought of as his rain, and is a source of consolation to the bereaved. The worship of the dead is the foundation of all Zuñi ritual. The dead form part of the great spiritual essence of the universe, but they are the part which is nearest and most intimate.

#### THE EXTERNAL WORLD

To the Zuñi the whole world appears animate. Not only are night and day, wind, clouds, and trees possessed of personality, but even articles of human manufacture, such as houses, pots, and clothing, are alive and sentient. All matter has its inseparable spiritual essence. For the most part this spiritual aspect of things is vague and impersonal. Although all objects are called *ho'i*, "living person," in a figurative sense, they are not definitely anthropomorphic; they have consciousness but they do not possess human faculties. To all these beings is applied the term *ġäpin ho'i* "raw person"; man, on the other hand, is a "cooked" person.

Prayers are full of description of natural phenomena in anthropomorphic guise. I quote some of the most striking:

When our sun father  
Goes in to sit down at his ancient place,  
And our night fathers,  
Our mothers,  
Night priests,  
Raise their dark curtain over their ancient place. . . . .

That our earth mother may wrap herself  
In a fourfold robe of white meal;  
That she may be covered with frost flowers;  
That yonder on all the mossy mountains,  
The forests may huddle together with the cold;

<sup>10</sup> Hodge is the authority for this statement.

<sup>11</sup> Stevenson describes, pp. 315-317, the burial of Nainchi, priest of the Bow and also head of Eagle clan priesthood. However, the Onawa priesthood use the same face paint and headdress in interring their dead.



That their arms may be broken by the snow,  
In order that the land may be thus,  
I have made my prayer sticks into living beings.

Following wherever the roads of the rain makers come out,  
May the ice blanket spread out,  
May the ice blanket cover the country;  
All over the land  
May the flesh of our earth mother  
Crack open from the cold;  
That your thoughts may bend to this,  
That your words may be to this end;  
For this with prayers I send you forth.

When our earth mother is replete with living waters,  
When spring comes,  
The source of our flesh,  
All the different kinds of corn,  
We shall lay to rest in the ground.  
With their earth mother's living waters,  
They will be made into new beings.  
Coming out standing into the daylight  
Of their sun father,  
Calling for rain,  
To all sides they will stretch out their hands.  
Then from wherever the rain makers stay quietly  
They will send forth their misty breath;  
Their massed clouds filled with water will come out to sit down with us;  
Far from their homes,  
With outstretched hands of water they will embrace the corn,  
Stepping down to caress them with their fresh waters,  
With their fine rain caressing the earth,  
With their heavy rain caressing the earth,  
And yonder, wherever the roads of the rain makers come forth,  
Torrents will rush forth,  
Silt will rush forth,  
Mountains will be washed out,  
Logs will be washed down,  
Yonder all the mossy mountains  
Will drip with water.  
The clay-lined hollows of our earth mother  
Will overflow with water,  
From all the lakes  
Will rise the cries of the children of the rain makers,  
In all the lakes  
There will be joyous dancing—  
Desiring that it should be thus,  
I send forth my prayers.

That our earth mother  
May wear a fourfold green robe,  
Full of moss,  
Full of flowers,  
Full of pollen,  
That the land may be thus  
I have made you into living beings.

That yonder in all our water-filled fields  
The source of our flesh,  
All the different kinds of corn  
May stand up all about,  
That, nourishing themselves with fresh water,  
Clasping their children in their arms,  
They may rear their young,  
So that we may bring them into our houses,  
Thinking of them toward whom our thoughts bend—  
Desiring this,  
I send you forth with prayers.

Yonder on all sides coming to the forests,  
And to some fortunate one  
Offering prayer meal,  
Crushed shell,  
Corn pollen,  
We broke off the straight young shoots.  
From where they had stood quietly  
Holding their long life;  
Holding their old age.  
Holding their waters,  
We made them come forth,  
We brought them hither.  
This many days  
Yonder in our houses  
With us, their children,  
They stayed.  
And now this day,  
With our warm human hands  
We took hold of them.

With eagle's wing,  
And with the striped cloud wings of all the birds of summer,  
With these four times wrapping our plume wands  
(We make them into living beings)  
With our mother, cotton woman,  
Even a roughly spun cotton thread,  
A soiled cotton thread,  
With this four times encircling them  
And tying it about their bodies  
And with a water bringing hair feather,  
We made our plume wands into living beings.  
With the flesh of our mother,  
Clay woman,  
Four times clothing our plume wands with flesh,  
We made them into living beings.  
Holding them fast,  
We made them our representatives in prayer.

From wherever my children have built their shelters,  
May their roads come in safety.  
May the forests  
And the brush  
Stretch out their water-filled arms

And shield their hearts;  
 May their roads come in safety,  
 May their roads be fulfilled.

Of this animate universe man is an integral part. The beings about him are neither friendly nor hostile. In so far as all are harmonious parts of the whole, the surrounding forces sustain and preserve humanity in the status quo.

Among these vague impersonal forces are certain clearly defined individuals and classes of beings who definitely influence human affairs. These are such beings as the sun, the earth, the corn, prey animals, and the gods of war. These are called a'-wona'wi'lona<sup>12</sup> "the ones who hold our roads." They, too, belong to man's world, and have no animus against man. But in as much as they may withhold their gifts, their assistance must be secured by offerings, prayers, and magical practices.

The sense of conflict as the basic principle of life does not dominate man's relation to the universe any more than it dominates man's relation to man. The Promethean theme—man's tragic and heroic struggle against the gods—has no place in Zuñi philosophic speculation. Nor have any of the other concepts of cosmic conflicts which have always absorbed the interest of Asiatic and European philosophers and mystics, the antithesis between good and evil, or between matter and spirit. There is no Satan in Zuñi ideology, and no Christ.

The world, then, is as it is, and man's plan in it is what it is. Day follows night and the cycles of the years complete themselves. In the spring the corn is planted, and if all goes well the young stalks grow to maturity and fulfill themselves. They are cut down to serve man for food, but their seeds remain against another planting. So man, too, has his days and his destined place in life. His road may be long or short, but in time it is fulfilled and he passes on to fill another rôle in the cosmic scheme. He, too, leaves his seed behind him. Man dies but mankind remains. This is the way of life; the whole literature of prayer shows no questioning of these fundamental premises. This is not resignation, the subordination of desire to a stronger force, but the sense of man's oneness with the universe. The conditions controlling human affairs are no more moral issues than those, like the blueness of the sky, to which we may well be indifferent. It is a remarkably realistic view of the universe. It is an attitude singularly free from terror, guilt, and mystery. The

<sup>12</sup> This term Mrs. Stevenson erroneously interprets as referring to a bisexual deity; creator and ruler of the universe. The term is never used in this sense, nor was I able to find any trace of such a concept among them. The confusion seems to be due to the fact that the missionaries have hit upon this term as the nearest equivalent to "God." The Zuñis, accordingly, always translate the term "God." When asked if a'-wona'wi'lona is man or woman they say, "Both, of course," since it refers to a great class of supernaturals. The following texts show that the term is applied to any being addressed in prayer.

Zuñi feels great awe of the supernatural, and definitely fears certain beings in his pantheon—the recently dead, the Koyemci, certain “dangerous” katchinas, but this is quite different from the cosmic terror that crushes many primitive and civilized peoples.

#### COSMOLOGICAL BELIEFS

The cosmology of the Zuñis is extremely fragmentary. The earth is circular in shape and is surrounded on all sides by ocean. Under the earth is a system of covered waterways all connecting ultimately with the surrounding oceans. Springs and lakes, which are always regarded as sacred, are the openings to this system. On the shores of the encircling ocean live the Uwanami or rain makers.<sup>13</sup> They have villages in the four world quarters. The underground waters are the home of Kolowisi, the horned serpent.

Within the earth are the four enclosed caves which the people occupied before coming out into this world—the four wombs of earth mother. The sky (a'po'yan'e, stone cover), solid in substance, rests upon the earth like an inverted bowl. The sun has two houses, in the earth and in the sky. In the morning he “comes out standing to his sacred place”; in the evening he “goes in to sit down at his other sacred place.” The sun also travels north and south, reaching his “left hand” (i. e., southernmost) sacred place at the winter solstitial rising. The change in the length of days passes unnoticed.<sup>14</sup>

The moon is reborn each month and in 14 days reaches maturity; after that her life wanes. These are, in general, inauspicious days. Children born while the moon is waning are unlikely to live long.

The stars are fixed in the sky cover. The most prominent feature of the night heavens is the milky way, frequently mentioned in myth and song and figuring prominently in religious art. Some of the stars and constellations are named and recognized—the morning star (Venus or Jupiter) (moyatcunkana, great star), Ursa Major (kwililekā, the seven), Orion's belt (ipi'lakā, the row), the Pleiades (kupa'kwe, seed stars). No observations are made of the positions of the stars and movements of the planets. All calendrical computations are made on the basis of the movements of the sun and the moon.

Clouds and rain are the attributes of all the supernaturals, especially the Uwanami and the katchinas. Wind and snow are associated with the War Gods. Windstorms during ceremonies are due to incontinence or other malfeasance on the part of participants or to sorcery on the part of some jealous or envious outsider. The whirlwind appears in folklore, but not in ritual. All natural phenomena are personalized, and tales are told of them. But they are not therefore necessarily a'wona'wi'lona.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 513.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 534 for more detailed account of the calendrical system.

There is little speculative interest in the origin and early history of the world, animate and inanimate, although there is great interest in the early history of mankind, and the origin of laws, customs, and rituals. Zuñi myth and ritual contain innumerable expressions of what Haeberlin calls the "idea of fertilization,"<sup>15</sup> but to the Zuñis these are unrelated episodes—they do not view them as parts of a great cosmological concept. There are many tales of a maiden being impregnated by the sun or the rain; the sun is called "father," the earth "mother"; and the people are believed to have originated within the earth in the fourth "womb."<sup>16</sup> Yet the general concept of the sexuality of the universe as the source of life, which is found all about them, most fully developed among the Omaha and the Yuman tribes, and in attenuated form among the Hopi, is not known at Zuñi. Cushing records the myth of the sky cohabiting with the earth to produce life, indicating that the notion was current in that day. It has completely vanished at the present time. I have recorded Zuñi creation myths from priests and laymen, in secular and ritualistic form, and all commence the same way, nor do the Zuñis recognize in these myths the implications of profounder cosmological concepts.<sup>17</sup> They are not interested in cosmology or metaphysics. It is interesting in this connection to note the extreme paucity of etiological tales as compared with other North American mythologies.

There was, however, a mythic age, "when the earth was soft," during which things now impossible took place. During this time animals could become human, and humans could change into animals. During this period also the katchinas came in person to the villages. It was at this time that customs originated and took form. Then the earth hardened; things assumed their permanent form and have since remained unchanged.<sup>18</sup>

#### RITUAL: THE CONTROL OF THE SUPERNATURAL

##### TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL

Man is not lord of the universe. The forests and fields have not been given him to despoil. He is equal in the world with the rabbit and the deer and the young corn plant. They must be approached circumspectly if they are to be persuaded to lay down their lives for man's pleasure or necessity. Therefore the deer is stalked ritualistically; he is enticed with sacred esoteric songs, he is killed in a prescribed manner, and when brought to the house is received as an

<sup>15</sup> Haeberlin, *The idea of fertilization in the culture of the Pueblo Indians*. M. A. A. A., vol. III, no. 1.

<sup>16</sup> The word *tebulikwin* is used for womb, but also for any dark enclosed place. It means literally "inside space."

<sup>17</sup> Text in ritualistic form, p. 549.

<sup>18</sup> Many tales open, "Long ago when the earth was soft."

honored guest and sent away with rich gifts to tell others of his tribe that he was well treated in his father's house.

So, too, the great divinity, the sun, and all the lesser divinities, the katchinas, the rain makers, the beast gods, the war gods, and the ancients, must be reminded that man is dependent upon their generosity; and that they, in turn, derive sustenance and joy from man's companionship. The myth of man's beginnings opens as follows: "Indeed, it has come to pass. In this world was no one. Each day the sun came out. Each day he went in. In the morning no one gave him prayer meal. No one gave him prayer sticks. It was a lonely place. He said to his two children, 'You will go into the fourth womb. Your fathers, your mothers . . . you will bring out into the daylight of your sun father. . . .'"

For all techniques for coping with the spiritual essence of things the Zuñi have the general term *fewusu*, "religion." This concept embraces all rituals from the casual gesture of offering meal to a dead bird to the most highly elaborated ceremony, any sanctified custom, any urgent request. The basic element seems to be a request, explicitly stated or merely implied, for aid or succor, bolstered by an action or complex of actions that is automatically effectual. Practically all the techniques employed by primitive or civilized man to influence the supernatural are known at Zuñi—fetishism, imitative magic, incantation, and formulæ figure largely in ritual while the more personal approaches of prayer (which in Zuñi, however, is largely formulistic), purification, abstinence, and sacrifice are also conspicuous. The weighting is on the side of the mechanistic techniques which are highly developed. The personal techniques appear always in their milder and more ritualized forms. Prayer is but slightly removed from formula and incantation, only very moderate forms of abstinence are practiced, and these are rigidly circumscribed; sacrifice is never more than the offering of a pinch of corn meal and a prayer stick. One of the important means of achieving rapport with the spirit world, intoxication, is unknown in Zuñi or the other pueblos. Intoxication has been important in the religions of Mexico, and the peyote cult has recently spread to all tribes of the plains and the plateau, but it has never been adopted in the pueblos, except at Taos. On the plains early Indian tribes without drugs produced the same sense of heightened and unearthly experience by means of self-torture and the most rigorous abstinence. The Zuñis use narcotic and vision-producing drugs, the Jamestown weed (*datura*) and the mysterious *tenatsali*, but for such prosaic purposes as to discover lost property or the author of sorcery. Although they employ many of the ritualistic forms used throughout North America, such as fasting and purging



before ceremonies, these are used for an entirely different purpose and with different effects.

#### FETISHISM

A large part of Zuñi ceremony centers about the veneration of sacred objects. Some of these, like the fetishes of the rain priests, are of indescribable sanctity, and in them rests the whole welfare of the people. At the other end of the scale are little pebbles, of which almost every man possesses several, which he may have found in the mountains and to which, because of their peculiar form and color, he imputes magical properties. To all such objects are made periodic offerings of corn meal, and at stated times they are removed from their usual resting places and honored. Zuñi fetishes are themselves powerful, and offerings are made to them directly, but they are also the means of reaching still more powerful supernaturals. The important objects of this type are the fetishes (*eto-we*) of the priests, and their accompanying objects; masks, both tribal and personal; the altars of the medicine societies; stone images of the Beast Gods, whether owned by groups or individuals; the feathered ears of corn (*mi-we*) given to members of higher orders of societies at their initiation; personal fetishes or amulets of all sorts. Medicine, paint, feathers, and all other items in the regalia of the *katchinas*, are more or less sacred.

The *eto-we* of the priests correspond to the medicine bundles of other North American tribes. They consist of the *eto-we* proper, bundles of plugged reeds filled with seeds or water containing miniature frogs, according to Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, p. 163), pots of sacred black paint, and a miscellaneous assortment of obsidian knives and arrow points, "thunder stones," polished round stones that are rolled over the floor during their ceremonies, rattles of olivella shells and sometimes *mi-we* like those of society members. These objects are believed to have been brought by the Zuñi from the lowest of the four worlds where they had their origin and are called *tcimi-ḡānapkoa*, "the ones that were at the first beginning." They are kept in sealed jars in houses where they are believed to have rested since the settlement of the village. They are "fed" regularly at each meal by some woman of the house where they are kept, and are removed only for the retreats held in their honor. (See below, cult of the Uwanami, for brief account of these ceremonies. For the location of these *eto-we*, the membership of the priesthoods and the order of retreats, see Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, p. 163ff, and Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 165ff.) All altars are called *teckwin'e*, a name derived from the stem *teckwi-* meaning sacred or taboo.

Masks are with few exceptions connected with the *katchina* cult. Some are, like the fetishes of the rain priests, "from the beginning"

and are tribal property administered in trust by self-perpetuating cult groups. Other masks are individual property which are destroyed at the death of the owner. Like *eto-we*, masks are regularly fed.

The altars of the medicine societies consist of painted slat altars, a sort of *redos* erected at certain of their ceremonies, stone images of the Beast Priests, tutelary gods of the medicine societies, and the same sort of miscellaneous collection of objects as are used on priests' altars. Furthermore, each member of the higher or curing orders of the medicine societies possesses a *mi'le* (plural *miwe*), an ear of corn wrapped in feathers which is his personal amulet, and is destroyed at his death. The *miwe* of members are placed on society altars during all ceremonies.

Some men always carry with them pieces of medicine roots or packages of red paint as amulets. Others possess collections of pebbles and sticks of black paint, from which they seek help in special emergencies, and which are honored with prayers and songs. Perfect ears of corn and ears with flattened ends are believed to have protective powers. One man sold to the writer a personal fetish, a "*teck-wine*," together with the ritual and prayers connected with its use. The fetish consisted of four stones, two slender uprights about 2 inches long, one brown and one white, male and female, respectively, a curiously colored triangular stone about an inch long called the "*heart*" and another round stone called the "*head*." There was a ritual for setting them up, and prayers. The ritual was used at the winter solstice "or any time."

There also is the "*Santu*," a small St. Francis, inherited from early Franciscan padres, whom the *Zuñis* consider a Virgin, and who is besought at a special festival held in her honor, for the blessing of fertility.

The possession of a major fetish, such as *eto-we* or a mask, protects the house where it is kept; "it gives you something to pray for and makes the house valuable." But its possession may also be a source of danger, for if neglected or desecrated it may cause harm to its keeper. That is one of the reasons why priests endeavor to be exemplary in their conduct.

#### COMPULSIVE MAGIC

About each sacred object clusters a body of fixed ritual of magical purport. A large number of these magical practices might be classed as imitative magic. During the retreats of priests polished round stones are rolled across the floor to "call the thunder," for thunder is caused by the rain makers rolling the thunderstone in their ceremonial room. At many points in ceremonies tobacco smoke is blown to the six cardinal points "that the rain makers may not withhold their misty breath." There are innumerable rites of this kind. Among the most conspicuous are the presence on every altar of water

from a sacred spring, "that the springs may always be full"; the sprinkling of water to induce rainfall; the blowing of smoke to produce clouds; the mixing of great bowls of yucca seeds to produce clouds; the rolling of the thunderstones (the Hopi device of stamping on boards, and the use of the "lightning stick" seem not to be employed at Zuñi); the planting of seeds in the floor of new houses to produce fertility; the conservation of ashes and sweepings in the house during the winter solstice ceremony and finally throwing them out with the prayer, "May you return as corn; may you return as meal"; the placing on winter solstice altars of ears of corn for plentiful crops; and of clay images of peaches, domestic animals, jewelry, and even money to secure increase; the presentation of dolls to pregnant women for safe delivery; the use of bear paws in medicine ceremonies "to call the bear"; and finally, the whole practice of masking in order to compel the presence of the supernaturals in their other bodies, i. e., as rain. The list might be greatly amplified. Many of these practices have been analyzed by Doctor Parsons, *Increase by Magic*, American Anthropologist, vol. 21, p. 203. There is a certain elasticity in these practices and new ones based on this principle may be readily introduced.

These techniques, despite their mechanistic character, belong distinctly to the realm of religion, since they require a special setting to be effective. The Zuñis use yucca root for washing the hair, and great bowls of the suds are mixed in much the same way they are on the priests' altars. But a woman does not bring rain every time she washes her hair, nor a man every time he smokes a cigarette. These everyday arts become magical techniques only when performed by special persons at stated times and places, in the presence of certain powerful fetishes and to the accompaniment of set prayers, songs, and other ritual acts. Sorcery consists largely in using these and other magical techniques outside of their legitimate settings.<sup>19</sup>

This brings us to another type of magical compulsion which is less apparent but perhaps more fundamental in the development of Pueblo ritual, which might be called, for lack of a better term, formulaic magic. This is the use of apparently irrelevant formulæ or actions to produce a desired result. The efficacy of the formula depends upon its absolutely correct repetition. Every word, gesture, bit of regalia is part of the charm. Hence, the great perturbation in Zuñi if a dancer appears wearing a feather from the shoulders instead of the breast of the eagle, if a single gesture before an altar is omitted, or if the words of a prayer are inverted. A very large part of Zuñi ritual is of this type; in fact all imitative magic has its secret formula

<sup>19</sup> A common type of love sorcery, practiced by men, is to get control of a woman's person by possessing oneself of a fragment of her clothing, a bit of the fringe of her shawl or belt, and carry it about constantly in the pocket or tied to the headband. Should this fail as a love charm, the sickness or death of the victim can be caused by exposing the fragments in a high windy place. Prayer sticks may also be used for sorcery.

to give it validity. These formulæ comprise the great mass of esoteric practice. To this category belong rituals for setting up and removing altars, prayer-stick making, all songs and dances, and most important of all, practically all of the so-called prayers.

#### PRAYER

Prayer in Zuñi is not a spontaneous outpouring of the heart. It is rather the repetition of a fixed formula. Only in such prayers as those accompanying individual offerings of corn meal and food is a certain amount of individual variation possible, and even here variation is restricted to the matter of abridgment or inclusiveness. The general form of the prayer, the phraseology and the nature of the request, conform strictly to types for other prayers. All more important prayers are fixed in content and form, and great importance is attached to their correct rendition. The rigidity increases in proportion to the importance of the occasion. The words of these prayers, like the fetishes themselves, are *tcimiḡānapkoa*, "according to the first beginning." That the desired undeviating repetition claimed for prayers is not always achieved is illustrated by a study of variants to be published in the *Journal of American Folklore*, which shows also the very narrow margin of variability. That a long prayer should have changed so little in the 50 agitated years since Cushing's time is really remarkable.

There are definite fixed rituals and prayers for every ceremonial occasion, and any moderately well-informed Zuñi can identify any of them even when removed from its proper setting. As a check upon informants I read all the prayers I had collected to another informant, a young woman who herself was not actively associated with any major cult, but who was generally well informed through her family connections. In every case she could identify the prayer after about five lines had been read. "It belongs to A'ciwani—to Pekwin. This is what he says when he first goes in in summer"; or "It is the prayer for planting prayer sticks. Anyone can use it." The same woman, however, asked me to copy down for her the prayers for offering the monthly prayer sticks, and for offering corn meal, so that she could learn them, for she knew no prayers for these occasions: "I never learned any prayer for the prayer sticks, and so I just put them down and sprinkle corn meal without saying anything. My husband belongs to a society and knows these prayers but he would not teach me his prayers. I would have to go to my 'father' (the man who initiated her) to learn them and I would have to give him a present for teaching me." This same woman could repeat long prayers when they occurred in tales, so it was not lack of knowledge.

This brings us to another important point, namely, that not only must a prayer be repeated verbatim to be effectual, but it must have

been acquired by legitimate means. It must be learned according to definite technique from someone who has the right to use it, and it must be paid for. Otherwise "maybe you can say it but it won't mean anything, or maybe you'll forget it when the time comes to say it." Hence the confusion concerning just what is and what is not "esoteric" in Pueblo ritual. Knowledge of the details of "esoteric" ceremonies is widely diffused, but the power to perform any ceremony effectively is restricted. And since there is an ill-defined feeling that in teaching prayers, "giving them away," as the Zuñis say, the teacher loses some of the power over them, men are "stingy" with their religion.<sup>20</sup> Therefore a man who will tell readily enough a long difficult prayer that he has learned out of curiosity, or as an investment against the time when the present owner dies, will balk at telling a simple common little prayer for offering corn meal to the sun, which everyone knows, but which nevertheless "belongs" to him in a way that the other does not. Hence the paradoxical situation that the very last person to ask for an *aciwani* prayer is one of that group. This, incidentally, is one of the reasons why Christian missionaries are ludicrous in the eyes of Zuñis. "They throw away their religion as if it weren't worth anything and expect us to believe it." Such conduct is not only ridiculous but irreverent.

There are other formulæ at Zuñi besides prayers and songs. Many ritualistic acts, such as offering corn meal or prayer sticks, are of this character. Once the writer caused considerable perturbation by sprinkling corn meal upon a Zuñi altar. "Because sprinkling corn meal is like a prayer; even if you don't say anything you are asking for good luck, and because you are strong when you go away you will take all our good luck with you to your country." Similarly no one at Zuñi would make me a prayer stick to offer with the offerings of my family at the solstice, although many connived at my acquiring prayer sticks for scientific purposes.

#### SINGING AND DANCING

Singing and dancing by large groups hold an important place in public and secret rituals. Many ritual acts are accompanied by song. There are special song sequences for setting up and taking down altars, for mixing medicine water or soapsuds, for bathing the head at initiations, to accompany various acts of curing. These are all special songs of the curing societies. Like prayers, they must be

<sup>20</sup> This was made painfully evident to the writer in the death of one of her best informants who, among other things, told her many prayers in text. During his last illness he related a dream which he believed portended death and remarked, "Yes, now I must die. I have given you all my religion and I have no way to protect myself." He died two days later. He was suspected of sorcery and his death was a source of general satisfaction. Another friend of the writer, a rain priest, who had always withheld esoteric information, remarked, "Now your friend is dead. He gave away his religion as if it were of no value, and now he is dead." He was voicing public opinion.



learned ritualistically. They are in the nature of incantations; many of them are in foreign languages or have no intelligible words. In addition to these songs of the medicine societies, there are many individually owned songs of magical power, especially songs for planting, for "dancing the corn";<sup>21</sup> individual medicine songs, or songs associated with personal amulets. Certain women also have grinding songs in addition to the well-known songs of the men. These esoteric songs, especially those connected with curing, are very valuable. One man paid a pair of moccasins, a blanket, and a saddle for a song to be used as a love charm. The Great Fire Society has a song for delayed parturition but only two old men of the society know it and they are "stingy" with it. It is the knowledge of songs of this kind which makes the great medicine men of the tribe.

The more patent musical literature of the tribe is the large body of dance songs. These are of many kinds, the songs of the katecinas, the songs sung by the medicine societies for such katecinas as do not sing for themselves, the songs of the medicine societies for the general winter curing ceremonies, for initiations, and for special dances. Katecina songs differ rhythmically and melodically among themselves, those, say, of Kókókci are quite different from those of Hemucikwe, or the still more divergent Kumance, and all katecina songs are sharply differentiated from medicine songs. The songs of the various societies differ, and a man can usually classify any song he hears. With the exception of a few secret songs, all songs are songs of sequence, sung by groups, the leader holding the sequence.

Katecina songs are made new for each dance. Song making probably is usually the setting of new words to traditional melodies, according to fairly fixed patterns of structure. The dance step is a simple beating of time with the foot, the body movements being synchronized with the song rhythm. Rhythms are simple, but the melodic structure is subtle and complex. A fuller account of katecina dancing is given on page 896. Most katecinas use only rattles to accompany the song. One group uses a bundle drum, the Koyemci use a barrel drum, and one set uses the pottery drum of the medicine societies.

The dance songs of the societies are more vigorous in rhythm than those of the katecinas, and almost always employ the drum in addition to rattles. A chorus surrounding the drum sings for the dancers. The dance step also is more energetic. Sometimes choirs from the medicine societies sing for certain katecinas, and in that case the rhythm and dance step are those associated with society rather than katecina songs. The societies have song sequences for each of their ceremonies. Most of these are traditional in tune and words, but

<sup>21</sup> A ceremony performed by the women of each household at the winter solstice when the corn is taken out and "danced" so that it will not feel neglected during the ceremonial season.



innovations in words are introduced in specified places. These innovations, as well as those of the katchina songs, are frequently social comment. The society choirs are led by the drummer who holds the sequence. He is a permanent officer of the society, although his office is not sacred like that of the medicine chief or fire maker.

The following partial list of the song cycles of the Great Fire Society is some index of the wealth of musical endowment at Zuñi:

Chief song cycle.<sup>22</sup> Dance songs used in general curing ceremonies in December. This contains 6 sequences containing, respectively, 29, 15, 16, 17, 14, and 31 songs.

Thunder songs. Twenty songs for the first dancing of katchinas at New Year.

Dancing songs (for the dancing of katchinas at the New Year). Seven sequences, the number of songs not known.

Katchina songs. For dancing of katchinas at winter dance series and at Ca'lako. Number of songs not known.

Medicine water songs. Eight songs for making medicine water; no drum.

Fire-making songs. Four songs used for making New Year fire; no drum.

Purificatory songs. Four songs for purification sung at the conclusion of dancing; no drum.

Storm-cloud songs. Twenty-two songs without drum sung for rain on first night of winter solstice. Very esoteric.

Songs of blessing. Sung for increase on eleventh night of winter solstice. Number not known, "a big bunch." Esoteric.

Dawn songs. "Two big bunches" sung at closing of meetings during solstice. Very esoteric. No drum; slow rhythm.

Prayer-stick songs. Four songs for blessing prayer stick bundle before planting. Very esoteric.

A number of special songs sung at the new year meeting: a "going-out song," a "coming-in song," a song calling by name the appointees to sacred offices, a song welcoming the New Year.

This does not include the songs of the special meetings of the society used at their public dance in January and February, individual curing ceremonies, and initiations. The informant died before the list was completed. Some of these songs are used only once a year or, like initiation songs, at intervals of several years, and their content and sequence must be kept by the drummer.

With the exception of a few lullabies and children's play songs, there is no secular music at Zuñi. The only work songs, those for the grinding of corn, are sacred, since everything connected with the handling of corn is sacred activity. There are two sequences of songs for ceremonial grinding; the most popular are the Flute songs,

<sup>22</sup> The sequences are all named.

taken out of the dance songs of the Corn dance and retaining the characteristic ritard at the close which is found in all dance songs. These songs are sung by men accompanied by drum. Women have songs which they use during summer when drumming is taboo.

Group dancing is regarded as a pleasurable activity, pleasing alike to gods and man. Joy is pleasing to the gods and sadness is a sin against them; therefore, for the common man dancing is the most readily accessible and effective form of worship. Usually it is a boy's first voluntary participation in ritual. He dances in mask before he learns the simplest prayer—some people never learn prayers—and long before he learns to make his own prayer sticks. The dance, particularly the masked dance, is preeminently the province of the young, although many men continue to dance in old age. The origin myth of *kacina* dancing stresses its pleasurable side. It relates that when the people first settled in villages and increased in number they did not know how to enjoy themselves.<sup>23</sup> So their priests made prayer sticks and sent them to their lost children who had been transformed into *kacinas*, and the *kacinas* came and danced for their people. But they were the dead, and so when they came someone died. Therefore the people were instructed to copy their masks and dance with them. "When you dance with them we shall come and stand before you," the *kacinas* promised, and also promised that it would not fail to rain. *Kacina* folklore abounds in tales of the devices used by *kacinas* to enable them to come to *Itiwana* to dance. There is no myth to explain the origin of unmasked dancing, but the same ideology of summoning the supernaturals in this manner is current. And during the winter solstice, when all the ritual groups are holding their ceremonies, the heads of households take six perfect ears of corn and hold them in a basket while they sing for them. This is called "dancing the corn," and is performed that the corn may not feel neglected during the ceremonial season.

The principal occasions for dancing are the series of summer and winter *kacinas*, the culminating ceremonies of the *Ca'lako*, the retreats of the medicine societies during the solstices, initiations, and the Scalp dance. Certain societies hold special ceremonies in which dancing by members and outsiders figures prominently, the winter ceremonies of the Wood Society and Big Fire Society; the *Yaya*, the dance of the *Shuma'akwe*. The so-called Corn dance and the *Santu* dance are other ceremonies in which dancing is conspicuous. In all these cases dancing accompanies less spectacular rites, usually extending over a longer period than the dance itself. Frequently the dance is subsidiary to these secret and potent rites. Usually it is the younger and less responsible members of the group who dance, the priests and leaders meanwhile remaining in retreat or sitting quietly behind

<sup>23</sup> See origin tale, p. 605.

their altars. Even in kateina dances, where the dance itself is the essential rite, the pattern of dancing for the priests is preserved. In summer the kateina dances are held during the season when the priest-hoods are in retreat, and the kateina group always dances in front of the house where the priests are "in."

In order for any rite to be efficacious the protagonist must "have a good heart," or, to use more familiar phraseology, he must be in a state of grace. Joy and freedom from care are the chief requirements of a state of grace, second only to physical purity. Therefore the custom of dancing for the priests while they are in retreat, and of various groups visiting to dance in one another's house during synchronous periods of retreat. During a kateina dance that lasted for several days a group of "little dancers"<sup>24</sup> came one night to dance in the kiva. "Because the dancers could not go home to their wives, and were lonely in the kiva. Therefore these others came to dance for them so that they should not be sad."

Connected psychologically as well as ceremonially with public dancing is the practice of clowning. There are organized groups of clowns who assist at all kateina dances and amuse the populace by obscene or satirical or childish pranks. There are masked and unmasked clowns; the masked clowns, the Koyemci,<sup>25</sup> are the most feared of all the kateinas. The Ne'we'kwe society also are clowns, and are regarded as the most powerful medicine men, and potential witches. They are famous for love magic.

#### OFFERINGS

Offerings of various kinds are included in all Zuñi rituals. The principal offerings to the supernaturals are food, tobacco, prayer meal (coarse cornmeal containing ground white shell and turquoise), and prayer sticks. The usual food offering consists of a bit of food from each dish that is set out, thrown into the fire or merely dropped on the floor with a brief, perfunctory prayer. The supernaturals nourish themselves on the spiritual essence of the food. All priests and the wives of priests make such an offering before eating of any dish. Also women in houses where fetishes are kept offer food in the fire before serving a meal. These offerings are more formal at quasi-ceremonial feasts, such as the feasts accompanying house building, harvest, etc. Men during participation in ceremonies also make offerings of food in the river, where it is readily accessible to the gods. Food offerings are made especially to the ancestors (a'lacina'we) and the kateinas. On the day of the dead large quantities of food are sacrificed in the river and the fire (see p. 621).

<sup>24</sup> The "little dancers" are the children of the kateinas. One or a group may come to play pranks in connection with any kateina dance. They are impersonated by young boys.

<sup>25</sup> For fuller accounts see p. 946, and Parsons, p. 229.

Meal is offered to the sun each morning by all men who hold any permanent or temporary sacerdotal position and by many other individuals, both men and women. Meal is sprinkled on prayer sticks when they are planted, and on masks, fetishes, and other sacred objects when they are taken out for use and when they are returned to their places. It is sprinkled upon katchinas by onlookers, and their leader sprinkles meal before them "to make their road." Handfuls of meal are thrown into the air through the kiva hatchway to welcome the new year. A bowl of corn meal stands on every society altar and everyone who enters the room to participate in the ceremony sprinkles corn meal on the altar before taking his place. In addition to the use of meal as an offering it is also used for delineation of sacred symbols. Every altar is set up upon a painting of white meal representing clouds, and from the center of this a line runs out toward the door of the room, or the foot of the ladder. This is the road of life and along it persons entering the room walk up to the altar. It is also the road by which the supernaturals enter. Colored sand paintings, similar in technique to those of the Navaho, are used in initiation ceremonies. A cross of corn meal marks the place prepared to receive a sacred object, corn meal is used to mark the walls of a house at its dedication, and marks of corn meal are made on the hatchway of the kivas to indicate the duration of a ceremony. Corn meal is rubbed on the head and face of the newborn and on the body of the dead. In short, there is no ceremonial occasion on which it is not used.

The most important and valuable gift to the gods is the prayer stick. This is a small stick, carefully smoothed and painted, to which various feathers are attached with cotton cord. The length and form of the stick, the wood of which it is made, the color of the pigment, and the feathers are all definitive of the character of the offering, and vary according to the beings to whom it is offered, the sacerdotal position of the giver, and the occasion upon which it is given.

The whole matter of the varieties and manufacture of prayer sticks is too complex to go into here. A few outstanding points can be mentioned. The wood most commonly used is the red willow. For certain occasions other shrubs are required. When wood for prayer sticks is gathered corn meal is offered to the shrub from which the twigs are cut. Only perfectly straight shoots are taken. Generally the bark is removed. There are four common prayer stick measures; from the tip of the middle finger to the base of the finger, to the center of the palm, to the wrist, to the inside of the elbow. Frequently faces are indicated by notching one side of the stick. The feathers are attached to the back of the stick and are thought of as constituting its clothing. The two upper feathers are the most

important and characteristic. Usually they are from the turkey and eagle, respectively; or they may both be from the eagle. Feathers from the breast or back of the turkey are used on sticks for the ancestors and the katecinas, tail feathers of the turkey on certain sticks made by the a'ciwani. Sticks for the sun, moon, and the Uwanami have a downy eagle feather in this position and the use of this feather entails particularly stringent taboos upon the giver. Sticks for the war gods, and for the katecina priests (the Ca'lako sticks) have an eagle tail feather in this position. The second feather is almost always one from the shoulders or back of the eagle. After this comes a duck feather, and feathers of the "summer birds," all the brightly colored birds: jay, red hawk, oriole, bluebird, humming bird, road runner, etc. Birds are snared or shot for their feathers, and the feathers are carefully kept, wrapped separately in paper and laid away in native wooden boxes with sliding covers. The feathers are attached with commercial cotton cord. The sticks are painted after the feathers are attached. The character and manufacture of the pigments are described in another place (p. 859). Most sticks are painted black, but those for the sun and moon are painted blue and yellow, respectively, and these colors have sex associations. Paired blue and yellow sticks are symbolic of fecundity.

The principal occasions upon which prayer sticks are offered by large groups of people are at the solstices. On these occasions persons of both sexes and all ages offer to the ancestors and to the sun (if male), or to the moon (if female). Furthermore, at the winter solstice all members of the katecina society make a second offering to the katecina and members of the medicine societies to the tutelary gods of their societies. At each full moon all members of societies offer to the ancestors, to the katecinas (if males) and to the tutelary gods of their societies. At the winter dances and at the end of Ca'lako each man makes a prayer stick for the katecinas, but does not himself plant it. Furthermore, a large part of the ritual of every ceremony concerns the making and offering of special types of prayer sticks by those participating. Prayer sticks are sometimes offered individually and sometimes the offerings of many persons are bundled together into a *kä-atcin'e* which is deposited by someone delegated to plant it. Prayer sticks are buried or deposited in corn fields, in the river mud, in shrines in the mountains, in springs, in excavations in or near the village.

Prayer sticks provide the clothing of the supernaturals. Just as the supernaturals nourish themselves on the spiritual essence of food offered in the fire or the river, they clothe themselves in the feathers of prayer sticks. This is especially true of the katecinas, whose beautiful feathers form their most conspicuous ornaments. (For a treatment of this idea in folklore, see the tale of Hetsilulu, p. 1048.)



The offering of prayer sticks is one of the most important acts of Zuñi ritual and four days after making any offering of prayer sticks the giver must refrain from sexual intercourse, and from quarreling. There are additional restrictions connected with special offerings—after the offering to the sun at the winter solstice one must eat no meat or anything cooked with grease for four days.<sup>26</sup> The same restriction applies to the *a'ciwan'i* after offerings to the *uwanam'i*, and to *pekwin* after his various offerings to the sun. Also to all novices, including boys initiated into the *kacina* society, after their initiation.)<sup>27</sup> After the plantings of the *Ca'lako* party the members and their households must refrain from trade for four days. There is no restriction on work for wages. No one trades during the first four days of the winter solstice—many people do not trade for 10 days—and the households of priests do not trade while these priests are in retreat. The feeling about trading at these seasons seems to be that since these are periods of magical power, during which forthcoming events are preordained, if property passed out of one's hands during this time all one's wealth would soon melt away. Therefore, during these periods, necessities are purchased at the store on credit, but no payments are made.

Prayer sticks are especially male offerings. Although women frequently offer prayer sticks they never make them. Their male relatives (actual or ceremonial) make them for them. So also, although men offer food and corn meal, it is always prepared for them by the women. This division in ritual is a reflection of the general economic pattern, in which the females supply food and the males the clothing of the household. So also women furnish the food of the gods and men their clothing.

#### TABOO AND ABSTINENCE

The special restrictions which follow the planting of prayer sticks is part of a general feeling of taboo directed toward all things sacred. The Zuñi word for taboo is *teckwi*. An altar is called *teckwin'e* (sacred thing); a person upon whom there is any ceremonial restraint also is *teckwi*. It is almost impossible to reduce the list of Zuñi taboos to any sort of system. Some of them seem even more fortuitous than their magical formulæ. Some prohibitions are dictated by fear or repulsion, some are designed to preserve the power and sanctity of rituals and objects, others are rites of purification, one at least is designed to provoke the pity of the gods, the vigil of the priests

<sup>26</sup> Except members of the *ci'wana'kwe*.

<sup>27</sup> The restrictions on meat and grease, as well as salt and sugar, are observed after all prayer-stick plantings in other pueblos.



before the coming of the corn maids (see myth, p. 914). The following activities are all "teckwi" in Zuñi terminology:

*Foods.*—Members of the ci'wana'kwe society must not eat jack rabbit, nor a common purple-flowered herb. This is felt so strongly that a member of this society will not even touch a jack rabbit nor permit it to be brought into the house in which he lives. No Zuñi eats or touches meat or grease during the first four days of the winter solstice;<sup>28</sup> priests refrain from eating meat and grease for 10 days, and during the periods of their retreat; pekwin does not eat meat and grease after offering prayer sticks to the sun; initiates do not eat meat for four days after their initiation; warriors who have taken a scalp do not eat meat, grease, salt, or any hot food for one year; mourners (especially widows and widowers) do not eat meat, salt, or hot foods for four days following a death.

*Objects.*—All sacred objects are taboo to all people who do not "belong" to them. The strength of this feeling varies according to the power of the fetish. No one would dare to touch one of the priest's fetishes except the chief of the priesthood, and no one will enter the room where it is kept except the chief priest and the female head of the house. This is true also of the permanent masks and society altars. When the people who keep one of the Ca'lako masks moved to a new house they called the head of the kiva whose mask they kept to transfer it, "because they were afraid to touch it." Corn fetishes, prayer sticks, ceremonial garments are all handled with great respect, and no more than necessary.<sup>29</sup>

*Places.*—The rooms where sacred things are kept are taboo to outsiders. All shrines are taboo except when visited officially. There is one War God shrine (co'luwayällakwi) which may be visited by those who wish to pray for good luck in war or gambling. Otherwise it is not permitted for individuals to visit shrines even for purposes of prayer.<sup>30</sup> Rooms where retreats or ceremonies are being held, unless the ceremony is specifically public, are taboo to those not belonging to the ceremony. If any one crosses the threshold he is "caught," and must be initiated into the group, or where this is impossible (like meetings of the katsina priests), must be ceremonially whipped and make certain payments to his "father." Altars are always erected on the side of the room away from the door, "the valuable place." Strangers are always seated near the door, by the fireplace and away from the "valuable place." Mourners and warriors who have taken scalps sit "away from the fire."

<sup>28</sup> Certain exceptions to this rule are discussed on p. 623.

<sup>29</sup> A good friend would not unwrap her m'le for me to look at, although she permitted me to examine it when it had been taken out for a ceremony.

<sup>30</sup> Mrs. Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, p. 154) gives a graphic description of the reluctance of her Zuñi guides to accompany her to koluwala'wa'. The writer has had similar experiences with guides who showed her the location of shrines but themselves refused to approach them.

*Sex taboos.*—Sex relations are forbidden between members of the same clan or the same medicine society. Relations with members of the father's clan are frowned upon. A man may not have relations with the wife of a member of his kiva or medicine society (his brother's wife, hence his sister).<sup>31</sup> These are primarily social taboos but the punishment for them is of the same kind as punishment for breaking of strictly religious taboos.

Sex relations are taboo during the 10 days of the winter solstice, for four days following the planting of prayer sticks, and during participation in dances or other ceremonies.<sup>32</sup> Warriors who have taken a scalp must refrain from sexual intercourse for one year and must go through a ceremony of purification at the end of that time before they may again sleep with their wives.<sup>33</sup> The same rules apply to the widowed who wish to remarry.

*Other tabooed activities.*—Priests, and others holding temporary or permanent religious offices, must not engage in any quarrels or disputes with fellow tribesmen or outsiders. Hence, they are not appointed to civil offices. One must not quarrel for four days following planting of prayer sticks. Priests and appointees to religious office must not leave the Zuñi Valley during the terms of their office. (This is a taboo that is frequently broken to the distress of the orthodox.) This prohibition against going about may be an extension of the retreat to the daily life of those who are regarded as "working for their people all of the time." There are no taboos upon labor, except in the case of initiations, when the novice must do no work, and especially must lift no heavy weights during the four days between the ceremony at which he receives a new heart and his final initiation. No one must sleep during attendance at religious ceremonies, but there seems to be no restriction on conversation. There are certain ceremonies in which speech is forbidden to participants, especially the 24-hour vigil of the priests, while awaiting the arrival of the corn maids on the last day of the Ca'lako ceremonies. There are a number of special taboos relating to the wearing of masks—a man while wearing a mask must not speak, he must not give anything away, he must not engage in any defiling activity. A man wearing a mask or kachina body paint is teekwi to others, and must not be touched, approached, or stared at. There are also special taboos concerning death, mourning, and the scalp dance which incorporates all the purificatory rites of mourning. For four days the widow or widower (also the scalper and the woman who has touched the scalp) must not approach the fire, must not touch or be touched by anyone, must not receive anything directly from the hand of another person, must not talk, and

<sup>31</sup> These are only the more important incest rules, a full discussion of which belongs to another place.

<sup>32</sup> In many ceremonies this is extended to include touching, even accidentally, addressing, or even seeing a person of the opposite sex.

<sup>33</sup> There is some confusion about the sexual taboos placed upon the woman who brings the scalp (see p. 674).

must sleep very little, if at all. The food and sex taboos observed at this period have already been mentioned. There are also special taboos relating to death by violence, by lightning, or away from home. There are no strictly religious taboos upon pregnant or menstruating women. There are, of course, many taboos that belong to the realm of folklore rather than that of religion.

To all of the foregoing prohibitions, as well as others not mentioned, the Zuñis apply the word *teckwi*, but it is obvious that they embrace many different attitudes toward the tabooed object or action. There are the taboos relating to death and mourning, sacred objects, places, and rites. In all these cases the prohibition rises out of the mingling of fear and reverence in the attitude toward the sacred. Fear is the predominant feeling actuating the rites for the dead, and the fear of the dead is extended to those intimately associated with him in life. Hence, the widow is untouchable during the period when the malice of the dead is active. Those who have killed an enemy in warfare are similarly threatened, since they have cut off a man before his time. In the taboos against touching sacred objects and trespassing on sacred places the feeling of fear is less apparent but none the less present, for sacred things are dangerous in proportion to their power. Whereas death is feared as the result of violating taboos of mourning, in the case of other violations the fear is vague and general, and the results of infringements are less clearly foreseen.

On the other hand, there are a number of personal restraints which are forms of abstinence rather than taboos. To this class belong the sex prohibitions, the prohibitions on certain kinds of foods at certain times, and the restrictions upon the activities of persons participating in ceremonies. The general purpose of all these restrictions is withdrawal. That they are not primarily purificatory is shown by the fact that in many cases they follow rather than precede the approach to the gods; as, for instance, the sexual taboos following the planting of prayer sticks. A man approaching the gods with a request cuts himself off from the world in order that he may concentrate all his thoughts upon wresting his desire from the supernatural. For this purpose all distracting activities are denied him.

Relations with women are forbidden, also trading, quarreling, moving about. The fullest expression of this spirit is the retreat which forms the basis of all important ceremonies. The retreat is practiced by many ceremonial groups, but the more important retreats are those of the priesthoods who "go in" in turn during the summer, and those of the medicine societies at the winter solstice and at initiations. The *kacina* priests hold retreats before the public ceremonies of the *Ca'lako*. Retreats are always practiced by groups. The individual retreat is not found at Zuñi. A retreat always is preceded by the making of prayer sticks. In the evening these are made into *ka-*

etcin'e (see p. 500) and planted somewhere outside the village. When the emissaries return, the group "goes in" in the house where their sacred possessions are kept. The men have brought their bedding to this house, for they are to sleep there during the period of the retreat. Usually the sacred things are taken out and an altar is set up. During the retreat the room containing the sacred objects is taboo to all outsiders. The men do not leave the room (except in the case of the medicine societies, where men may go out in the day time and eat at their homes). They sleep in the house of their retreat, and their meals are served by a woman of that house, the wives of the men contributing cooked food. There are frequent sessions of song, prayer, and meditation, especially at night. Retreats usually last four or eight days. The Koyemci (see p. 946) "go in" for 14 days, and brief retreats of one night are held by priests at the solstices and at other times. Retreats frequently end with a second prayer stick planting, with the usual restrictions on conduct for the four following days, which make of this period a modified form of retreat. The main priesthoods open their summer retreats with a period of strictest retreat. In addition to the usual restrictions they forego all animal food. On the fourth day they make a second offering of prayer sticks, and, although they remain in seclusion for four days longer, the food restriction is lifted. They do not plant prayer sticks again on coming out. The minor priesthoods disband on the fourth day, although they are still under restrictions. The bow priests, although they plant prayer sticks and are "in," do not remain in their house. The "poor man" who has planted prayer sticks is in much the same position as the bow priest. Although not confined to his house he is somewhat withdrawn from life and is "sacred."

Priests live always under certain restraints, and in this restriction of activity of certain individuals may be seen the germs of a monastic life. However, it is not the sexual prohibitions that are made lifelong for the holy men of Zuñi. Celibacy as a way of life is regarded with extreme disfavor by the community. Mrs. Stevenson states (Zuñi Indians) that pekwin although married is expected not to cohabit with his wife, but I could find no evidence that this is the case. He is expected to observe rigidly the long periods of sexual continence, which his elaborate ceremonies require, but continence at other times is not considered necessary or desirable.

There is, moreover, a marked difference in attitude between the Zuñi priest and the Christian or Buddhist monk. Zuñi ideology does not oppose matter and spirit as conflicting or mutually exclusive principles. The priest, therefore, does not renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil because the world and the flesh are evil. Rather he strips his life of trivial, irrelevant, and distracting matters in order

to leave his mind free for his great work—the material and spiritual welfare of his people.<sup>34</sup>

#### PURIFICATION

In addition to these taboos and restrictions which may be regarded as secondarily purificatory there are also certain positive rites of purification. Among these bathing, especially bathing of the head, holds first place. Bathing of the head is obligatory before participation in any ceremony and usually at the conclusion of the ceremony. For important festivals everyone in the village bathes his head. The head of the newborn infant is bathed before he is presented to the sun. In most pueblos a name is given at this time, but not at Zuñi. Bathing of the head with name-giving forms the culminating rite of initiations; after important participations in masked ceremonies the head and body are bathed by paternal aunts. The purpose of ritual bathing after ceremonies is to make the participants safe for human contact. The ceremony at which the Koyemci are paid for their year's work by their paternal clan is called "washing." At this the head is bathed symbolically with water and corn meal. Curiously enough, the sweat bath is never used ritualistically at Zuñi, although it is used therapeutically and forms an important part of rituals of all surrounding tribes, including the Navaho and the ancient and modern peoples of Mexico. One ceremonial group (*lewe'kwe*) bathes in the frozen river during its ceremonies. As in other North American tribes, purges and emetics are used for ceremonial purification.

Ashes are used for purification after childbirth and at points in the ceremonies of medicine societies. Piñon gum is burned and the smoke inhaled as a rite of purification after a death in the household or as a protection against witches, whenever sorcery is suspected.

There is a special form of purification called "wiping off" (*cuwaha*) used in connection with war and healing. This consists of expectorating into cedar bark or corn husk (on a prayer stick in some cases of cures), waving the packet four times over the head in counterclockwise circuits and throwing it down, or, in the case of healing, taking it out toward the east to be buried.

During the initiations of boys into the *katchina* society property is destroyed for purification. *Katchinas* visit all the housetops in the village, and from each a bowl or basket is thrown down and destroyed. This also is called *cuwaha*.

Whipping, never used as a means of punishment, is reserved for purposes of purification. During initiations *katchinas* go about the village whipping everyone they meet unless they carry corn or water, "to take away the bad luck." People call upon the *katchinas* at other

<sup>34</sup> For a description of the priestly ideal, see texts, p. 666.



times to whipthem to cure them of "bad dreams" (see p. 481). The whipping of the initiates is probably also purificatory.

#### CEREMONIAL PATTERN

A full ceremony at Zuñi utilizes all of the foregoing techniques. The usual ceremonial pattern is a retreat followed by a dance. Frequently the dance is public, the retreat, of course, always being secret. Sometimes, also, the dance is not performed by the same group that hold the core of the rite, but by some cooperating group or by an organized group of laymen (e. g., the dances by girls and youths during the scalp dance). The relative importance attached to the esoteric and the spectacular approaches varies among the different cults. The ceremonies of the katchina society are weighted on the side of the spectacular. In the summer katchina dances only the leaders offer prayer sticks and observe continence, and even for them there is no formal retreat. The priesthoods, on the other hand, concentrate on secret rites and dispense entirely with public dancing, unless some katchina group chooses to honor one of the priesthoods by dancing on its "middle day."

A retreat usually opens and closes with offerings of prayer sticks. Sometimes there is a public announcement of the opening of the ceremony such as the announcements by *pekwin* of the solstices, of the opening of the scalp dance, and the beginning of the *Ca'lako* festival. There is some kind of set-up of sacred objects—a formal altar, fetishes, masks, medicine water, etc.—and much of the ritual of the retreat is concerned with the manipulation of these objects. Those participating in the retreat practice various forms of abstinence. Sexual continence is always required. Sometimes there are taboos on certain foods or, rarely, on all food. There is a variable amount of seclusion. At intervals throughout the retreat there are recitals of prayers and songs. The rest of the time is spent preparing paraphernalia for the final dance, if there is to be one, rehearsing, and telling tales, especially the origin myths in the ritualistic forms appropriate to the particular ceremony. A great deal of instruction in ritualistic affairs is given during these retreats.

The form which the concluding ceremonies takes is subject to unlimited variation. Each ceremony has its characteristic features, of which the most conspicuous is always group dancing. Dancing always continues with brief intervals for many hours; the emotional effect is cumulative, although there is no definite climax. The dancing itself is always reduced to its barest essentials—the rhythmic repetitions of a single body movement. Although impersonation is common there is no dramatic representation. Whenever myth is suggested it is in a highly stylized and symbolic form. Great importance is attached to correctness and uniformity in costume and re-



galia, which are definitive for each dance. Dancing may be continuous, like the initiation dancing of the societies, or may be broken by intervals filled with clowning, jugglery, or other rituals, like the summer katecinas, or two or more groups may dance in turn.

Dancing is always semipublic. Sometimes, for example, the last night of the winter ceremony of the medicine societies, specially privileged outsiders (that is, outside the active group) may attend. Other dances are performed in lay houses or outdoors and are free to all who wish to come, including whites.

Despite the enormous complexity of Zuñi ceremonialism the elements of which it is built and the underlying patterns are comparatively simple. The ideology is difficult of comprehension because it is monistic, abstract, and impersonal where we tend to be dualistic, concrete, and personal, but the philosophical ideas in themselves are neither abstruse nor involved. So also the complexity of ritual is more apparent than real. All ceremonies have five principal aspects—the manipulation and veneration of sacrosanct objects; offerings; purification, abstinence, and seclusion; recitation of sacred formulæ; public celebration. Each of the five approaches is itself subject to little variation. The texts recorded in the following pages illustrate how little complexity has been introduced into prayer. Prayers may be long or short, condensed or expanded, but the content, outline, and phraseology are always the same. So, too, with other techniques. The complexity of Zuñi ritual is a complexity of organization rather than content. The baffling intricacy of ceremonies like the winter dance of the Wood Society and associated groups, and the initiation of boys into the Katcina society are due chiefly to two processes in organization: The diversification of function and the piling up and telescoping of distinct ceremonies. It is characteristic of Zuñi rituals that their different parts are not necessarily performed by the same individuals or the same groups. The group that makes offerings and goes into retreat may have no control of the sacred object in whose honor the retreat is being held. Everything connected with the handling of fetishistic objects may belong to a second group, while a third group holds the sacred words of the chants, and yet a fourth group manages the public ceremonies. Each of these groups has its own organization, mode of succession, and minor rituals, so that the complete picture of any major ceremony, such as the Ca'lako, with all its ramifications, gives an impression of bewildering and baffling complexity.

It is more difficult to uncover the ceremonial pattern in ceremonies which are the products of coalescence. The winter solstice ceremonies, thought of at Zuñi as a unit, are clearly a synchronization of independent cults. In other cases the essential separateness of parts of a ceremony is somewhat obscured. The dance of the Wood Society

and other groups is undoubtedly an amalgamation of at least two factors: A snow-making ceremony comprising a retreat of the keepers of the "winter fetishes," with a dance in their honor, the muaiye, combined with a war ceremony of the bow priesthood in conjunction with the warlike societies. We are here not necessarily dealing with a historical process. The ceremony is certainly now conceived as a unit and may always have been as it is at present, although in view of the complex history of Zuñi as shown archeologically there is no reason to doubt that any ceremony may have been derived from several diverse sources. But however diverse the sources, the resulting product has been well pruned to fit the Zuñi pattern.

The public rituals constitute the most important esthetic expression of the people. Not only are they "artistic" in the superficial sense, in that they embrace the types of behavior which we arbitrarily lump together as "the arts"—ornament, poetry, music, the dance—but they provide the satisfaction of the deeper esthetic drive. Zuñi children do not mind being whipped by the Sālimopiya "because they are such pretty dancers." I have heard women say of the mourning ceremonies of the Ca'lako, "We all cry. It is so beautiful that our hearts hurt." I have watched the faces of old men as I read to them the texts of their prayers. Zuñi rituals have a style of their own that belongs to ritual as an art. They are ordered and formal; they are well designed; they begin in quietness and end in serenity. Their quality is gracious and benign. They have moments of splendor, but they are not gorgeous or "barbaric" or frenzied. All of Zuñi life is oriented about religious observance, and ritual has become the formal expression of Zuñi civilization. If Zuñi civilization can be said to have a style, that style is essentially the style of its rituals.

#### CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

The basis upon which all Zuñi ceremonialism rests is the cult of a'łacina'we, the ancients or the ancestors. In their worship all participate, regardless of age, sex, or affiliation with special cults. Nor are the a'łacina'we ever omitted from the ceremonies devoted primarily to the worship of other beings. The special and characteristic offering to the a'łacina'we is food. At the great public ceremony devoted to them exclusively, Grandmothers' Day <sup>35</sup> (Catholic All Souls Day), the outstanding feature is the sacrifice of great quantities of food in the fire and the river. They receive other offerings, too—prayer meal, smoke, and, of course, prayer sticks. The prayer stick for a'łacina'we is a small stick painted black, the principal feather being from the back of the turkey. Offerings of food to a'łacina'we form a

<sup>35</sup> See p. 621.

conspicuous part of all public ceremonies, and no prayer omits to mention them. So pervasive is this cult of the ancestors that other classes of beings (the *katchinas*, for instance) tend to merge their identity in them.

The *a'łacina'we* are, in Zuñi terminology, *a'wona'wi'lona*, "the keepers of the roads"; that is, beings who guide, protect, nourish human life. They are, therefore, as a group, beneficent beings. They are identified with the greatest of all blessings in this arid land, the clouds and the rain. In prayers they are referred to as "those who have attained the blessed place of waters," and when they return they come clothed in the rain. When, on summer afternoons, the great cumulus clouds pile up along the southern horizon, a Zuñi mother will point them out to her children, saying, "Look, there the grandfathers are coming!" However, this identification with the rain is not restricted to the *a'łacina'we*, but appears also in beliefs concerning other supernaturals, especially the *U'wanam'i*, the so-called rain makers, and the *koko* or masked gods or *katchinas*. Even the *A'hayuta* and the *We'ma'we* walk in the rain. Rain is an attribute of divinity, and all the divine ones come clothed in waters. The dead are, in general, the bestowers of all blessings for which the Zuñis ask—life, old age, rain, seeds, wealth, power, fecundity, health, and general happiness.<sup>30</sup> Despite their prevailingly beneficent character, toward individual dead persons, and especially toward the recently dead, the attitude is strongly ambivalent, mingled of tender reverence and fear. This fear is not due to the evil nature of the dead, but to the fact that so long as they remember human life they will long for their dear ones left behind in this world. Therefore they come to trouble them in dreams and day dreams, until the living man sickens of grief and dies. Therefore the recent dead must be cut off. Their road is darkened with black corn meal, and they are implored, with offerings of corn meal and prayer sticks, not to trouble the living.

There is nothing esoteric in the worship of the ancestors. In this all individuals are on an equal footing and have direct access to the supernaturals without the mediation of priests. There are no fetishes or other permanently held paraphernalia used in their worship, nor are there special places sacred to them, unless perhaps the river bank, especially the point called Wide River, where offerings of food are customarily made. No man stands in any special relationship toward them. It is quite clear that there is no ancestor worship in the restricted meaning of the word. A man prays to *the* ancestors, not to his own ancestors. Certain groups of men have special relations to certain groups among the dead—priests invoke deceased priests, medicine men deceased medicine men, impersonators of the *katchinas* their predecessors in office, but never their progenitors as

<sup>30</sup> See texts, p. 641.

such. Such special relationships belong in the realm of special cult activities which will be considered.

Against this background general nonesoteric religious activities have developed a large number of esoteric cults, each devoted to the worship of special supernaturals or groups of supernaturals, and each having a priesthood, a body of secret ritual, permanent possessions of fetishistic power, special places of worship, and a calendrical cycle of ceremonies. I distinguish six major cults of this type, which might be named from the supernaturals toward whom their principal ceremonies are directed: 1, the cult of the Sun; 2, the cult of the Uwanami; 3, the cult of the kateinas; 4, the cult of the priests of the kateinas (a distinct but closely related cult<sup>37</sup>); 5, the cult of the Gods of War; 6, the cult of the Beast Gods. The functions, activities, and personnel of these groups overlap and interweave in a bewildering intricacy that baffles analysis. The pekwin who is speaker of the sun is also priest; he has certain specifically priestly functions. Some activities belong to one, some to another, of his affiliations. This is true also of the bow priests, leaders of the war cult, who as guardians of secret rites are associated with fraternities; the fraternities or medicine societies, which are devoted primarily to the worship of the Beast Gods, gods of life, medicine, and witchcraft, have one ceremony devoted entirely to the invocation of the Uwanami. Some are of distinctly warlike character; others possess masks and take part in masked rituals. However, in spite of this interlocking, there is no difficulty in assigning any major ritualistic group in Zuñi to one or the other of these cults on the basis of supernatural sanction, method, and tangible possessions.

#### THE CULT OF THE SUN

The sun is the source of all life. Indeed the word for life is *teKohanane*, daylight (*te*, time or space; *Kohana*, white; *ne*, nominal suffix). The sun is therefore "our father,"<sup>38</sup> in a very special sense, but not in the sense of progenitor. He is associated in worship with the moon, who is "our mother." However, life is not thought of as springing from the union of these two. The moon is "mother" by courtesy only. The animating female principle of the universe is the earth mother, but there is no cult of the earth.<sup>39</sup>

Each morning as the sun sends his first level beams striking across the houses his people come out to meet him with prayers and offerings. Men and women stand before their doors, facing the east,

<sup>37</sup> See p. 521.

<sup>38</sup> "Father" in Zuñi is a term of respect applied to all supernaturals and to all human beings who have any claim to one's respect or affection.

<sup>39</sup> The phallic element is not absent from the worship of the sun and moon. At the solstices adult males plant blue sticks to the sun, females yellow ones to the moon. The sticks planted in the Ca'lako homes, which are specifically for fecundity, are double; one stick is painted blue, the other yellow, and they are male and female, respectively. Like the sun prayer sticks, they are made with downy feathers of the eagle.

their hands full of corn meal which is offered to the sun, with prayers for long life. Every priest or appointee to ceremonial office and every man during the time he is engaged in any ceremony must observe this morning ritual. But many others, "poor people," never omit it, even on the most bitterly cold winter mornings.

But the great ceremonies at which the sun father is honored are in the keeping of his special priest, whose title, *pekwin*, means, literally, speaking place. The *pekwin* is the most revered and the most holy man in Zuñi. Even in this society which diffuses power and responsibility until both become so tenuous as to be almost indiscernible, the *pekwin* is ultimately held responsible for the welfare of the community. He holds his power directly from the Sun Father, with whom he has a very special and intimate relationship. The *pekwin* performs many duties in no way connected with his office as priest of the sun. He is the active member of the priestly hierarchy and the officiating priest at all ceremonies at which the priests function jointly. It is he who sets up the altars for these ceremonies and even the altar for the scalp dance; it is he who meets the priests of the *kacinas* when they visit Zuñi and "makes their road"; it is he who installs new priests, including bow priests, and formally appoints to office the impersonators of the *kacinas*.

As priest of the sun he is the keeper of the calendar. He sets the dates for the solstices, from which all other ceremonies are dated. His calculations are based on observation of the sunrise in winter and the sunset in summer. These observations are made at shrines outside of the village. When the sun rises (or sets) behind certain landmarks, the date for the solstice is at hand. However, the calendar is disarranged by the desire to have the celebration of the solstice coincide with the full moon, and the *pekwin* is the subject of bitter criticism when the sun fails to oblige in this matter. It is at the solstices that the sun is celebrated with great public ceremonies. For some period before the *pekwin* observes fasts and continence and makes frequent offerings of prayer sticks to the sun and moon and the ancients. In winter the public ceremonies are opened by the *pekwin*'s announcement made from the housetop at dawn. At this time he orders the people to make prayer sticks for their sun father and their moon mother.<sup>40</sup> For 10 days the *pekwin* "counts days" for his sun father. Then on the tenth day all people offer their prayer sticks to the sun or moon, along with others for the ancients, and special society offerings. The solstice ceremonies continue for 10 days longer, but the part of the sun in them is finished on the tenth day.

In summer the announcement by the *pekwin* takes place eight days before the planting, and the whole celebration is less elaborate.

<sup>40</sup> See texts, p. 636.



As in the winter, there are other ceremonies at this time but in different forms.<sup>41</sup>

The pekwin has, furthermore, a great public ceremony, the la'hewe or Corn Dance, which should be performed every fourth year in mid-summer. It has not been performed for many years. This ceremony commemorates the departure of the corn maids and celebrates their return. It follows the usual ceremonial pattern of periods of retreat spent in preparation for the public ceremony of the last day. On this occasion the c'tone of the priests are exposed in public and there is dancing alternately by two groups of girls.

The writer has not seen this ceremony. It has not been held for many years, and very little is known about it save that "it belongs to pekwin." Since it is so peculiarly his dance we may assume that it is connected in some way with the worship of the sun, but what this connection is, toward what blessing it is directed, and what techniques it employs are by no means clear from the only description we have, and further information is lacking.

#### THE CULT OF THE U'WANAMI

The U'wanami, a term generally translated rain makers,<sup>42</sup> are water spirits. They live in all the waters of the earth, the four encircling oceans and the underground waters to which springs are gateways. Cumulus clouds are their houses; mist is their breath. The frogs that sing from every puddle after the drenching summer rains are their children. The ripple marks along the edge of ditches washed out by heavy rains are their footprints.

The worship of the U'wanami is enormously elaborated and is in the hands of the priesthoods, of which there are 12.<sup>43</sup> Each priesthood contains from two to six members. Several have women associates. Membership, in the main, is hereditary within matrilineal family groups—the family in whose house the fetish of the group is guarded. Each group operates with a fetish. These fetishes, the c'to'we, are the most sacrosanct objects of Zuni worship. They were brought from the innermost depths of the earth at the time of the emergence and are kept in sealed jars, from which they are removed only for the few secret rites in which they are employed. In these c'to'we rest the power of the priests. (For description of c'to'we see Stevenson, p. 163ff.) Besides the c'to'we various other objects are

<sup>41</sup> See p. 537.

<sup>42</sup> The term rain maker is a very misleading one. In Zuni thought all supernaturals are rain makers. The Uwanami are definitely associated with the six regions and are probably the Zuni equivalent of the Keresan shiwana, or storm clouds. The bow priests of the Uwanami, Kahuwani, Tsikahalya, Kopetalya are associated with thunderstorms and sudden tempests. (See texts, p. 664.)

<sup>43</sup> I have omitted the pekwin and the bow priests who occupy the fifth and sixth places in the order of retreats, because they are not, strictly speaking, priests, but function merely ex officio. They do not possess c'to'we. (See pp. 591, 592, 660.)



included in the sacred paraphernalia of the priests—pots of sacred black paint, round stones, “thunder stones,” obsidian knives, and other objects, all of which were brought from the lower world. The e'to'we themselves are each in two parts, ƙā'etow'e, water fetish, and teu'e'to'we, corn fetish. The rain-making function is decidedly the more important.

In addition to the objects on the altar of their retreat, the chief priesthood is said to maintain a permanent altar in the fourth underground room of their house. In addition to the usual objects on priestly altars, this altar contains two columns of rock, one of crystal and one of turquoise, a heart-shaped rock which is “the heart of the world,” with arteries reaching to the four cardinal points, and various prayer sticks, including two, male and female, which are “the life of the people.” All objects on the altar, including the e'to'we, are said to be petrified. This altar is the center of the world, the spot beneath the heart of ƙānastep'a when he stretched out his arms. Only the high priest himself has access to this chamber.<sup>44</sup>

The priests, as such, hold no public ceremonies, although their presence is necessary at many ceremonies of other groups. Their own ceremonies for the Uwanami are held in secret in the houses where their fetishes are kept.

At the winter solstice the priesthoods observe a one-night retreat. Following the planting of the prayer sticks to the sun is a taboo period of 10 days, during which many rites are celebrated. On the fifth or sixth night (depending on the phase of the moon) each priesthood goes into retreat in its ceremonial house. During the day the priests make prayer sticks for the U'wanami of the different directions. Before sunset these are deposited at a distant spring. When the messengers return from the spring the various sacred objects are removed from their jars and placed on a meal painting, along with ears of corn, clay models of peach trees, animals, even money, upon which the blessing of increase is invoked. All night prayers are chanted and songs sung. The ceremony ends at sunrise. This ceremony is repeated by all the priests in their respective houses at the two full moons following.

The great ceremonies of the priests occur after the summer solstice. At this time rain is urgently needed for the young corn plants just rising out of the ground. The rainy season starts about July 1. Should the rains be delayed beyond that date great hardship is suffered.

Four days following the summer planting of prayer sticks the priesthoods begin their great series of summer retreats which last from

<sup>44</sup>Information concerning this altar was secured from a fairly reliable informant who gained access to it and made a very remarkable painting of it. The author does not consider the information quite beyond question, but gives it for what it may be worth.

the end of June well into September; that is, throughout the whole rainy season. The four chief priesthoods, associated with the north, east,<sup>45</sup> south, and west, go in for eight days each. They are followed late in July by the p'ekwin and the Bow Priest, who go in for four days each, and later by the minor priesthoods ("darkness priests"), who also go in for four days each. As in the winter, the day preceding the retreat is spent in making prayer sticks, which are deposited in the afternoon at the same sacred spring. The altar is set up that night. Since the sole preoccupation is with rain magic, no corn or peach trees are used on the summer altar. For four days following the planting to the U'wanami, the supplicants refrain from eating meat or grease, in addition observing the usual requirements of continence and kindness. Throughout this period they remain night and day in their ceremonial room. No outsider enters but the woman of the house who serves their meals. There are frequent sessions of prayer and song, especially during the hours between midnight and dawn. The U'wanami are invoked, and the deceased priests of the order are called upon by name. All are believed to be present. On the fourth day, at dawn, prayer sticks are offered to the ancients, and after that the minor priests are free, except for the restriction on sexual activity for four days following any offering of prayer sticks. The four principal priesthoods remain in seclusion for four days longer. At dawn on the eighth day they come out, and that same evening the set next in order goes in. (For order of retreats, see Stevenson, p. 180.)

The purpose of these retreats is to secure rain—immediate rain for the thirsting young plants. Should the days of any group fail to be blessed with rain it receives the censure of the community, and one of its members will surely be suspected of laxness in the observance of his duties.

The rain priests are, like the pekwin, holy men. They are expected to keep themselves aloof from worldly affairs. In former times they did no manual labor, but lived on contributions from the people, but this is no longer the case. The priest should be gentle, humble, and kind. Above all, he is supposed to eschew quarrels.

Associated in worship with the Uwanami is Kolowisi, the horned water serpent who inhabits springs and underground waters. With the characteristic Zuni elasticity he is variously conceived as individual and multiple. One folk tale collected by the writer describes Kolowisi's village with all the serpents engaged in masked dances as at Koluwala-wa.

Kolowisi is the guardian of sacred springs and punishes trespassers, especially women. In an unpublished song recorded by Cushing,

<sup>45</sup> The usual cycle of north, west, south, east is reversed in this instance.

Kolowisi is associated with flood, although the familiar Hopi myth of Palulukong has not been recorded for Zuñi. He also figures in myths of magical impregnation. This is in harmony with his rôle in ritual where he appears at the initiation of small boys, a ceremony designed to impress the youngsters with the power of the katecinas. At this ceremony he vomits forth water and seeds which are given to the children to take home. The water is sprinkled on their corn, and the seed is used for planting.

The effigy of Kolowisi which is used at this ceremony<sup>46</sup> is kept by the Kolowisi priesthood, a group belonging to the Corn clan which stands ninth in the order of retreats according to Mrs. Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, pp. 167, 179). Although this group is invariably called the Kolowisi priesthood, the association with Kolowisi may well be secondary like the association of the priests of the west with the Koyemci masks, or of the twelfth priesthood with the *Ḳana'kwe*.

The public ceremony of Kolowisi takes place in connection with the initiation of little boys.

The effigy of Kolowisi enters the village accompanied by the initiating katecinas at sunset on the eighth day of the ceremony.<sup>47</sup> He spends the night in *Heḡapa'wa* kiva where he is suckled by *Ahe'a*, the grandmother of the katecinas. The following morning the head of the serpent is thrust through the kiva wall, while the katecinas dance for him. In the afternoon he vomits water and corn, fertilizing talismans for the novices.

#### THE CULT OF THE KATECINAS<sup>48</sup>

During their search for the middle the Zuñis had to ford a stream.<sup>49</sup> The first group of women to cross, seeing their children transformed in midstream into frogs and water snakes, became frightened and dropped them, and they escaped into the water. The bereaved mothers mourned for their lost children, so the twin heroes were sent to see what had become of them. They found them in a house beneath the surface of Whispering Waters (*hatin ḡai'akwi*). They had been transformed into the katecinas, beautiful with valuable beads and feathers and rich clothing. Here they spent their days singing and dancing in untroubled joyousness. The twin heroes reported what they had seen, and further decreed that thereafter the dead should come to this place to join the lost children.

The identification of the dead with the katecinas is not complete. When men offer prayer sticks, they offer to the ancients *and* to the

<sup>46</sup> Pictured in Stevenson, pls. xiii and xiv.

<sup>47</sup> For abridged description of this ceremony, see p. 975. Fuller but incomplete account in Stevenson, pp. 65-102, the portion describing the part of the Kolowisi being found on pp. 94-96, 100, and 101.

<sup>48</sup> *Katcina* is a Hopi word, which has become standardized in the literature of the pueblos. The Zuñi term is *koko*.

<sup>49</sup> Origin myth, text, p. 595.

katecinas, and their sticks are different—those of the katecinas contain, in addition to the turkey feather, that of the duck, for the katecinas travel between their village and the village of their fathers in the form of ducks. There is great confusion in regard to the destination of the dead. Those who in life are intimately associated with the Beast Gods at death join them at their home in Ci'papolima, in the east. There is some indication that the priests join the U'wanami. Only those who are intimately associated with the cult of the katecinas, that is, members of the kotikan'e (katecina society), and especially officers in this society and possessors of masks, can be sure of admission to the village of the katecinas. There seems to be no clear idea of what becomes of people without ceremonial affiliations—women and children, for instance.

The lost children pitied the loneliness of their people and came often to dance for them in their plazas and in houses prepared for their use. But after each visit they took someone with them (i. e., someone died). Therefore they decided no longer to come in person. So they instructed their people to copy their costume and headdresses and imitate their dances. Then they would be with them in spirit. (See text, p. 605.)

These dances, in which the katecinas are impersonated, are the most spectacular, perhaps the most beautiful, of all Zuñi ceremonies. Instituted according to tradition solely as a means of enjoyment, they have become the most potent of rain-making rites, for since the divine ones no longer come in the flesh, they come in their other bodies, that is, as rain. The mask is the corporeal substance of the god and in donning it the wearer, through a miracle akin to that of the Mass in Roman Catholic ritual, becomes the god.

Therefore the masks with which this cult operates are second in sacredness to the fetishes of the rain priests themselves. They are the property of individuals; they are buried with his other possessions four days after death. The possession of a mask is a blessing to the house; it guarantees the owner admission to the dance house of the gods, and is the means by which the spirit can return after death to delight his beloved ones on earth and assuage his own loneliness. Therefore, as soon as a man can afford the very considerable expense involved, he will have a mask made for himself. These masks are carefully guarded in the back rooms of houses, protected from the eyes of children. Like the fetishes of the rain priests, they receive daily offerings of food from some female member of the household. When they are to be used they are repainted by someone whose special office that is, and redecorated to represent the special god to be impersonated.

The organization which performs the rites of the katecinas is the ko'tikān'e or katecina society, whose membership comprises every

adult male. In exceptional cases females may be initiated.<sup>50</sup> The initiation includes two separate ceremonies frequently separated by several years. Until the rites are completed, at about the age of 10 or 12, boys are expected to be kept ignorant of the mysteries of the cult, and to believe the dancers are indeed supernatural visitors from the village of the gods. At the first ceremony they are severely whipped by the katecina priests<sup>51</sup> to inspire them with awe for these creatures. There is another and more severe thrashing at the second ceremony. Whipping is the prerogative of the katecinas. It is employed by no other ceremonial group at Zuñi and as a mechanism of juvenile punishment is unknown. The American method of establishing discipline by switching is met at Zuñi with horrified contempt. The katecinas whip to instill awe for the supernatural, but also to remove sickness and contamination. The whipping of katecinas is a blessing. It is administered with the formula, "May you be blessed with seeds" (fo' fowaconan aniktciat'u). Therefore outsiders are never whipped.

The katecina society has a set of officers, the katecina chief (ko'mosona), his pekwin (ko'pekwin), and two bow priests, who act as hosts when the gods come to dance. They receive them, lead them into the plazas for their performances, sprinkling corn meal before them. They are the arbiters in all matters pertaining to masked rituals. The society is organized into six divisions (upa'we), associated loosely with the six directions. Each group has a house of special construction set aside for the use of the katecinas—the so-called kivas.<sup>52</sup> In early days these were men's clubhouses, but their use is now being abandoned, even in ceremonies, in favor of more modern and spacious dwelling houses. Membership in one or another of these six groups is determined by the choice of a ceremonial father at a boy's birth or, at the latest, at the time of the preliminary initiation. His association is lifelong, unless he is expelled for sexual transgression or severs his connection because of disagreement with the leaders. In either case he will be received gladly into another group. Each group has a number of officers—from two to six or more—who run its affairs. They decide upon the dates for dances and the particular dance to be performed; they compose new songs, decorate the masks, assemble the costumes, and rehearse with the participants. Upon them also falls the more vital task of performing the secret rituals that will insure success. They prepare and plant prayer sticks and observe

<sup>50</sup> "To save their life" if they suffer from hallucinations, the mental sickness caused by supernatural beings.

<sup>51</sup> See p. 521.

<sup>52</sup> Kiva is a word which has been adopted into southwest literature to denote the subterranean or semi-subterranean chambers found in all modern and prehistoric pueblos. The word is of Hopi provenience. The Zuñi term kiwitsin'e is probably derived from it.



all the ritual requirements attendant thereon. They consecrate new masks and bless all the dancers before they leave for the plaza.

The dances themselves are large group dances, performed by one or two rows of dancers in formation, frequently with solo performers. The costumes, including masks, are brilliant, picturesque, often of exquisite workmanship; the songs are varied and striking. The performances proceed with the spirit and precision of a well-trained orchestra. The dance groups in summer frequently number over 60 dancers. As many as 90 have been observed.

Each kiva group is required to dance at least three times during the year—once in the winter, once in the summer, and once in the fall, during the five days following the departure of the Ca'lako gods.<sup>53</sup> In addition to this they may dance at any other time they choose, except the 4 days following the close of the Ca'lako festival and the 10 days of the winter solstice. The dances of the winter series are performed indoors at night but may be repeated outdoors on the following day. The summer dances are performed outdoors and in the daytime.<sup>54</sup>

Eight days after the close of the winter solstice the kiva which is to inaugurate the winter series sends in two katchinas to announce the dance on the fourth night following.<sup>55</sup> On the appointed night society altars are set up in the six houses which fill the rôle of kivas, and society choirs are summoned to provide music for the dancers. The various groups of dancers make the rounds of these six houses. The kiva presenting the dance will perform one of about six traditional dances. This group brings seeds to be distributed among the populace. On the same night any other kiva that wishes to participate will prepare dances which may be in the traditional style or some new variant, fanciful, grotesque, or amusing. The hilarity of the occasion is increased by the presence of isolated groups of dancers, especially the "little dancers," the mischievous children of katchina village, and the attendance of masked or unmasked clowns. At the indoor dances not all participants need be masked, and where no mask is used the same magical power resides in the face and body paint. If the dance is repeated outdoors where it can be viewed by the uninitiated masks are obligatory.

In contrast to the light-hearted gaiety of the winter dances, those of summer are marked by great solemnity and intense religious devotion. At this time rain is urgently needed, and the whole religious mechanism strains to the task of compelling it.

Eight days after the summer solstice and on the "middle (i. e., fourth) day" of the retreat of the first priesthood, the gods, accom-

<sup>53</sup> See pp. 702, 941.

<sup>54</sup> Except the first dance of the summer series, when all-night ceremonies are held in the kiva on the night preceding the outside dancing.

<sup>55</sup> At least, so it used to be. At present the dance is held "when they get ready."



panied by the Koyemci<sup>56</sup> and officers of the kadcina society, appear at sunset, marching across the plain. They come from the village of the kadcinas.<sup>57</sup> From now on until they are sent home in November, the kadcinas are believed to be present in the village, lurking in the kivas. After dancing in all the plazas the dancers retire to the home of the Kadcina Chief where an altar has been set up. After all-night ceremonies they dance throughout the day in the four plazas while society choirs continue to sing in the house of their retreat and the house of the Koyemci. This first dance is a most solemn occasion. Until rain falls the participants may touch neither food nor drink, nor engage in any unnecessary conversation. They must, of course, observe sexual continence. At later dances continence is required only of the leaders who have offered prayer sticks and of the Koyemci.

After this first dance other kivas follow as they can get ready. It is considered desirable to perform these dances as rapidly as possible while rain is needed. But with characteristic Zuñi procrastination they are put off and finally performed in rapid succession in September, and the resulting deluges play havoc with the crops already ripe for the harvest.

The gods remain in the village until they are sent home in the fall. In November, after the regular series of dances is over, and it is evident that no more extra dances are to be interpolated, the gods are sent home. The Koyemci are generally the first to go. One night they will be heard singing in the yard before their house. After making the rounds of the plazas they go out toward the west, and whoever dares stick his head outdoors while they are about will surely be drawn along with them (i. e., he will die). After the Koyemci have gone the others follow within a few days.

They all return again to Zuñi with the Kadcina Priests when they come for the Ca'lako ceremonies. After the Kadcina Priests depart for their home the others remain to dance for five nights in the houses they have dedicated and in the plazas of the town. Certain dances are regularly performed during this time and others may be introduced. On the fifth day they depart for the east to visit the supernaturals who dwell in that quarter. On that day every man who owns a mask takes it out to the east of the village. Here he offers prayer sticks and food in one of the six holes dug by the kiva heads. Setting down the mask and making a road of meal toward the east, he sends him out. For four days the masked gods are visiting in the east, and consequently no masked dances may be performed. They return after four days, and from that time on until the beginning of

<sup>56</sup> See p. 946.

<sup>57</sup> Every fourth year there is a pilgrimage by the priests, officers of the Kadcina Society, and the chosen impersonators of the priests of the masked gods to the home of the gods, a lake 86 miles west of Zuñi. On other years the offerings are made at Rainbow Spring, 17 miles to the southwest.

the winter solstice any of the dances performed after Ca'lako may be repeated by request, or new ones may be presented.

THE CULT OF THE KATCINA PRIESTS<sup>58</sup>

Intimately associated with the foregoing activities are those rites and ceremonies which form the cult of the kadcina priests. This cult also employs, as its principal technique for controlling the supernatural, impersonation by means of masks. But the beings impersonated are of a different order. The masks are differently treated and the character of the rites in which they function, and the personnel and calendrical cycle are quite independent. Like all supernaturals, they are bringers of rain, but the special blessing which lies within their power to bestow is fecundity.

The kadcina priests also live at Ko'lwala'wa (kadcina village) and form, indeed, the priestly hierarchy that rules that village. But they are definite individuals, with personal names and distinct personalities. There are, for instance, the Koyemci—they are the fruit of an incestuous union between brother and sister, and display the stain of their birth in their grotesque appearance and uncouth behavior. They are the sacred clowns, privileged to mock at anything, and to indulge in any obscenity.<sup>59</sup> On them fall the most exacting sexual restrictions. They are the most feared and the most beloved of all Zuñi impersonations. They are possessed of black magic; in their drum they have the wings of black butterflies that can make girls "crazy."<sup>60</sup> In the knobs of their masks is soil from the footprints of townspeople.<sup>61</sup> One who begrudges them anything will meet swift and terrible retribution. But everyone goes in hushed reverence and near to tears to watch them on their last night when they are under strict taboo. At this time, from sundown until midnight the following day, they touch neither food nor drink. They neither sleep nor speak, and in all that time they do not remove their masks. This truly heroic self-denial earns them the sympathetic affection of the people, an affection manifested in the generous gifts that are given them on this their last day in office.<sup>62</sup>

Pautiwa, chief of the masked gods at Ko'lwala'wa, is a truly magnificent person. His prestige is enormous. He possesses in unlimited measure the three most admired qualities—beauty, dignity, and

<sup>58</sup> The term is awkward, but it is a literal translation of the Zuñi term.

<sup>59</sup> They are, however, surpassed in obscenity by the Ne'we'kwe. The presence of white people at Zuñi is resulting in the gradual suppression of these practices. The word obscene is used advisedly since their practices are universally so regarded at Zuñi. Here the proprieties are meticulously observed. It is a society of strong repressions. Undoubtedly the great delight in the antics of the clowns springs from the sense of release in vicarious participations in the forbidden.

<sup>60</sup> I. e., sexually.

<sup>61</sup> A widely used love charm.

<sup>62</sup> The very deep affection that is felt for the Koyemci is by no means extended to the impersonator when he is released from office.

kindliness. In folklore he appears as the successful lover of mortal maids. Literature is full of the exploits of his illegitimate offspring, to whom he is unfailingly generous. His two brief appearances at Zuñi mark him as a prince of gods and men. The moment he appears in the plaza at the close of the solstice ceremonies, the hilarity which has prevailed subsides in an instant and is replaced by hushed reverence. The two gods who have been making merry on the housetop to the great delight of the populace suddenly pale to insignificance before the newly risen splendor of Pautiwa's beauty and stateliness.

His pekwin, Kāklo, is very different. He is a bustling, officious, self-important individual, somewhat ridiculous in spite of his great power. In the midst of his most sacred ceremony he engages in none too gentle horseplay with the Koyemci. His speech is an incoherent jumble.

Sayataca is more austere. Like Pautiwa, he has tremendous dignity and prestige, but he lacks Pautiwa's charm. When he speaks—and he speaks often and at incredible length—his voice booms with authority and importance.

One might continue to enumerate the personality traits of the individual katchinas. The Sayalia, avengers and exorcisers, hideous and terrible; the Ca'lako, giant gargoyles, terrifying but not unlovely; the Sā'limoṗia, youthful and beautiful, and impetuous with the ardor of youth; and many others.

Each of these appears at Zuñi to perform a special ceremony which he alone has the right to perform. For each of these katchinas there is a permanent mask used only in his rites. This is tribal property. It is the mask given by the Divine One himself, and has been passed down through the generations like the fetishes of the rain priests. Like them, these ancient masks are kept permanently in jars in definite houses, from which they are removed only for use and with elaborate ceremony. Furthermore, connected with each is a cult group which preserves its secret ritual, including the words of prayers and chants.

The mask of Pautiwa is kept in a house of the Dogwood clan. The cult group in charge of his ritual comprises all who have ever impersonated the god at his appearance in the winter solstice. These men meet each year to select the impersonator. He learns the prayers and rituals from some older man of the groups and is thereafter permanently associated with this group.<sup>63</sup>

The masks of the Cula'witsi, Sayataca, Hututu, and the two Yamuhakto are kept in another house of the Dogwood clan. The custodians of their cult are a self-perpetuating group of four men of various clan affiliations. The impersonators of the gods are chosen by the priests and go to the cult heads to learn what they must do.

<sup>63</sup> Certain members of the Sun clan form a subsidiary cult group, whose function is to dress Pautiwa.

This knowledge—that is, the power which it confers—is “given back” at the end of the year.

The Koyemci masks are kept in the house of the West priesthood. Their cult is in the keeping of four groups of men who themselves impersonate the gods. Each group holds office for a year and returns again after four years. The head of the group, who impersonates the father, is appointed by the priests and he chooses his associates, filling any vacancies which may have occurred since the last incumbency.

The six Ca'lako masks, associated with the six kivas, are kept in six different houses and each has a permanent group of *wo'we*,<sup>64</sup> who instruct the impersonators in the duties of their offices. The impersonators are chosen by the officers of the kivas and hold office for a year.

The mask of *Kä'klo* is kept in the house of the *pekwin* of the Katsina Society. His rites are known to a group of four men, who take turns in impersonating the god. The head of this group receives from the priests a crook summoning him to appear.

The 12 *Salimopia* masks, two of each color, are kept in six different houses, along with other masks associated with them in the principal ceremony in which they appear, the preliminary whipping of little boys. Each kiva has a *Salimopia wo'le* who is trustee of their ritual.

At the new year ceremony which terminates the celebration of the solstice *Pautiwa* comes to give his orders for the coming year. He leaves with the priests or on the roofs of the kivas the feathered sticks with which are appointed those who impersonate the gods at the great fertility ceremony of November, the so-called *Ca'lako*. He leaves one stick for the father of the Koyemci, one for each of *Sa'yataca* group, one for each of the six *Ca'lako*. There is also a stick for *Bitsitsi*, who is not a katsina, but who plays an important rôle in the ceremony of the Corn Maids which follows the *Ca'lako*. In this *Pautiwa* himself appears.

The impersonators are chosen immediately—the impersonators of the Koyemci and the *Sayataca* group by the priests, two impersonators for each of the six *Ca'lako* by the officers of their respective kivas. Each month at the full moon they plant prayer sticks at distant shrines, visiting them in a body in fixed order. After October the plantings take place every 10 days, and as the time for the ceremony approaches, each group goes into retreat like priests, in its ceremonial house. The great public ceremony is held in the houses of prominent citizens who volunteer to provide this costly service. There should be eight houses, but in recent years the expense involved has become so great that not enough men volunteer. In that case the groups double up at the last moment. The house is newly built or completely renovated for the occasion, and the visit of the gods is the

<sup>64</sup> Literally servant or domesticated animal, a word that defies translation.

dedication and blessing of the new dwelling. They deposit prayer sticks under the threshold and in the roof—symbols of fertility. The sticks are double, painted blue and yellow, and they are male and female respectively. They plant seeds in the center of the floor and on the altar leave a basket of seed corn to be used by the host in his spring sowing. The burden of their prayer is that the store rooms may be filled to overflowing, and the house so full of children that they jostle one another in the doorway. (See text of Ca'lako prayer, pp. 718, 773.)

The gods depart after all-night ceremonies but during the following days each kiva presents a masked dance. They may present more than one if they so choose. These dances are performed for five nights in all the houses and on the fifth day in the plaza. On this day the Koyemci, who have remained in retreat throughout this period, are rewarded for their services by gifts from the members of their fathers' clans. Late at night, after visiting every house in the village to bestow a final blessing, they are released from their arduous duties.

The Koyemci, in addition to participating in this cycle of ceremonies, are required to attend upon the masked dancers during the summer dance series. On these appearances they play the rôle of clowns; and many of their games are of frankly phallic significance.<sup>65</sup> In their drum they place the wings of black butterflies, a potent love charm.

Every fourth year<sup>66</sup> Pautiwa leaves a feathered staff for K̄ā'klo, by whose order is performed the preliminary whipping of the small boys. K̄ā'klo does not himself perform this rite. He comes twice at intervals of eight days to inform the priests and officers of the kivas that this is the wish of the gods. They in turn appoint the gods who administer the whipping—12 Sā'limopia, four Sa'yalia and 10 other gods. The ceremony, held the day after K̄ā'klo's final visit, is one of the most elaborate and spectacular at Zuñi. The boys are severely whipped in the plaza. They are taken into the kiva to have feathers tied in their hair as a symbol of their novitiate. The writer has never witnessed this ceremony, and can only guess at its significance on the basis of the description given by Mrs. Stevensom.<sup>67</sup> The point seems to be exorcism. The boys are whipped "to save their lives," and previous to this, there is general whipping and destruction of property throughout the village, "to take away bad happenings." The Sā'limopia and Sayalia appear as exorcisors during the winter solstice ceremony. And whenever any taboo of the masked god cult is broken the Sayalia appear to administer punishment and to whip

<sup>65</sup> See E. C. Parsons, *Notes on Zuñi*, pt. 2, p. 229.

<sup>66</sup> Due to recent disintegration this ceremony has not been held for more than six years.

<sup>67</sup> Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 65.



all present in order to counteract the contaminating influence of the transgression. At the Ca'lako two Salinopia are present to perform this service.

The final whipping of the boys is performed by the Sayalia by order of the priests, some time during the Ca'lako festivities. This also seems to be a rite of exorcism, and is followed by general whipping to remove bad luck.

Another masked ceremony held at irregular intervals, and by express order of Pautiwa, is the dance of the Kā'nakwe or white gods. This is a group dance like the kiva dances but is performed by a special self-perpetuating cult group owning ancient masks and esoteric ritual. The beings impersonated are of a different order. They do not live at Koluwala'wa. They are essentially hostile, and therefore must not remain overnight in the village. Their rites have no place in the regular cycle. They bring with them seeds, which are given to the priests, and large quantities of food, which they throw away to the people, so the purpose of their rite may be assumed to be fertility.

#### THE CULT OF THE WAR GODS

The war cult of the Pueblos, as in other tribes, is greatly in abeyance at the present time due to enforced peaceableness. Although the Pueblos probably were never aggressive warriors, intertribal warfare was once an important part of life, and was accompanied by elaborate ceremonies.

The gods of war in Zuñi are the A'hayuta, twin children of the Sun begotten of a waterfall when the Zuñis, wandering in search of the middle, were in dire need of military leadership.<sup>68</sup> They led the people to victory and gave them the rites of war. They are the patrons of contests of all kinds, including foot races and games of chance. In folklore the A'hayuta appear as two dirty, uncouth, cruel, and disobedient children, masking their great powers behind obscene and ridiculous exteriors. They live on the mountain tops, they are lords of the high places, and their shrines are on all the prominent mountains about Zuñi.

The cult of the A'hayuta, the gods of war, and leadership of war parties, is delegated to the Bow Priests, and several less important groups, the priests who keep pa'eton'e, a war fetish, the priests of the great shell and the scalp chief, who takes care of the scalps in the scalp house, and the men who carve and decorate the idols of the war gods.

Membership in the bow priesthood is restricted to those who have killed an enemy. No matter what the circumstances of the killing, no escape is possible from the burden of membership, for the slayer

<sup>68</sup> See text of origin myth, p. 597.



must seek magical protection from the vengeance of the ghost. The bow priesthood supplies this protection. He is initiated in the course of the scalp dance, which celebrates the victory and propitiates the ghost.<sup>69</sup>

The bow priesthood is organized in somewhat similar fashion to the medicine societies—a circumstance which led Mrs. Stevenson to include it among them. There is a society chief and a battle chief. They have a ceremonial chamber in a house in the eastern part of the town, where certain of their ceremonial paraphernalia is kept. Pa'etone, which is used only in war rites, is kept in another house, and has its own hereditary priesthood, members of which are not necessarily Bow Priests. The great shell also has its own priesthood. It is brought out for all war ceremonies. The Scalp Chief has a male and two female associates, who take charge of the scalp from the time it is brought into the village until it is placed in the scalp house. He plants prayer sticks each month for the scalps. At the winter solstice and at the scalp dance idols are made of the elder and younger War Gods. They are carved, respectively, by men of the Deer and Bear clans. These are hereditary offices, and each has several associates, male and female.

The Bow Priests are leaders in war and defenders and protectors of the people in times of peace. To them falls the task of policing the town, in the religious but not the civil sense. In this capacity they must wage constant warfare against the insidious inner enemy—namely, the witches—whose secret power causes sickness and death. Of this activity, too, they have recently been stripped. They are furthermore the defenders and the executive arm of the religious hierarchy. They protect their altars from desecration, carry their messages, and execute their orders. To perform these duties two bow priests are assigned to the priestly hierarchy, two to the *kacina* society, and two to each of the medicine societies.<sup>70</sup>

The great annual ceremony of the Bow Priests is held at the winter solstice. Six days after the *pekwin* announces the solstice a man of the Deer clan and a man of the Bear clan and their associates start to make the images of the War Gods to be used at this ceremony. On the tenth night following the *pekwin*'s announcement these images, together with pa'etone, the great shell, the e'tow'e of the chief priests, and all the paraphernalia of the war cult are taken to the chief kiva. In the kiva are assembled the priests of the council, the priests of pa'etone and the great shell, the image makers and their associates, and the full membership of the bow priesthood. At

<sup>69</sup> See texts, p. 674.

<sup>70</sup> That is, this used to be the pattern. The bow priesthood is now reduced to three members—one who has no society affiliations serves the priests, one is Bow Priest of the *kacinas*, and associated also with the Rattlesnake Society, the third is associated with the Hunters and the Little Fire Society, and formerly served the priests.

this time the Bow Priests sing *comato-we*.<sup>71</sup> the songs given to the Bow Priesthood at the founding of the order by A'hayuta. At dawn the ceremonies end, and later in the day the images are taken by the Bow Priests and the priests of the council to two of the mountain shrines of A'hayuta. This is the day on which everyone plants prayer sticks to the sun.

At the full moon in March the Bow Priests make prayer sticks for A'hayuta. At night they meet in their ceremonial room, where their altar is set up.<sup>72</sup> There are no images of the gods of war at this time. Again during the night *comato-we* are sung. Four days later there is a kick-stick race under the special patronage of the gods of war. After this it is safe for people to plant corn. Spring wheat is planted before this time, but corn is planted only after these ceremonies. The precise nature of the connection between the War Gods, stick racing, and planting is obscure.

There are no ceremonies for the War Gods at the summer solstice. However, the two Bow Priests who serve the priests of the council have their place in the series of summer retreats for rain. The day the *pekwin* comes out they plant prayer sticks to the U'wanani Bow Priests. For four days they observe all the requirements of retreat, save that they do not remain in seclusion in their ceremonial room. Instead they visit each day a distant mountain shrine of A'hayuta where they offer corn meal and turquoise. They have no altar at this time—probably because all their fetishes are for war, and therefore can have no place in these purely priestly activities.<sup>73</sup> The bow priesthood does not convene at this time.

Formerly the bow priests held a great public dance after harvest in the fall. This was an occasion of great festivity, as always when there is dancing by the girls. Like the scalp dance, it was accompanied by sexual license. However, the dance has not been performed in 20 years, since two girls of a good family were killed by a stray shot from the housetops. The Bow Priests met in their ceremonial room, but there was no altar and no offerings of prayer sticks.

The scalp dance is held at irregular intervals, whenever an enemy is killed. Its purpose is to induct the scalper into the Bow Priesthood for his own protection, to strip the dead enemy of his power and develop his capacities as rain maker, and to celebrate fittingly with all manner of festivity the destruction of the enemy. The principal events are outlined in another place.<sup>74</sup>

There are other groups which have definite associations with war. The Ant society figures prominently in the ceremonies of the scalp

<sup>71</sup> The word means "spiral." It is accompanied by a circle dance. Approaching spiralwise toward a center is characteristic of war dances throughout North America. See text of origin myth, p. 597.

<sup>72</sup> This ceremony has never been described. The writer has not witnessed it; merely knows that it takes place.

<sup>73</sup> Or perhaps because of the association between A'hayuta and wind, snow, and cold weather.

<sup>74</sup> P. 674.

dance and the O'winahaiye. The Wood society holds a ceremony in which the Bow Priesthood participates. The Great Fire society is privileged to wear the great feather, part of the war chief's regalia. The arrow order of this society uses the body paint of the war chiefs. The Hunters' society is also a war society. The members of this, as well as those of the Cactus society, can not be inducted into the bow priesthood, because they are already warriors. Members of the Cactus society offer prayer sticks to A'hayuta. The Hunters' and Cactus societies have male members only.

All these groups, however, are devoted primarily to the worship of the Beast Gods and receive from them their sanctions and power.

#### THE CULT OF THE BEAST GODS

In the east at Cipapolima live the Beast Gods (we'ma'we or we'ma a'ciwan'i). These are the beasts of prey and partake of their rapacious nature. They are the most dangerous and violent gods in the Zuñi pantheon. They are the priests of long life (onaya'nañä a'ci'wan'i, literally road fulfilling priests). They are the givers of medicine, not only medicinal plants, but the magic power to make them effective. They are the source also of black magic or witchcraft. Their leaders are associated with the six directions, as follows: North, Mountain Lion; west, Bear; south, Badger; east, Wolf; above, Knife-wing;<sup>75</sup> below, Gopher. Of all, the most powerful is the Bear. He is compelled through impersonation at curing ceremonies. The symbol of his personality is the bear paws which are drawn over the hands and have the same properties as the masks of the gods. The worship of the beast gods is conducted by 12 societies or fraternities. Membership in these societies is voluntary and is open alike to males and females.<sup>76</sup> All offices are held by men, and only they have the ultimate magical powers—the powers of impersonating the bear, the use of the crystal, the power to remove sickness by sucking, and the use of magical songs. Some knowledge of therapeutic plants is hereditary in certain matrilineal families. Except for midwifery, which is practiced independently, all medical practice is in the hands of these societies. They are, in fact, medical guilds, closed corporations which guard their secrets jealously. The combined body of esoteric knowledge and ritual held by these groups is enormous, and this is genuinely esoteric. To collect it one would have to be on terms of utmost intimacy with all the officers in all the societies. No knowledge is more closely guarded than this.

<sup>75</sup> A mythical monster with wings of knives. Mrs. Stevenson names eagle as god of the upper regions, and shrew for below. The present list is quoted from a prayer of the Great Fire society.

<sup>76</sup> Except the Cactus society, a war society, and Hunters which have only male members. The Cactus society cures wounds made by bullets or by any pointed object, including cactus. The Hunters have no curing rituals.

Each society in addition to practicing general medicine has a specialty—one cures sore throat, another epilepsy, another has efficacious medicine for delayed parturition, yet another cures bullet wounds, and so forth.

Initiation into the societies is a precaution taken to save one's life. If a person is desperately ill he is given by his relatives to one of the medicine societies.<sup>77</sup> The officials of the society come in a body to cure him. They bring with them all their ceremonial paraphernalia and lend the whole force of their ritual toward defeating the disease. If the patient recovers he is not necessarily cured. He has been granted a respite, and until he fulfills his pledge and receives a new heart and places himself under the direct protection of the Beast Gods through joining the society which cured him, his life is in jeopardy. Since initiation involves one in great expense, frequently many years elapse before it is completed.

The societies have, perhaps, the most highly developed ritual of all the cult groups. They possess elaborate altars which are kept in the houses in which they habitually meet. These consist of carved wooden tablets, stone fetishes, and various other sacred objects. These altars are set up on a meal painting at all ceremonies in which the society takes part. On the altar are also placed feathered ears of corn, the personal fetishes of members of the medicine order of the society. This fetish (*mi'le*) is made for the novice by his father at the time of his initiation; it remains his personal fetish until he dies, when it is dismantled and buried by members of the society. If a man is compelled to be absent from any meeting of his society he or some member of his household takes his *mi'le* to the society room to be placed upon the altar.

All members of medicine societies plant prayer sticks each month at the full moon. The offering includes, besides the usual sticks for the ancients and for the *kacinas*, sticks for the Beast Gods, made in each society according to different specifications. These sticks are planted either in cornfields or at Red Bank, a point on the river bank east <sup>78</sup> of town. These are offered separately by each individual.

The collective ceremonies of the medicine societies are held in the fall and winter. During the summer the cult of the Beast Gods is in abeyance. As a symbol of this, the drums of the societies must not be touched during this time, not even to beat out the rhythm for grinding songs. At the full moon in October (in some societies November), the members are summoned to their ceremonial house. They make

<sup>77</sup> In less serious cases an individual medicine man is called. He removes the cause of sickness and is paid for his trouble. At the winter ceremony the recovered patient has his head bathed in the society room and exchanges gifts with his "father."

<sup>78</sup> The Beast Gods live in the east. Therefore all ceremonies of the curing societies are oriented toward the east, in contrast to ceremonies for the ancients and the *kacinas*, which are oriented toward the south and west. It is interesting to note that historically the medicine cult is undoubtedly of Keresan, i. e., Eastern origin.

their prayer sticks here during the day. At sundown the altar is set up. Female members, who do not attend this meeting, send food and leave their miwe for the altar. After dark the drum is taken out and songs of the Beast Gods are sung. The gods are present in the village at this time, much the way the katchinas are present throughout the summer.

The great meetings of the societies are held at the winter solstice. On the ninth day following the Pekwin's announcement society members meet early in the morning at their ceremonial houses. The day is spent in prayer-stick making. The solstice prayer-stick bundles of the societies are the most elaborate and beautiful products of this highly developed art. They contain sticks for the ancients, for deceased members of the society, and for Paiyatamu,<sup>79</sup> gods of music, poetry, flowers and butterflies. Included in the bundle are the crook, symbol of old age, and twigs of various medicinal plants. There are no offerings to the Beast Gods at this time.

At sundown the altar is set up. Women members, if they are not planning to attend the night meeting, come bringing food and their miwe and sprinkle corn meal on the altar. Late at night, about 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, the Ne'we'kwe visit the kiva where the priests have been waiting in silence before the altar of the Gods of War. Here they perform a rite of exorcism, without which the ceremony can not proceed. When they have left the Bow Priests start their song. As soon as their drum is heard the society people, who have also been waiting in their own houses, start their own rites. The songs sung at this time are for the U'wanami. They are among the most beautiful and sacred of all Zuñi songs, and are known only to the most learned members of the societies. The ceremony ends at daybreak. The members come home, each bringing with him his mi'le, his bundle of prayer sticks, and a bundle of several ears of corn that have rested all night on the altar. The corn is kept for spring planting and the prayer sticks are buried that afternoon, along with each man's individual offerings to the sun and the ancients. After this planting all society members except the Sa'niakakwe and the Ci'wanakwe must abstain from all animal food for four days, in addition to the usual requirement of continence. The food taboo obligatory for society members is optional with others. For them, too, it used to be obligatory and is probably related to the offering to the sun.

This ceremony is for rain and fertility. It has nothing whatever to do with curing, and in it the Beast Gods play no rôle. It is quite

<sup>79</sup> Paiyatamu is the Keresan word payatyamu, "youth." He is associated with all things gay and youthful. He is another romantic adventurer in folklore. His prayer stick, significantly, is double, and is painted blue and yellow, the colors associated with sex. The flutes of Payatamu are played at the phallic ritual of O'olowickya. (Parsons: Winter and Summer Dance Series.) They are important in the Corn dance.



distinct from the "going in" of the Beast Gods which immediately follows it, and is so regarded by the Zuñis themselves.

On the evening of the tenth day of the solstice, the day of the universal planting, the societies convene for their great retreat.<sup>80</sup> Female members sleep at home, and return in the daytime to attend to their household duties. Their attendance, even at the evening meetings, is not obligatory until the final night. Male members, however, are in retreat; they sleep and eat at their society houses, although they are permitted to visit their homes between times. This privilege is not accorded to officers of societies who observe as strict a retreat as priests. The altar is put up on the first evening, and remains in place until the conclusion of the ceremonies on the fourth morning following. The room is taboo to outsiders, with the exception of members of the household.

The days are spent making prayer sticks and preparing their costumes and regalia for the great ceremony of the last night. At night songs are sung for the Beast Gods. Each day at dawn the members go out in groups to offer corn meal and to present their miwe to the rising sun. During the evenings tales are told and instruction in the ritual is given.

On the last night all the society members, male and female, assemble in full ceremonial costume, including face and body paint. To the society house also come those who wish to be cured of chronic ailments, since curing during public ceremonies entails no obligation on the part of the patient.<sup>81</sup> About midnight a fresh altar is prepared. Sometimes there are demonstrations of fire eating and other tricks by qualified groups before the chief business, the invocation of the Beast Gods, is reached. The songs of the Beast Gods are sung with the accompaniment of rattle and drum, and society members dance. The dance is without formation, members rising to dance whenever they choose and leaving the floor when they are tired, usually after four or eight songs. The purpose of this dancing is to create a proper atmosphere in which to summon the Beast Gods. The participants gradually work themselves into a state of mental excitement bordering on hysteria. Finally those who are qualified to impersonate the bear<sup>82</sup> draw over their hands the bear paws that lie on the altar, and

<sup>80</sup> The *Łe'we'kwe* do not go in at this time. Their retreat follows six days after the close of the solstice ceremonies.

<sup>81</sup> The following ceremony of purification is held in Cochiti during the winter: "People may go to the giant, flint, or cikame houses. The ritual is similar. The shamans approach each person, touch him and draw out an object, usually a stone, which he is told is a sickness. An altar is erected with corn meal paths and fetishes but the rainbow arch is not used. After the sickness has been removed each person is given water "medicine" from the bowl. This is sprinkled over their bodies and they are allowed to drink some. This same formula is used in times of actual sickness. The shamans sing and pray all night while the people pray and walk around the altar sprinkling corn meal to the animal helpers and protectors. (Goldfrank, p. 72.)

<sup>82</sup> Only the oldest and most learned of the medicine men. They acquire power to summon the bear only after the expenditure of great effort and much property.



in so doing assume the personality of the bear, much as the wearer of a mask becomes a god. They utter the cries of animals and otherwise imitate beasts, especially the bear.

In this condition they are enabled by gazing into the crystal to see the hidden sickness in those present. When they see sickness in anyone they draw from his body the foreign substance that has caused it. Dust, stones, bits of calico, feathers, fur or the entrails of animals are extracted from the mouth and other parts of the bodies of patients. Each article as it is extracted is exhibited to the company and dropped into a bowl to be disposed of the following day. Both practitioner and patient are nude save for the breechcloth, which necessitates considerable skill in sleight-of-hand, even though clumsy tricks would pass in the prevailing state of hysterical excitement. It is general knowledge that these "cures" are accomplished by sleight-of-hand. However, such knowledge by no means decreases the respect in which these tricks are held. These practices have the sanction of powerful and greatly feared divinities and are performed directly under their control. The act itself is but a symbol of the relationship with the supernaturals. The efficacy lies not in the performance of the act itself but in the god-given power to perform it.

As the night advances the excitement increases. Groups of medicine men and women selected by the society chief visit other society houses in response to invitations previously delivered with the customary offering of corn meal. They dash through the streets simulating cries of animals. They are barefoot—practically nude, although the ground may be covered with snow or ice.<sup>83</sup> In the house of their hosts they give demonstrations of their curing powers.

The ceremony ends at dawn. The excitement suddenly subsides. The *miwe* are once more taken out to the sun. On returning to the ceremonial room there are brief concluding ceremonies in a quiet vein. Then the altar is dismantled and the members depart to eat breakfast at their homes. Meat is served for the first time in four days.

In the afternoon male members of societies offer prayer sticks to the Beast Gods.<sup>84</sup> For four days continence must be observed.

The *Lewekwe* observe their great retreat for the Beast Gods after the winter solstice ceremonies are at an end. The stick-swallowing order of the Great Fire society also has a retreat at this time. The retreat terminates in a public dance by both societies with exhibitions of sword swallowing. In connection with this there is a retreat with a public dance on the last day for *mu'etowe*, a snow fetish. So that the whole ceremony combines functions of curing and weather control.

<sup>83</sup> The men are naked, and temperature on a midwinter night may be below zero.

<sup>84</sup> At the same time all initiated males offer to the masked gods. There are also special plantings by males and females for fecundity and wealth.

We have already alluded to the attendance of the Ne'wekwe at the winter dances of the masked gods, and their summer ceremony, which is only rarely performed. This ceremony comprises a four-day retreat with prayers for rain, at which there is no singing to the drum of the songs of the Beast Gods. The retreat ends with an all-night ceremony the last night and a public dance the last day. In this ceremony, as well as in the initiation rites, importance is given to various obscene and cruel practices. The dance may be repeated by request. In this ceremony they are assisted by the Ci'wanakwe.

The other ceremonies of the medicine societies which are held at irregular intervals as occasions arise are concerned specifically with curing and initiation. Curing ceremonies are very secret. Only officers of the societies and those possessed of the required medical knowledge and magical powers are present. Prayer sticks are made and an altar is set up in the sick room and songs are sung. There is a general rite of exorcism by spitting. Since disease is generally caused by a witch injecting foreign bodies into the patient, the most obvious method of cure is to locate and remove the foreign substance. The medicine man locates the foreign substance either by use of the crystal or by partaking of a vision-producing drug.<sup>55</sup> The practitioner then removes it by the same sleight-of-hand that is practiced at public healing ceremonies. Or, if the patient knows who has bewitched him, or learns it under the influence of *tenatsali*, the Bow Priests are summoned and attempt to extract a confession from the accused. The confession strips him of his power and effects an automatic cure. In former days witches were hung. Since this practice has been ended by the United States Government authorities witch baiting has declined in importance in medical practice and greater weight is given to extracting foreign bodies.<sup>56</sup>

The ceremonies in the sick room are continued for four nights, provided the patient lives that long. Purely therapeutic measures, massage, sweating, blood letting, and the administration of drugs may be employed as supplement and continue beyond the period devoted to magical practices.

Should the patient recover he must eventually fulfill his pledge of membership in the society, thus placing himself permanently under the protection of the Beast Gods. The initiation ceremony is held in November, or after the winter solstice ceremonies. The retreat begins four days before the full moon, so that the final ceremony comes the night the moon is full. The initiation rites are in part public ceremonies. To the final ceremonies other societies are invited in a body, and persons of no society affiliation may attend as individuals. Frequently there are public dances outdoors, as part of the initiation

<sup>55</sup> *Tenatsali*, an unidentified plant, perhaps Jamestown weed.

<sup>56</sup> The extraction of foreign bodies is the usual technique employed by individual medicine men summoned to treat minor ailments.

rites. In these there is great variability among the different societies. In all, however, the core of the ceremony is the same. It is described in some detail in another place.<sup>87</sup>

#### THE CALENDAR

Between all of these independent cults is the binding element of calendrical observances. Each cult has ceremonies extending through an annual cycle, starting from the winter solstice, and returning again into the winter solstice. Their solstice ceremonies are all nicely synchronized. They are fitted into a period of 20 days, and so neatly arranged that there are no conflicts, even for a man with varied ceremonial affiliations.

The name by which the Zuñis refer to the period of the solstice is *itiwana*, the middle, the same name that they give, esoterically, to their village. Mrs. Stevenson and others interpret this as being a contraction of the sentence *yātokā i'tiwanan te' 'tei* "the sun reaches the middle." This is unquestionably correct, but the term has a more significant connotation. It is the middle of the year, the point common to all the different cults, and is indeed the center of their whole ceremonial life. There is no doubt that the Zuñis themselves think of their rituals as being organized about this focal point. Their application of the term "middle" to it is sufficient indication.<sup>88</sup> The linguistic identification of concepts of time and space is characteristically Zuñian. The solstice is, therefore, the center of time, just as Zuñi itself is the center of space.

The winter solstice ceremonies start when the *pekwin* announces from the housetop that all men shall make prayer sticks for the sun to be offered in 10 days. The date is calculated by observations of the sunrise from a petrified stump in a cornfield east of the village. When the sun rises at a particular point on the mesa to the southeast it is time for the *pekwin* to start his own plantings. If correctly calculated, then the general prayer-stick planting will take place on the day when the sunrise reaches its most southerly limit—that is, on the 22d of December. However, the Zuñis seem never to have been able to decide on the relative merits of solar and lunar calendar, and the desire to have the observation of the solstice occur at the full moon disarranges the calculations and naturally leads to dissent among the various priests. However, the date is definitely set by the *pekwin* and the others, whatever their views, fall into line.

<sup>87</sup> See p. 791.

<sup>88</sup> E. C. Parsons (Winter and Summer Dance Series in Zuñi in 1918, University of California Publ., v. 17, No. 3, p. 171) designates the winter dance series of the *katchinas*, *koko a'wan itiwana*, the *itiwana* of the masked gods. These dances follow at stated intervals after the solstice, but are not actually part of it. This indicates the Zuñi pattern that each cult must have a center, and this center must correspond to the centers of other cults. The *katchinas* do not figure in the solstice ceremonies proper.

The ceremonies fall into two periods of 10 nights each.<sup>89</sup> The first nine days are spent in preparation of great quantities of prayer sticks by all men. Images of the war gods are carved by men to whom this office belongs. The great ceremonies begin on the tenth night. On this night the new year fire is kindled in the kiva and the Bow Priests hold their ceremony for the War Gods. At the same time all the societies hold ceremonies in honor of the Uwanami.

On the following morning the images of the War Gods are taken to their shrines. The priests take the younger brother to Corn Mountain to a shrine the position of which is visible at the village. There the priests kindle a fire, and the appearance of their smoke is the signal for the beginning of the great fire taboo. For the next 10 days—that is, until dawn on the twentieth day—no fire or light must be seen outdoors, nor must any sweepings or ashes be thrown out. For the whole period priests observe continence, eat no animal food, and they and their households refrain from trade of any description. Others observe continence for eight days following the planting of prayer sticks, and refrain from animal food and trading for four days. The conservation of fire, and especially the saving of ashes and sweepings, are fertility magic, that the house may be full of corn, as it is of ashes. Throughout this period a sacred fire is kept burning in He'wiwa kiva.

The eleventh to the fourteenth nights<sup>90</sup> are given over to the retreats and ceremonies of the medicine societies, with the great all-night ceremony ending at dawn on the fourteenth day. On this afternoon occurs the second general planting of prayer sticks to the katinas, the Beast Gods, and to the ancestors for wealth.

On the following day the priests again make prayer sticks for the Uwanami in preparation for their retreat the following night. This takes place on the sixteenth night. The prayers are for rain and fertility. On the altar are placed clay images of animals and objects on which blessings are invoked. The prayer sticks are planted at springs the following morning.

Also late on the sixteenth night all the kivas are visited by Pautiwa (called on this occasion Komhalikwi, "witch god") who throws into each a ball of fine corn meal to be used during the coming year by the Ca'lako impersonators in their morning prayers. His visit takes place late at night when none can see him. The rite seems to be one of exorcism.

On some night during the 10 days of the fire taboo, generally the night of the priests' retreats, each family that owns sacred possessions of any description employs them in rites of fertility magic.<sup>91</sup> Clay

<sup>89</sup> In computing the dates of ceremonies only nights are counted. The *pekwin's* announcement is made at dawn. The following night is the first day. Taboo periods begin at sundown or late afternoon and continue through four nights, ending the fourth morning at dawn. The days are not counted.

<sup>90</sup> Sometimes called "the first four nights of the komosona's count." For 10 days the *pekwin* counts days for the sun. Then he is finished and the komosona counts days for Pautiwa.

<sup>91</sup> *Itsuma'wa*, the ritualistic term for planting.

objects, similar to those used on the altars of the priests, are modeled by the women of the house. These are set out at night along with ears of corn and the sacred object, mask, rain fetish, sacred medicine, or personal fetishes such as pebbles to which are imputed magical properties. For one night the family are in retreat. They remain awake until day and repeat prayers and songs whose burden is a request for fertility of crops and flocks, and the fecundity of women. The ears of corn are set aside for spring seeding. The clay objects are later buried in the floor of the house, or thrown out on the twentieth day with the sweepings. They are the seed from which the real objects will grow.

On one of these days pregnant women, especially those who have been unfortunate with previous babies, visit the shrines at the base of the rock pillars on the west side of Corn Mountain. A woman undertaking this pilgrimage is accompanied by her husband and a priest. They deposit prayer sticks at the foot of the rock pillars and she scrapes a bit of dust from the rock and swallows it, from one side if she desires a boy, from the other if she wishes a girl. In addition to this, or instead of it, a pregnant woman may have made for her at this season a doll, similar to those sometimes given to children during the winter dances of the *katchinas*. The doll is made by anyone who "knows how," that is, who has the supernatural power to make it effective. It will ensure a safe delivery and a healthy child.

Meanwhile the impersonator of *Pautiwa* for the final day has been chosen. On the nineteenth day the priests of the council make the crooks of appointment to be given to the impersonators of the *katchina* priests. Just before sunset arrive *Ci'tsukā* and *Kwe'elele*, two masked gods from the east. They bring the new year from the east. Their masks belong to the Great Fire Society and appear, along with another mask, at certain curing ceremonies of that society. I can offer no explanation of the conspicuous part they play in the celebration of the New Year. They go to the chief *kiva* where are assembled the priests of the council and the impersonators of *Pautiwa* and the four *Sai'yalia*. They dance all night in the *kiva* to the songs of the Great Fire Society. Late at night the *Sai'yalia* visit all the *kivas* "to send out the old year." It is a rite of exorcism. At dawn the new year fire is kindled. Before sunrise the *katchinas*, accompanied by the *pekwin*, the chief of the *Katchina* Society and the guardian of the sacred fire, go out to the east carrying fire-brands and a lighted torch. After brief prayers they return. The sound of their rattles as they pass is a signal to the people. The great fire taboo is now ended and from each household the men and women emerge bearing live coals from the fire, and the accumulated ashes and sweepings. Soon the fields from which night has not yet



departed blossom with a hundred piles of glowing embers. The masked gods return to the kiva where they dance until day. Anyone, man, woman, or child, who desires good luck, may go to the kiva at this time to receive the blessing of the presence of the gods.

The day is one of great festivity and rejoicing. All day the gods from the east dance on the roof of the kiva, throwing food and other articles to the populace. Meanwhile the bow priests summon to the kiva the men chosen to impersonate the gods during the coming year. When they have all arrived the wands of office are distributed by the *pekwin*.

The merrymaking continues in the plaza until sundown, when *Pautiwa* appears. He visits all the kivas. On the roof of each he lays down the crook of office for the *Ca'lako* god to be chosen from that kiva. The bar of the hatchway he marks with four lines of corn meal, to indicate that the masked gods will visit the village. Then using a twig to represent a scalp, he performs a brief ritual symbolizing the taking of an enemy scalp. Thus he brings the new year. After visiting all the kivas he departs for the west, taking *Ci'tsukä* and *Kwe'lele* with him.

After dark each house in the village is visited by *Tcakwenaokä*, a female masked impersonation and the special guardian of women in childbirth.<sup>92</sup> She is accompanied by other masked gods. As the group reaches each door live coals are thrown out of the house as a rite of purification. *Tcakwenaokä* comes only once to bring the blessing of fecundity. The other gods return for four consecutive nights, in accordance with the promise of *Pautiwa*. In early days the first dance of the winter series took place four days after the departure of the exorcising divinities (Stevenson, p. 141). Now it takes place any time the leaders wish. This closes the celebration of the solstice, unless the retreat and dance of the *lewekwe* which follow 10 days after the coming of *Pautiwa* be considered as part of the solstice ceremonies.

Theoretically the second half of the *Zuni* year repeats the ceremonial calendar of the first six months. As in December, the summer solstice is marked by a ceremonial period called *i'tiwana*, the middle. As in the winter, this is a synchronization of independent cults. But here the resemblance ceases. The actual ceremonies, and above all the relative weight of various elements, are quite different.

Before the summer solstice the *pekwin* makes daily observations of the sunsets from a shrine at *Ma'tsakä*, a ruin a few miles east of *Zuni*. When the sun sets behind a certain point on the mesa to the northwest the *pekwin* begins his plantings to the sun and to the ancestors. On the morning after his fourth planting he announces that in eight days everyone shall make prayer sticks for the sun, the moon, the ancients,

<sup>92</sup> In 1927 the visit of *Tcakwenaokä* was omitted. The man who owns her mask, a very dangerous one, and knows her ritual, was in prison for burglary. No one else dared touch the mask. (See p. 931.)



and the katchinas. The prayer sticks are offered in the afternoon of the eighth day, which should be the summer solstice, June 22. The offerings are less elaborate than those of the winter solstice, but their precise nature is not known to the writer. There is only one planting. Prayer sticks for the katchinas are offered together with the others on the eighth day. There are no offerings to the Beast Gods. The offerings are made in cornfields. For four days everyone refrains from sexual intercourse, trading, and quarreling, but there is no restriction on food.

On the day preceding the offering the societies, except the Wood Society,<sup>93</sup> meet in their houses. Altars are erected, but there are no images of the Beast Gods. The members remain in retreat overnight, and their prayers on this occasion, as on the night preceding the solstice in December, are directed primarily toward the rain makers. There is no four-day retreat in honor of the Beast Gods following this, and no general healing of the sick. This part of their activities is temporarily in abeyance.

On the third day following the solstice the impersonators of the Koyemci visit each house in the village and are doused with water by the female inhabitants as a suggestion to the supernatural powers to do likewise. Then they go into retreat.

On the fourth day following the general prayer stick planting the first of the chief priesthoods goes into retreat, to remain in for eight nights.

On the same day preparations are begun for the first of the summer rain dances. Every fourth year a pilgrimage is made to the village of the katchinas, a lake about 80 miles to the west. On the fourth day following the solstice the officers of the katchina society and the impersonators of all of the katchina priests, accompanied by the chief of the Hunters Society and men of the Deer and the Badger clans leave for the home of the gods. The lake is reached on the evening of the second day. Offerings of prayer sticks are made at various shrines and turtles are hunted. The party returns next morning, arriving at Zuñi the fourth day at sunset, the seventh after the solstice.

On intervening years the same party leaves at dawn on the seventh day to plant at a spring at Ojo Caliente, 17 miles southwest of Zuñi. The spring symbolizes the more distant shrine. Since the date coincides with the monthly planting of the katchina priests, the impersonators separate, some going with the others to Ojo Caliente, some taking the offerings of his fellows to the spring at which they make their regular monthly planting. Each person makes offerings for both springs.

<sup>93</sup> Stevenson, p. 150. This society does not meet with the others in the winter rites. Its rituals are especially potent for bringing cold winds and snow. For it to function at this time would be disastrous.

Returning at evening, the party from the katchina village is met on the plain by a group of katchinas from the kiva that is to present the first dance. The priests bring the gods back with them from their village. From now until they are sent home in the fall they are present, though invisible, in the village. After dancing in the four courts of the village the dancers retire to the house where they are to spend the night. Here one of the societies which has been invited to provide music has erected its altar. The gods are welcomed and throughout the night dance for the delectation of the hosts. Their presence is manifested by rain. Meanwhile the Koyemci hold similar rites in their own ceremonial house.

The dancers on this occasion abstain from food and drink until they have made the round of the plazas four times the following morning, or until rain falls.<sup>94</sup> Each round takes about an hour, and the outdoor dancing begins at sunrise. Dancing in the plazas continues throughout the day, while in the two houses visited by the gods the medicine societies keep up continuous singing. At sunset the dancers depart and the society people dismantle their altars and return home. With this ceremony the celebration of the summer solstice closes.

The chief priesthood remains in retreat for four more nights, and comes out on the eighth morning. The second priesthood goes in that same evening and the rest follow in regular order.

The summer solstice observances are notable in the complete absence of any ceremonies to secure the blessings of the Beast Gods or the Ahayuta. The omission of the Ahayuta is especially noteworthy. In the winter they are appealed to for protection and aid in war, but more especially for snow and cold winds. Prayer sticks are offered at all their shrines in conjunction with the dance of the Wood Society, a potent snow-making ritual. The second calendrical ceremony of the Bow Priesthood is held in March, before corn planting and in preparation therefor. The ceremony has never been observed nor described, nor, unfortunately, have the words of the prayers and songs been recorded. However, it corresponds to the summer solstice ceremonies of other cults, in being a partial repetition, with variations, of their winter observances. The writer hazards the guess, in the absence of direct evidence, that this is an appeal for snow and violent rains to swell the spring freshets and prepare the ground for the reception of seeds.

If the winter ceremonies emphasize rites having as their object medicine, war, and fecundity, the summer ceremonies are weighted

<sup>94</sup> At Acoma the summer dance of katchinas is held early in July, the public ceremonies consuming four days, from about the 10th to the 14th. These are preceded by a period of purification lasting eight days. The participants abstain from food and especially from water from nightfall preceding the dance until noon the day of the dance. (White, MS.) The date is that of the Hopi Niman. In certain Aztec ceremonies there is prohibition on drinking from nightfall until noon.

overwhelmingly on the side of rain, the most conspicuous features being the retreats of the priests and the dances of the *katchinas*. It is tempting to attribute this pattern difference to practical consideration. The first of July is the approximate date of the opening of the rainy season in this semiarid land. At this time the corn plants are about 10 inches high and desperately in need of rain. Two more weeks of drought and blazing heat will burn them beyond hope. Upon prompt and plentiful rains in July depends the welfare of the tribe. It is, therefore, to this end that all the magical resources of the tribe are bent. The *Ahayuta*, associated with wind and low temperatures, are shunned.

On the other hand, in December the conditions are reversed. The crop is already harvested and whereas it is desirable to have heavy snowfalls in the mountains to feed the spring freshets, inclement weather in the valley is a great hardship and works ruin among the flocks that form so large a part of *Zuñi* wealth. Therefore prayer sticks are twice offered at the mountain shrines of the *Ahayuta* with prayers for snow. The *Uwanam'i* and the *katchinas* receive but very meager attention, and the efforts of the tribe are focused on rites directed toward war, medicine and fecundity. At both solstices the sun father is appealed to in similar fashion for his great blessing of life.

#### PERSONAL RELIGIOUS LIFE

The vast wealth of ceremonial elaboration which we have been considering is notably weak on the side of what have been called "crisis rites." In contrast to the ceremonial recognition given to natural phenomena—the solstitial risings of the sun, the alternation of summer and winter, the perpetual dearth of rain—crises in personal life pass almost unnoticed. The ceremonies surrounding birth, puberty, marriage, and death are meager and unspectacular. There is sprinkling of ashes for purification of the newborn. On the eighth day of life the infant is presented to the sun with brief prayers, but the occasion is not one of any ceremonial importance. There are no ceremonies whatsoever at marriage, and mortuary rituals are simple and undramatic in comparison with calendrical ceremonies. Relatives are summoned at death. The body is dressed for burial, all present weep and sprinkle corn meal on the head of the deceased with brief prayers, and the corpse is interred at once. Four days later prayer sticks are planted, and the property of the deceased, including certain ceremonial possessions, is buried and additional prayer sticks may be offered to the dead after an interval of time. But there are no public demonstrations and no elaborate ceremonies of mourning.

On the other hand, initiations are always important occasions. The general initiation of all young males into the *Katchina* Society

corresponds in some ways to puberty ceremonies of other tribes, even though it has very little relation to the physical fact of adolescence. The first "initiation" takes place at the age of from five to seven years. It corresponds to no physiological change and marks no change of status on the part of the child. The child who has been "initiated" in this preliminary ceremony has no more knowledge or responsibility than one who has not yet gone through the rite. The final ceremony at which knowledge is revealed takes place anywhere between the ages of 10 and 20, depending on the interference of schooling—in old days it probably took place between the ages of 10 and 14—and is unrelated either to physical maturity or the assumption of adult responsibilities. It is an initiation solely into the *katsina* cult and has nothing to do with the social status of the individual. Marriage, for instance, does not depend upon it, nor participation in other ceremonies. Although any initiated boy may, if he wishes, take part in masked dances, he does not feel any obligation to do so. It is usually many years before he assumes even the responsibility of making his own prayer sticks. Curiously enough, considering general North American custom, no notice whatever is taken of the advent of maturity in girls.

Initiations into medicine societies are more clearly ceremonial recognition of personal crises. The initiate is a patient who has been snatched from the jaws of death and his initiation into the group that saved him is the ceremonial assumption of his new status. At his initiation he gets a "new heart," and, as a symbol of the new life he has begun, receives a new name.<sup>65</sup> This name, however, is not usually used and does not ordinarily replace his childhood name or names. The ceremony may be delayed for years—sometimes as long as 20 years—after the cure which it affirms. Like initiation into the *Katsina* Society, it involves a minimum requirement of attendance, and the privilege of additional participation as the interests and ability of the individual may dictate. Children need not assume any responsibilities upon initiation.

Religious participation starts among children when, as infants on their mother's backs, they are taken to watch the *katsinas* dance. The summer dances outdoors are largely attended by small children of both sexes. During the morning and early afternoon they constitute the entire audience. Formerly children were not permitted to attend night dances of the *katsinas* where the *katsinas* dance unmasked, but this rule is broken among the more lax parts of the population.

Children learn early to share the interest of their elders in the more spectacular phases of religious life. They are keen observers of dances, they know songs, and give accurate and lively accounts of

<sup>65</sup> Contrary to custom in other pueblos, and reported information from Zuñi, naming is not a part of the initiation into the *Katsina* Society.

ceremonies which they attend; they are interested in sacerdotal gossip; and they orient their activities about great religious festivals. In early childhood boys and girls are especially interested in religious affairs. Sometime between the ages of 5 and 10 boys make their first direct contact with the deeper aspects of religion, on their preliminary initiation into the Katsina Society. This makes no change in a child's religious life. It is only after his final initiation, which may occur any time after the age of 10, that active participation in dances begins. Boys of 10 or 12 take part in the winter dancing but rarely in the more strenuous dancing of the summer series. At about the same age girls have their attention diverted from religious spectacles to their own adult activities.

Most adult men engage in other religious activities besides the required minimum of katsina dancing and the semiannual prayer stick plantings required of all persons. The younger men, who find exhilaration in dancing and singing, dance many times a year, either with their own groups or with others, and organize extra dances. As their knowledge of dance forms increases they may advance to formal office in one of the six dance societies. Those who display an aptitude in memorizing long prayers, if of exemplary conduct, may be appointed to impersonate one of the gods.

Membership in curing societies is not ordinarily a matter of individual choice. Once initiated into one of these groups a man may limit his activities to attendance at the regular winter meetings and initiations. Or if he has sufficient intellectual curiosity to pay high for esoteric knowledge he may, by accumulating knowledge and the supernatural power which knowledge gives him, advance to a position of influence in his society. For a successful career as a medicine man, intelligence and ambition seem more important than piety and virtue. However, although a man of questionable moral character may build up a good medical practice, he is not likely to be chosen for office in his society.

Membership in priesthoods is even less a matter of free choice than curing societies. Priesthoods are hereditary in maternal families, and to fill a vacancy the members select the least quarrelsome rather than the most intelligent of the eligible young men.

The priesthoods are the branch of religious service that carries the greatest prestige and heaviest responsibilities. Because of the heavy responsibilities the office is avoided rather than sought, and considerable difficulty is experienced in recruiting the priesthoods. As one informant said, "They have to catch the men young to make them priests. For if they are old enough to realize all that is required of them, they will refuse." She was not thinking of the taboos and restraints of the priestly life, but of the sense of responsibility for the welfare of the tribe which lies so heavily on the shoulders of the priests. The same informant continued: "Yesterday my younger



brother went with his uncle to the spring for water for their altar. He was dressed in his ciwan'i costume and looked very handsome. As he went out, light rain fell, and everyone was happy that they had been blessed with rain. But my heart hurt and my eyes were full of tears to see my younger brother. He is so young and yet he has his mind on these serious things."

Another and very different type of voluntary participation is to "take the crook" for the ca'lako, that is to volunteer to entertain the gods in one's house. This involves the host in very great expense, and can be undertaken only by a man who is wealthy in his own right or who has wealthy relatives who are willing to help him. This munificence brings to the house the blessing of fecundity but is primarily a social activity in that it merely provides the background for a great tribal festival. Its rewards (to the individual) are to be measured largely in terms of social prestige. If volunteers fail, the obligation to hold the ceremony falls upon members of the religious hierarchy.

The religious activities of women are less varied and picturesque than those of men. In early adolescence a girl's interest is diverted from religious affairs. About the time she assumes adult dress—or did before the days of the American school—she falls under a system of chaperonage that hampers her movements. Especially running around to public dances is regarded as unbecoming. So if she goes to dances at all she goes to watch discreetly from the houses of relatives who live on the plaza, or gets very much dressed up and stands and giggles on the corner of some housetop with a group of equally dressed up and equally self-conscious little girls. Furthermore, about this time she assumes adult responsibilities in the household, and beyond that all her interests are absorbed in mating activities. Adult economic status comes later to boys than to girls. In the years between initiation and marriage boys give much of their attention to dancing, while girls of the same age are cooking, grinding, and caring for their sisters' babies.

After marriage they become even more domestic, and remain so throughout the period of childbearing. Not only is their time filled with domestic duties, but it is displeasing to a man to have his wife gadding about, and Zuñi women, despite their economic and social security, are careful not to displease their men. Furthermore, their avenues of participation are restricted. They are not, except in very rare cases, initiated into the Katsina society, the only democratic religious organization. Some of the priesthoods have women members, but these positions are, it seems, even harder to fill than positions for men. One of the reasons is that husbands get very restive under the long periods of continence required of their wives. A man will remain continent during his own ceremonies but seems to think



it is too much to expect him to remain continent during his wife's ceremonies also. Here, again, the problem is to catch the girl young enough. Women are initiated into medicine societies on an equal basis and as frequently as men. They participate in the dances of the society, but they are debarred from holding office. They frequently practice medicine and are "given" children for their society, but they must call upon male members for assistance in cures and to perform many of the initiation rites over their children. Women never possess the ultimate medical power, that of calling the bear, and do not usually possess esoteric songs. However, their knowledge of actual therapeutics is often greater than that of men. Most societies have "mothers" who brew their medicines and jealously guard the secrets of the treatment of medicinal herbs.

Some women who are well endowed mentally exert a good deal of influence indirectly upon religious affairs. Although their activities may be restricted, knowledge is not taboo to them. There are women who know prayers and rituals better than their men folks and some men customarily consult their wives, mothers or sisters on matters of sacerdotal procedure. In the Onawa priesthood the member with the best verbal memory is a young woman, not especially intelligent in other respects. However, she has an aggressive, managing mother who, although not herself a member of the priesthood, is the head of the priestly household, and contrives to run her brothers and children. Several other women have a reputation for their knowledge of esoteric lore. One, in particular, is reputed to be the only person who knows the prayers, songs and secret rituals of Anahoho, one of the katchinas coming at the initiation ceremony.

Women are less active in religion than men, but their activity is not essentially different in kind. The richness of ceremonial tends to mask the fact that in any but a superficial sense, religious activity is limited in scope.

The religious life of an individual is exclusively a series of participations in group rituals. No avenue is left open for individual approach to the supernatural. All over North America individual mystical experience is prized. On the plains such experience is valued since it provides one with a guardian in the supernatural world, or furnishes supernatural sanction for some special exploit. Among the Pima of the Southwest, the experience itself is regarded as the highest value in life. In Zuñi the religious life is a highly developed system of techniques for producing rain and furthering the growth of crops. Certain socially valuable attitudes and modes of behavior are regarded as more favorable to this purpose, and much esthetic joy and enhancement of life are achieved through them. But these subjective values are secondary and merely incidental to the primary purposes of religious participation, which is an objective social good.

# ZUÑI ORIGIN MYTHS

By RUTH L. BUNZEL

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## ZUÑI ORIGIN MYTHS

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By RUTH L. BUNZEL

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Three English versions of Zuñi origin myths have already been published. Cushing published his "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths" (Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology) in 1891. The next published version is that contained in Mrs. Stevenson's monograph, and a third recorded by Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons appeared in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* in 1923 (vol. 36: 135-162). The three versions placed side by side give one of the most striking examples of the great handicap under which the science of ethnology labors. All ethnological information comes to us through the medium of another mind, and, with data so complex and subtle as those of human civilization, no matter how clear and honest that mind is, it can absorb only what is congenial to it, and must give it out again through such means of expression as it may command. The Zuñis are as much preoccupied with the origins and early history of their people as were, for instance, the ancient Hebrews, and the three accounts are what might be gathered from any people by individuals of varying interests.

Doctor Parsons, asking for "the" origin myth, got the basic account of the early history of the people which is generally current in folklore. The narration, of course, suffers in vividness and subtlety of expression from having been recorded through an interpreter. Mrs. Stevenson's version is an attempt to give a comprehensive and coherent account of Zuñi mythology in relation to ritual. The Cushing version contains endless poetic and metaphysical glossing of the basic elements, most of which explanatory matter probably originated in Cushing's own mind.

Cushing, however, hints at the true character of Zuñi mythology. There is no single origin myth but a long series of separate myths. Each ceremonial group has a myth which contains, in addition to a general synopsis of early history, the mythological sanction for its own organization and rituals. There is not, however, any collected

version which is "the talk," because no mind in Zuñi encompasses all knowledge, the "midmost" group to which Cushing refers being a figment of his own imagination. These separate myths are preserved in fixed ritualistic form and are sometimes recited during ceremonies, and are transferred like any other esoteric knowledge. The "talk" of Kāklo is a myth of this kind. It recounts in poetic form the origin of the tribe, their coming into this world, the origin of Kāklo's ceremony, and the wanderings of the people in search of the middle. The synoptic version in "Zuñi Indians," mentions the episodes peculiar to this version. The Stevenson "origin myth," recorded in the opening pages of her monograph, is not a ritual version. Into the general outline have been introduced whatever bits of special information she had acquired. Her most intimate associations were with the Ne'we'kwe society, and many episodes of the esoteric myth of that society appear in her account.

The main outlines of the origin myths are known to all, and great delight is found in recounting them. The history myth is not fixed in form or expression and varies in comprehensiveness according to the special knowledge of the narrator. The Parsons version treats the katecina origins fully; the Stevenson version society origins. Portions or the whole general outline in brief or extended versions were told me on many occasions as I sat by Zuñi firesides. One old priest desired me to write it down in text so that I and others might read it. But although an excellent narrator he was a bad dictator. He spoke so rapidly, vividly, and with such wealth of gesture and mimicry that only a sound picture could do justice to his narration. However, the version recounted the principal events briefly without any special elaboration of any portion, and therefore added nothing to published versions.

The following text recorded from another informant is an origin myth in esoteric ritual form. It belongs to the priests—"any priesthood." It is recited for purposes of instruction during the winter retreat. It was related to me by a man who was not himself a priest but was born in the Pałto'kwe house and learned the tale from his maternal uncle. He was a member and an officer of the Great Fire society and characteristically refused to give the origin myth of his society since that was his "very own prayer." The tale related to me publicly by the chief priest of the Onawa priesthood did not contain the elaboration of priestly origins found in the following text, nor any of the striking stylistic features.

The brief text which follows, the "talk of Komosona," belongs to the same category. This is the ritual form of the tale of origin of masked dancing and the safeguards of the katecina cult. It is recited

in the form given by the kateina chief at the final initiation of boys into the kateina society. It was told by the same informant. Less formal versions are, of course, current. Both this and a version of the origin of the people were introduced into an autobiography of an old woman, when speaking of her girlhood days spent with her grandfather.

TCIMI<sup>h</sup>KĀNA'KONA    PE'NA'WE  
first beginning according    words  
to

|                                 |                             |                                      |                              |                                       |                           |                                           |                           |  |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| no'milte.<br>truly              | luk'<br>this                | u'lo'nan<br>world                    | kwa<br>not                   | teu'hoł<br>anyone                     | teu'wa.<br>who            | hic<br>very                               | yā'tokā<br>sun            |  |
| kwai''inan<br>coming out        | hic<br>very                 | kwa'to.<br>goes in                   | kwa<br>not                   | teu'hoł<br>anyone                     | ca'mli<br>early           | ha'lawotinan'e<br>prayer meal             |                           |  |
| le'ena'maḡ<br>(not) bringing    | kwa<br>not                  | teu'hoł<br>anyone                    | te'likinan'e<br>prayer-stick | le'ena'maḡ<br>(not) bringing          | hic<br>very               |                                           |                           |  |
| te'wu'acona.<br>place lonely    | yam<br>his                  | tcaw<br>children                     | a'tcia<br>both to            | le'sanikwanan—<br>thus to them saying | ton<br>"you               | a'witen<br>fourth                         |                           |  |
| te'hulikwin<br>womb to          | a'nuwa.<br>shall go.        | yam<br>your                          | a'tatcu<br>fathers           | yam<br>your                           | a'tsita<br>mothers        | kā'-e'to'ne<br>water fetish               | 5                         |  |
| teu'-eton'e<br>corn fetish      | mu'-eton'e<br>wood fetish   | le'-eton'e<br>all                    | le'<br>society               | ti'kā<br>priests                      | a'ciwani<br>society       | ti'kā<br>society                          |                           |  |
| ḡ'e'kwi-we<br>speakers          | ti'kā<br>society            | a'pi'la-ci'wan-i<br>bow priests      | hoł<br>yonder                | yam<br>your                           | yā'tokā<br>sun            | ta'tcu<br>father                          |                           |  |
| an<br>his                       | te'kohanakwi<br>daylight to | ton<br>you                           | a'wili<br>with them          | kwā''in'a"<br>shall come out"         | a'tcia<br>the two to      | le'anikwaḡ<br>thus to them<br>having said |                           |  |
| a'tci<br>the two                | le'skwanan,<br>thus saying, | "kop<br>"how                         | ma'<br>well                  | le'<br>thus                           | hon<br>we                 | kwā'ton'a."<br>shall go in."              | "ten<br>"however          |  |
| e'lekān'a."<br>it will be well" | yam<br>their                | a'mitolan<br>rainbow                 | pi''lan<br>bow               | wi'lolonan<br>lightning               | co'le<br>arrow            | yā'tonan<br>laying across                 | 10                        |  |
| pi''lana<br>bow on              | yā'tonan<br>laying across   | i'pakukā.<br>he shot                 | i'pakunan<br>shooting        | ḡā'ni-kāp.<br>descending              | s'<br>so                  |                                           |                           |  |
| a'tci<br>the two                | kwā'tokā<br>entered         | a'witen<br>fourth                    | te'hulikwin<br>womb into     | a'tci<br>both                         | kwā'top<br>having entered | te'kwin<br>dark place                     |                           |  |
| u'le<br>inside<br>it was.       | kwa<br>not                  | yu''he'tam'e.<br>it was (not) clear. | a'tci<br>The two             | le'skwanan<br>thus saying             | "ho'kāmp<br>"which way    |                                           |                           |  |
| hon<br>we                       | a'nap<br>having gone        | e'lekān'a"<br>will be well"          | s'a'tci<br>so the two        | su'nhakwin<br>the west to             | tahn<br>direction         | a'kā.<br>went.                            |                           |  |
| a'tci<br>The two                | teu'wai<br>someone          | a'nikto:kā.<br>met face to face      | a'tci<br>the two             | lesanikwaḡā.<br>thus to him said      | "ho'kāmp<br>"which way    | to<br>you                                 | 15                        |  |
| i'ya"<br>come"                  | "li'wanem<br>"hither        | kāliciankwin<br>west towards         | ta'hna<br>direction          | ho'<br>I                              | i'ya"<br>come"            | "kop<br>"what                             |                           |  |
| to'<br>you                      | le'yen<br>doing             | a'luya"<br>go about "                | "ho'<br>"I                   | yam<br>my                             | le'na'<br>crops           | tun-a'luya."<br>watching go<br>about."    |                           |  |
| "hop<br>"where                  | ton<br>do you               | a'teaiye"<br>live"                   | "e'la<br>"no                 | kwa<br>not                            | hoł<br>anywheres          | hon<br>we                                 | a'team'e<br>do (not) live |  |



- li'wan      i'yamakwin      ta'hna      ho'n      tate-ili      te'ona      yā'tokā  
hither      above towards      direction      us      father having      the one who is      sun
- 20 ci'wani      ho'na      kwa'tokāpa      hon      kwatokā      a'tci      le'kwap  
priest      us      having made come in      we      came in      they      thus saying
- "ma'      ho'nkwa'      an      su'we      le'skwanan      "a'ma      hon      u'nace"  
well      is that so      his      younger brother      thus saying      come:      let us see
- le'kwanan      a'tcia      pi'lan      a'unan      a'tci      kwahot      o'ma'kusna  
thus saying      their      bow      putting down      they      something      leaves dry
- pe'pewi      ku'sna      a'tci      wo'tehkunan      a'tcia      pi'lan      yālt'onan  
grass      dry      they      throwing them down      their      bow      putting down on top
- a'sosukā'kā.      a'tci      a'sosukāp      ma'ke'      lo'mon      kwai'ka.  
drilled for fire      they      drilling for fire      coals      glowing      came forth.
- 25 kwai'p      a'tci      puaps      a'lokā.      lo'—pa      te'kohatip      "ātu'—  
having come forth      they      having blown on it      it caught fire      Aglow!      Becoming bright      "Ouch!
- kwap      to'n      u'hsi'      le'kwanan      to'tsipo      la'nikā.      a'wico      mi'toye  
what      yours      that      thus saying      crouching      he fell.      Moss      horn is
- a'wic      ho'ktiye      a'wico      te'tc      ho'i.      a'si      kēpila'pa      am      papa  
moss      tail is      moss      only      person.      Hands      webbed      his      elder brother
- le'skwanan      "iyos      a'klaikā"      le'kwap      a'klaik'ap      tsa'wak  
thus saying,      "Poor thing!      Now put out the fire!"      thus having said      fire having put out      young man
- le'skwanan.      "he—      kotci'—      kwap      to'n      u'hsi."      "ma'  
thus saying      "He,      ouch!      What      yours      that?"      "Well,
- 30 ho'na      ma'ke'"      a'tci      le'anik'ap.      "kwap      ma'      to'n      u'wana'pa."  
our      coals,"      they      thus      to him having said      "What      well      you      have growing?"
- "ma' i'la      hon      u'wana'pa"      le'kwap.      kā'wawula      tun      a'luya  
"Well, here      we      have things growing,"      thus having said      wild grass      watching      he goes about.
- a'tcia      le'sanikwanan  
To them      thus to them saying:
- "Ma'      si'      hon      a'wa'ce."      A'tcia      ye'hkup      kā'liciankwin  
"Well      now      us      let go!"      Them      having gone before      west      towards
- ta'hna      a'wa'kā.      lu'walakwin      a'te'tcikā.      i'skon      yam      te'hwiti-  
direction      they went.      Village      at      they arrived.      There      their      space
- 35 wanakwin      i'tinakā.      i'skon      i'yanitaton      i'tinakā.      iskon      iyan-  
middle      in      they sat down.      There      close to one another      they sat down.      There      one another
- tehkunapkā.      le'stikwanan      "eh      mas      a'tci      pene.      hinik      kwahot  
they questioned.      thus (they) saying:      "yes      well now      both      speak!      I think      some
- pe'nan      te'yulanam'e      pe'nan      te'känā.      |      u'hson      ho'      to'n  
word      not over-long      word      will be.      |      that      us      you
- ai'yu'ya'kāpa"      |      uhs      ai'yu'ya'na      hon      te'wanan      a'tekā'a." |  
having caused to know it      that      knowing      we      time      shall live.
- "haci'"      "haci'"      le'ana'kāp.      "Ma' i'nam'i'te.      |      li'wan      i'ya-  
"Is it not so?"      "It is so,"      thus it being said,      "Well      without doubt it is true.      hither      above
- 40 makwin      ta'hna      hon      ta'te'ili      te'ona      |      yā'tokā      |      kwa      kā'fi  
towards      direction      us      father with      the one who is      sun      |      not      ever

teu'wa te'likinan'e le'ana'ma | kwa teu'wa ha'lawo'tinan'e  
who prayer stick does (not) bring not who prayer meal

le'ana'ma | kwa teu'wa ho''o le'ana'ma | le'sna te''onakä  
does (not) bring no who shell does (not) bring thus because it is

| ho! yam yä'tokä ta'teu | an te'kohanakwi fon i'tu-  
yonder your sun father his daylight into you standing

wakna kwai''itunonakä | fo'n hon a'wona-e'latekä | tenat  
in order that you may be the ones to go out you we on your roads have passed however

ho'notikol fon a'penuwa'' | le''a'te'i'kwaḡa | "haiyi'<sup>45</sup>  
whichever way you may speak," thus they having said "Haiyi!"

ma' ho'nkwa' le'sna te''onakä ho'na fon a'wona-e'latekä. |  
Well is that so? thus because it is us you on our roads have passed

A'tic hon te'wuko'liya a'teakwin ho'na fon a'wona-  
Truly we poor where we live us you on our roads

e'latip ho! a'welaḡuna hon a'penuwa tsena. e! kwa hon  
having some- deviating we shall speak far be it Indeed, not we  
passed wheres

i'yuna'wam'e tomt hon i'yateuculen-u'likwi tomt hon i'yan-  
(do not) see one just we trampling on one where we are just we on one  
another another inside another

teu'koclen-ulikwi tomt hon i'ya'pinakwi tomt hon i'potceḡnakwi<sup>50</sup>  
spitting where we are inside just we on one another just we defiling ourselves  
urinating where

tomt hon i'tapantin-u'laconankwi ho' fon a'wona-e'lateḡa  
just we following one another pushing where us you on our roads having  
passed

a'tichol hon a'welaḡun a'penuwa ma' u'laticic pi'cle ci'wani  
surely not we deviating shall talk well rather north priest

lu'kon ho'no pe'nap i'snokon te'ḡāna. ma' a'te a'ntecemati''  
this one wherever his word being there it shall be. Well you two summon him"

a'tcia le''ana'ḡāp a'tci pi'clankwin ta'hna i'tiu'laḡa. . . .  
to them thus it having been said they north towards direction stood beside. . . .

\*A'tci picle ci'wani o'na-e'latip "fon i'ya" le'kwap "e'h<sup>55</sup>  
They north priest on his having passed, "You come," thus having "Yes.  
road said,

hon i'ya ko to' te'wanan te'aiye'' "ḡe'tsanici ho' te'wanan  
We come. How you time are living?" "Happily I time

te'akwi lom fon o'na-e'lateḡa. a'tci i'mu''—a'tci i'mup  
when (I) live me you on my road have sit down." They having sat  
passed. down

i'skon i'yaniteḡkunanapkä.  
there one another they questioned.

"Ma' a'tci pe'ne | hinik kwa'ho! pe'nan te'yulanam'e  
"Well both speak! I think some word not over long

pe'nan te'aḡana' | te'wuna' u'hsona hom fon yu''ya'ḡāna."|<sup>60</sup>  
word will be. Finally that me you will make know."

"Ma' i'na'milte | ho! yam yä'tokä ta'teu | an te'ko-  
"Well without doubt it is true Some- where your sun father his daylight

hanakwi fon i'luwakna-kwai''itunona'ḡä | tom lon o'na-  
into you standing that you may be the ones to go out you we on your  
road

e'latekā. | ho'notikoł to' pe'nap te'kānā." | "Ma' i'namiltē |  
have passed. Whichever way you speaking. it shall be." "Well, without doubt  
it is true.

a'tic le'na hon te'wuko'liy a'teakwi | ho'na fon a'wona-  
truly thus we poor where we live us you on our road<sub>s</sub>  
65 e'latepā | hoł a'wela'kuna ho' pe'nuwan t'sena. | tomt hon  
having passed where some- stepping aside I shall speak far be it. Just we

i'yatcuclen-u'likwi | tomt hon i'yantcukoclena'wankwi |  
on one another where we are just we on one another spitting where  
trampling inside

tomt hon i'pōtcalena'wankwi | tomt hon iyahpina'wankwi |  
just we ourselves defiling where just we on one another urinating  
where

tomt hon i'tapantin-u'laconankwi | ho'na fon a'wona-  
just we one another pushing where us you on our roads  
following

elatepā | hoł a'wela'kuna te'kānā." | le'kwap i'skon  
having passed wherever stepping aside it shall be." Thus having there  
said

70 lu'walemakā. kāl a'wa'kā. lu'walakwin a'winan yam te'hwi-  
they arose. Hither they went village to coming their middle

tiwana i'tinaknan i'skon i'yantehkunanakpā. "e'h ma' la'ki-  
space sitting down there one another they questioned. "Yes well, even

mante fon i'yona-e'latenapkā. ime' kwatikoł pe'nan te'yu-  
now we one another's roads have passed. Surely somewhat word not

lanam'e pe'nan te'akānā. | te'wuna' u'hsona hom fon  
over long word will be. Finally that me you

yu'ya'kāna-wapā | uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' te'wanan te'kānā. |  
having made know that knowing it I time shall live."

75 le'ciantikwakā. | leciantikwapa, | "ma' i'namiltē | hoł  
Thus to one another Thus to one another "Well without doubt it some-  
they said. having said. is true where

yam yā'tokā ta'tcu | an te'kohanakwi fon i'luwakna-  
your sun father his daylight into you standing

kwai'i'tunona'kā | to'n hon a'wona-e'latekā." | le'kwap  
in order that you may be you we on your roads have passed." Thus having said  
the ones to come forth

"hai'yi ma'honkwa. | a'tic kwa hon le'na i'yuna'wam'e  
"Haiyi! Well is that so? Truly not we thus one another see

a'teakwi | tomt hon i'yatcuclen-u'likwi | tomt hon  
where we live just we on one another where we are just we  
trampling inside

80 i'yatcu'koclen-u'likwi | tomt hon i'yahpina'wan kwi | tomt  
on one another spitting where just we on one another where just  
we are inside urinating

hon i'pōtcalena'wankwi | tomt hon i'tapantin-u'laconankwi |  
we ourselves defiling where just we one another pushing where  
following

ho' fon a'wona-elatepā | hoł a'wela'kuna ho' pe'nuwan  
us you on our roads having passed some- stepping aside I shall speak  
wheres

i'sena \* | ma' u'lat hom su'we kā'lici ci'wan'i lu'kon  
far be it! Well rather my younger brother west priest this one

ho'lnatikol    pē'nuwa    li'no    te'atu    le''kwap    i'snokon    te'kāna.  
 wherever    he may speak    'here    let it be!    thus saying    there    it shall be.  
 ma'    i'e'wuna'    a'tci    a'ntecemati."    pi'cle    ci'wani    le''kwap    85  
 Well    finally    you two    summon him!"    North    priest    thus saying,  
 a'tci    k̄ā'liciankwin    i'tiulaḱā. . .  
 they    west    towards    stood beside. . .

The section between asterisks to be repeated for the priests of the six directions in the following order:

k̄ā'lici ci'wani    west priest  
 a'laho ci'wani    south priest  
 temaḱo ci'wani    east priest  
 i'yama ci'wani    above priest  
 ma'nīla'ma ci'wani    below priest.

ma'    i'mat    holko'n    tcu'waiya    tse''makwin    a'k̄ā    yam  
 Well    it seems    somewhere    someone's    thought    by means of    our  
 according to  
 yā'tok̄ā    ta'tcu    an    i'e'kohanakwi    hon    i'luwakna    kwai'itun'ona  
 sun    father    his    daylight into    we    standing up    the ones to go out  
 te'aḱāna."    le''kwap    a'tci    tse''mak̄ā.    "a'ma    laḱ    hon    90  
 may be."    Thus having said    they    thought.    "Come!    Then    we  
 k̄ā'k̄āli    ci'wani    a'cuwaḱāce."    a'tc    a'k̄ā.    a'tci    k̄ā'k̄āl  
 Eagle    priest    let us talk with."    They    went.    They    eagle  
 i'inkwin    te''tcinan.    "ṭon    i'ya."    "e'h."    "a'tci    i'mu."    a'tci  
 where he    arriving.    "You    come."    "Yes."    "You two    sit down."    They  
 stays  
 i'muḱā.    "a'tci    pene."    "ṭom    hon    ce'me'a."    "holṭci."    "lalik  
 sat down.    "You two    speak."    "You    we    call."    "Where?"    "Nearby  
 hon    a'tatc    i ḱaḱona    k̄ā'-eto-we    ti'nanla'ḱikwi    ṭom    hon  
 we    fathers    the ones    water fetish    staying quietly where    you    we  
 (we) have  
 a'ntecemati."    "haiyi."    s'a'wa-k̄ā.    k̄ā'-eto-we    ti'nankwi    95  
 summon."    "Haiyi."    So they went.    Water fetish    staying where  
 a'te'tciḱā.    "ma'    la'ḱimante    hom    ton    a'ntecematiḱa  
 they arrived.    "Well,    now even    me    you    having summoned  
 ṭo''na    lo'    a'wona-e'lateḱā.    ime'    kwa'tikoli    pē'nan  
 you    I    on your roads have passed.    Surely    some    word  
 te'yulanam'e    pē'nan    te'aḱāna.    i'e'wuna'    u'hsona    hom  
 not over long    word    will be.    Finally    that    me  
 ṭon    yu''ya-k̄āpa    uhs    ai'yuyana    ho'    ṭewanan    te'k̄āna."  
 you    having made know    that    knowing it    I    time    shall live."  
 le''kwap    "ma'    i'namitte    ho''na'wan    a'tatcu    k̄ā'-eto-we    100  
 Thus having    "Well,    without doubt it    our    fathers    Water fetish,  
 said    is true  
 tcu'-eto-we    mu'-eto-we    le'-eto-we    le'    ti'k̄ā    a'ciwani    yam  
 corn fetish    wood fetish    all    society    priests    their  
 yā'tok̄ā    ta'tcu    an    i'e'kohanakwi    i'luwakna    kwai'in'a.  
 sun    father    his    daylight into    standing up    will come forth.

- a'wan o'nealan'e fo' te'cun'a" "ma' ho'nkwa'ati." le'kwanan  
 Their road you shall seek." "Well, is that so." Thus saying,  
 "so a'ne." le'kwanan i'tulohkä. i'mtekanan la'lika'kon  
 "now I am going." Thus saying he circled around. Coming back to his starting place a little along ways off
- 105 i'kä. i'mtekanan tem ta la'lika'kon a'kä. i'mtekanan  
 he went. Coming back to his starting place yet again farther along he went. Coming back to his starting place
- la! hic la'lika'kon a'kä. i'mtekap kwa ho! yu'he-  
 then very much farther off along he went. Having come back to his starting place not anywhere it was
- tam'e. i'kä. kä'-eto-we ti'nakwin i'kä. i'mup a'nteh-  
 (not) clear. He came. Water fetish staying where he came. Having sat down He ques-
- kunakä. "si' lehok' fo' o'nealan kwai'inan tecukan a'kä.  
 tioned him. "Now yonder you road going out seeking went.  
 ko' ko'lea fo' u'lohnan u'nakä." "kwa ho! yu'he'tam'e."  
 In what manner you world saw?" "Not anywhere it was (not) clear."
- 110 "hai'yi." "ma' ko'ma so' a'ne." s'a'ka.  
 "Haiyi." "Well, very well so I am going." So he went.  
 a'nap a'tci tse'map. "a'ma hon yam nan-i'li te'ona cokäpiso  
 He having the two thought. "Come! we our grandfather with, the one who is gone,  
 hon a'ntecemati." a'tci le'kwanan a'te a'kä. a'tci co'käpis  
 let us summon." They thus saying they went. They  
 i'nkwin a'tci te'tcinan "ho'na na'na ko' fo' te'wanan  
 where he they arriving, "Our grandfather how you time stays  
 te'aiye?" "kä'tsanici ho' te'wanan te'akwi hom fo' o'na-  
 are living?" "Happily I time when I live me you on my road
- 115 e'latekä. i'me' hi'ntco! kwa'tik pe'nan te'yulanam'e pe'nan  
 have passed. Surely I think some word not over long word  
 te'akan'a. te'wuna' u'hson hom fon yu'ya-käpa uhs ai'yu'-  
 will be. Finally that me you having made know that knowing  
 ya'na ho' te'wanan te'kan'a. le'kwap ma' i'namilte. hon  
 I time shall live." Thus having said "Well, without doubt it We is true.
- a'tate i'laßona kä'-eto-we tcu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we le'-eto-we  
 fathers the ones (we) have, water fetish corn fetish wood fetish  
 le' ti'kä a'ciwani yam yä'tokä ta'tcu an te'kohanakwi  
 all society priests their sun father his daylight into
- 120 i'luwakna kwai'inuwaßa fo' a'wan o'nealan te'cutun'ona'ka  
 standing being about to come forth you their road that [you] may be the one to seek
- fon hon a'ntecemati." "honkwa." le'kwap s'a'wa'kä. a'te'tcinan  
 you we summon." "Indeed?" Thus having so they went. Arriving said
- i'tinaknan i'tehkunakä. "e'ma' la'kimante hom fon a'ntece-  
 sitting down he questioned them. "Yes, well, even now me you have  
 matikä. ime' kwa'tikol pe'nan te'yulanam'e penan te'kan'a.  
 summoned. Surely some word not over long word will be.]  
 te'wuna' u'hsona hom fon yu'ya-käpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho'  
 Finally that me you having let know that knowing it I

te'wanan te'kän'a." "ma' i'namitte. ho'na'wan a'tatcu ho'- 125  
time shall live." "Well, without doubt it is true, Our fathers, our

na'wan a'tsita kã'-eto-we tcu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we le'-eto-we  
mothers, water fetish, corn fetish, wood fetish,

ti'kã a'ciwani yam yäto'kã tatcu an te'kohanakwi i'luwakna  
society priests, their sun father, his daylight into standing up

kwai'ina. to' a'wan o'neatan te'cun'a. a'tci le'kwap a'laho-  
shall come forth. You their road shall seek." They thus having said south

ankwin ta'hna kwai'ikã. i'tulohkã. i'mtek'ap kwa hol  
towards direction he went out. He circled around. coming back to his starting place not anywhere

yu'he'tam'e kwi'likäna'na la'likä'ko a'kã. i'mtek'ap kwa hol 130  
it was not clear. The second time farther out along he went. Coming back to his starting place not anywhere

yu'he'tam'e. ha'ikäna'na la'likä'kon a'kã kwa hol  
it was (not) clear. The third time farther out along he went not anywhere

yu'he'tam'e. a'witenakäna'na hic ai'yaton a'kã. kwa hol  
it was (not) clear. The fourth time very twice as far he went. not anywhere

yu'he'tam'e. kã'-eto-we ti'nakwin te'teip a'te a'ntehkunakã.  
it was (not) clear. Water fetish where they were staying arriving they questioned him.

"si' ho'na na'na le'hok" to' u'lohnan u'nakän a'kã.  
"Now, our grand-father yonder you the world to see went.

ko' ko'lea to u'lohn u'nakã." a'tci le'kwap "ma' kwa 135  
In what manner you the world saw?" They thus having said, "Well not

hol yu'he'tam'e." "ma' ho'nkwa'ati." a'tci le'kwap "ko'ma  
any- it was (not) clear." "Well, is that so?" They thus having said, "Very well,

so a'ne." le'kwanan s'a'kã.  
now I am going." Thus saying so he went.

Co'kãpis a'nap a'tci tse'makã. "a'ma la' yam nan a'cu-  
having gone, they thought, "Come! now our grand-father let

wak'äce a'nelawa te'ona." a'tci le'kwanan a'te a'kã. a'te  
us talk with hawk the one who is." They thus saying they went. They

a'nelaw i'nkwin te'tcinan. "ton i'ya." "e'h." "a'tci i'mu." "ko' 140  
hawk where he was staying arriving. "You come." "Yes." "You sit down." "How

to' te'wanan te'aiye." "ke'tsanici. "ma' s'a'tci pene. hi'niktei  
you time live!" "Happily." "Well, now you speak. I think

kwatiko' penan te'yulanam'e pe'nan te'a'kan'a. te'wuna' hom to'  
some word not over long word may be. Finally me you

yu'ya'kãp uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' te'wanan te'kän'a." "ma'  
having let know that knowing it I time shall live." "Well,

i'namitte'. ho'na'wan a'tatcu kã'-eto-we tcu'-eto-we mu'-  
without doubt it is true. Our fathers water fetish, corn fetish,

eto-we le'-eto-we ti'kã a'ciwani yam yäto'kã ta'tcu an 145  
wood fetish, society priests, their sun father his,



- ʔe'kohanakwi i'luwakna kwai'ina ʔo a'wan o'nealan te'cun'a."  
 daylight into standing up coming forth You their road shall seek."
- s'a'wa'kā. a'te'teinan i'tinakā. iskon i'tehkunakā. e'h ma'  
 So they went. Arriving they sat down. There he questioned them. "Yes, well
- la'kimante hom ʔon a'ntecematinapkā. i'me' kwa'tiko' ʔe'nan  
 even now me you have summoned. Surely some word
- te'yulanam'e ʔenan te'kän'a. u'hson hom ʔon yu'ya'kã-  
 not over long word will be. That me you having let
- 150 na'waʔa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' ʔe'wanan te'kän'a. le'kwaʔa. "ma, yu'  
 know that knowing it I time shall live." So having said "Well
- i'namilte'. ho'na'wan a'tatcu kã-eto-we tcu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we  
 without doubt Our fathers' water fetishes, corn fetishes, -----  
 it is true.
- le'-eto-we ti'kã a'ciwan'i yam yãtokã ta'tcu an ʔe'kohanakwi  
 wood fetishes, society priests, their sun father, his daylight, into
- i'luwakna kwai'ina. ʔo a'wan o'nealan te'cun'a." "ma' ho'nkwa'-  
 standing up shall come you their road shall seek." "Well, indeed?"
- ati'." le'kwanan. kwai'ikã. a'luhoa'nkwin ta'hna a'kã.  
 Thus saying he went out. South toward direction he went.
- 155 co'kãpis a'kãte'a'kowa a'kã. i'mte'kãp kwa yu'he'tam'e.  
 where he had along he went. Coming back to his starting place not it is (not) clear.
- kwilikãna'na la'likãko a'kã. i'mte'kãp kwa ho' yu'-'  
 The second time further out along he went. Having come back to his starting place not anywhere it is
- he'tam'e. ha'ikãna'na a'kã kãtu'ulapna'kona. a'witenã-  
 (not) clear. The third time he went ocean encircling along. The fourth
- kãna'na la'likona a'kã. i'mte'kãp kwa ho' yu'he'tam'e.  
 time further out along he went. Having come back to his starting place not anywhere it is (not) clear.
- kã'-eto-w ʔi'nakwin i'kã. "kwa ho' yu'he'tam'e." "haiyi'." "e'h.  
 Water fetishes staying place he came. "Not any- where it is (not) clear." "Haiyi!" "Yes
- 160 ko'ma' so a'ne." "ma' lu'u." s'a'kã.  
 Very well, Now I am going. "Well go." So he went.
- i'skon a'tci tse'makã. "si' a'ma la' hon yam nan  
 There they thought. "Now, come! Now we our grand-  
 father.
- a'ntecemati'kãce." a'tci le'kwanan a'te a'kã. a'tci  
 let (us) summon. They thus saying they went. They
- ʔsuy i'nkwin te'ʔe'ikã. "ʔon iya." "e'h. ko' ʔo ʔe'wanan  
 Humming- where he arrived. "You come." "Yes. How you time  
 Bird stays
- te'aiye' "kã'tsanici ho' ʔewanan te'akwi hom ʔon o'na- e'latekã.  
 live?" "Happily I time when I live me you on my road have  
 passed.
- 165 a'tci i'mu." a'tci i'mupma's a'tci ʔe'ne. hi'ntco'  
 You two sit down. They having sat down, Well now, speak. I think
- kwa'tik ʔe'nan te'yulanam'e ʔe'nan te'a'kãna. ʔe'wuna'  
 some word not over long word may be. Finally
- u'hson hon ʔon yu'ya'kãpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' ʔe'wanan  
 that us you having let know that knowing it I time

te'kän'a." "ma' i'namilte' hon a'tate i'laḡona kã'-eto'we  
shall live." "Well, without doubt we fathers the ones (we) water fetishes  
it is true, have

tcu'-eto'we mu'-eto'we le'-eto'we ti'kã a'ciwani yam  
corn fetishes ————— wood fetishes society priests their  
yã'tokã ta'tcu an te'kohanakwi i'luwakna kwai'in'a. 170  
sun father his daylight into standing up shall come forth

fo' o'nealan te'cutun'onakã tom hon a'ntecemati." "ma'  
You road that (you) may be you we summon." "Well,  
the one to seek

honkwa'ati'" le'kwap s'a'wakã. a'te'tcinan i'tehkunakã.  
indeed?" thus having said so they went. Arriving he questioned them.

"e'h ma' lakimante hom ton a'ntecematinapkã. i'me'  
"Yes well even now me you have summoned. Surely

pe'nan te'yulaname pe'nan te'a'kãna" te'wuna' u'hson  
word not over long word may be" Finally that

hom ton yu''ya'kãpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' te'wanan te'kãna." 175  
me you having let know, that knowing it I time shall live."

le'kwaḡa ma' i'namilte ho'na'wan a'tatcu kã'-eto'we  
thus having said "Well, without doubt our fathers water fetishes  
it is true.

tcu'-eto'we mu'-eto'we le'-eto'we ti'kã a'ciwani yam  
corn fetishes ————— wood fetishes society priests their

yã'tokã tate an te'kohanakwi i'luwakna kwai'in'a. fo'  
sun father his daylight into standing up shall come forth. You

a'wan o'nealan te'cutun'on a'kã tom hon a'ntecemati'kã"  
their road that you may be the one you we have summoned."

le'kwap a'lahoan'kwini ta'hna kwai'ikã. a'kã. i'mte'kãp 180  
This having said, south towards direction he went out. He went. Having come  
back to his  
starting place

kwa ho' yu'he'tame la'likãnkwin a'kã. i'mte'kãp kwa  
not anywheres it is (not) clear. Farther out he went. Coming back to  
his starting place not

ho' yu'he'tame. la' ha''ikãna'n a'kã. i'mte'kãp kwa ho'  
any- it is (not) clear. Then the third time he went. Having come not  
wheres back to his  
starting place

yu'he'tame a'witenakãna'na a'po'yan te'lakwi'ko a'kã.  
it is (not) clear. The fourth time the sky touching along he went,

i'mte'kãp kwa yu'he'tame i'kã. kã'-eto'w ti'nakwi i'nan  
Coming back not it is (not) clear. He came. Water fetishes where they coming  
to his start- stay  
ing place

"kwa yu'he'tame" "hai'yi" "e'h ko'ma so a'ne." "ma' lu'u" 185  
"Not it is (not) clear." "Indeed?" "Yes. Very well, Now I am going." "Well, go."

a'kã. a'tci le'skwa'kã "si' ko'pleatap e'le'kãna. le'wi  
He went. They thus said: "Now and how will it be right?" So many

kwa'ho' wowa'latapa kwa a'wek a'ipitina'ma a'walun'ona  
some creatures winged not ground do not touch. The ones who go  
about

i'natikã." a'tci le'kwanan, "a'ma hon la' yam nan  
have failed." They this saying, "Come! we now our grand-  
father



i'keato'u. ta to'pa te'kwin pikwe-kä. i'skon i'keato'u tomt  
he rises! Again another place to he passed There he rises. Just  
through.

ko'w a'nän tsu'mena te'nkä. tsu'menan te'nan i'kwalt  
a little having gone strength gave out. Strength giving out back

i'kä. kä'-eto-we ti'nankwi i'nan le'skwanan "ho' ha'ikānan  
he came. Water fetishes where they coming thus saying: "I three times  
stay

ho' pikwe'nan a'witenakāna'na ho' tsu'mena te'nkä." "hai'yi.  
I, passing through the fourth time I strength wore out." "Indeed?

ma'ho'nkwa'ati le'kwap s'a'kä. a'nap a'tci tse'makä. 215  
Is that so?" so saying now he went. He having they thought.  
gone,

"A'ma la! hon yam na'na la'kaia tsa'waki a'cuwa'käce  
"Come! Now we our grandson Reed Youth let us address.

tem ta lu'kon ho'totsu'mewakä ho! e'letun le'stena." a'tci  
Yet again this one point strong with some- that it may so may it be." They  
where be well

le'kwanan a'tc a'kä. a'tci la'kaia tsa'wak i'nkwin te'-  
thus saying they went. They Reed Youth where he stays arriv-

teinan "ton i'ya" "e'h. ko' to' te'wanan teaiye" "ke'tsanici ho'  
ing "You come?" "Yes. How you time are living?" "Happily I

te'wanan teakwi hom ton o'na-e'latekä. a'tci i'mu." le'kwap 220  
time when I live me you on my road have You two sit down." Thus having  
passed. said

a'tci i'mukä. i'skon i'tehkunakä. "e'h ma' la'kima" hom  
they sat down. Then he questioned them. "Yes, well even now me

ton o'na-e'latekä. hi'ntcol kwatik pe'nan te'yulanam'e  
you on my road have I think some word not over long  
passed.

pe'nan te'a'kan'a. u'hson hom ton yu'ya-käpa uhs ai'yu'-  
word may be. That me you having let know that knowing

ya'na ho' te'wanan te'a'kan'a." le'kwap, "ma' i'namilte.  
it I time shall live." Thus having said, "Well, without doubt  
it is true.

hon a'tate i'la'pona kä'-eto-we tçu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we 225  
We fathers the ones (we) have water fetishes Corn fetishes

le'-eto-we ti'kä a'ciwan-i yam yä'tokä ta'tcu an te'-  
Wood fetishes society priests their sun father his day.  
light

kohanakwi i'tuwakna kwai'itun'onakä tom hon o'na-e'latekä."  
into standing up that they may be the ones you we on your road have  
to go forth passed."

"haiyi' ma' ho'nkwa'ati" le'kwap s'a'wakä. a'te'-  
"Haiyi! well, indeed?" thus having said so they went. arriv-

teinan i'mukä. i'skon i'tehkunakä e'h ma la'kimante hom  
ing he sat down. There he questioned them. "Yes, well even now me

ton a'ntecematina-wäpa to'na lo' a'wona-e'latekä. i'me' 230  
you having summoned you I on your roads have passed. Surely

kwatik pe'nan te'yulanam'e pe'nan te'a'kan'a. u'hsona hom  
some word not over long word may be. That me

to yu'ya-käpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' te'wanan te'a'kan'a."  
you having let know that knowing it I time shall live.

- "ma' i'namilte. ho'na'wan a'tatcu k̄ä'-eto-we tcu'-eto-we  
 "Well, indeed it is true. Our fathers water fetishes corn fetishes  
 mu'-eto-we le'-eto-we ti'k̄ä a'ciwani yam yä'tok̄ä ta'tcu  
 wood fetishes society priests, their sun father  
 235 an t̄ekohanakwi i'tuwakna kwai'itun'ona'k̄ä t̄om hon  
 his daylight into standing up that they may be the ones to come forth you we  
 a'ntecematik̄ä." le'kwap, "haiyi' ma' ho'nkwa'ati" le'kwanan.  
 have summoned." Thus having said, "Haiyi! Well, indeed?" thus saying  
 kwai'ik̄ä tcu'mali kwai'ik̄äteakowa kwai'ik̄ä t̄ci'mnakwe  
 he went out Locust where he had gone out along he went out. For the first time  
 pi'kwai'ik̄ä. kwi'likana'na pi'kwai'ik̄ä. ha'likana'na pi'kwai'ik̄ä.  
 he passed through. The second time he passed through. The third time he passed through.  
 a'witenakana'na pi'kwai'inan yam yä'tok̄ä ta'tcu an  
 The four time passing through his sun father his  
 240 t̄ekohanakwi ye'lana kwai'ik̄ä. kwai'ik̄ä. i'kwalt  
 daylight into standing up he came forth. having come forth back  
 kwa'tok̄ä. i'kwalt kwa'tonan k̄ä'-eto-we t̄i'nankwin te'tcinan.  
 he went in. back going in water fetishes where they stayed reaching.  
 "t̄i'ya" le'ana'k̄äp "e'h" le'kwap, "si' le'hok" o'nealan te'atun'ona  
 "You thus it was said. "Yes" thus having "Now yonder road the one that  
 come?" "You thus it was said. "Yes" thus having "Now yonder road the one that  
 t̄o' tu'nak̄än a'k̄ä. ko'teile a'hoi te'k̄än'a k̄e'si" le'ana'k̄äp  
 you to see went. How some- may it be now" thus having said  
 where  
 "ma' i'namilte' hoi ko'lea t̄on a'ntecemana hom t̄on  
 "Well indeed it is so where whatever you wishing me you  
 245 a'ntecematina'pkona yam yä'tok̄ä ta'tcu an t̄ekohanakwi  
 what (you) have wished our sun father his daylight into  
 ho' ye'lana kwai'ik̄ä k̄e'si." le'kwap, "ha'li' e'lahkwa."  
 I standing went forth now." thus having said, "Hali thanks!"  
 "so a'ne." "hu'u." -le'kwap s'a'k̄ä.  
 "Now I go." "Go on," thus hav- so he went.  
 ing said  
 A'nap s'iwokwi'k̄ä. s'iwokwi'k̄äp. i'sk̄on a't̄ci a'cek̄ä  
 He hav- so they sat in a circle. So they having sat in a There the two pine tree  
 ing goss circle  
 t̄ap e'la'k̄ä. i'sk̄on si' i'tinak̄ä. a'witen t̄e'wana i'sk̄on  
 ladder set up. There now they stayed. Four days there  
 250 i'tinak̄ä. a'witen t̄e'wana-we le'kwap a'witen t̄e'pikwai'ina.  
 they stayed. Four days thus saying Four years passed.  
 i'sk̄on le' ti'k̄ä a'ciwani i'yan tenap pi'lapp̄ä. t̄i'nan  
 there all society priests for one song sequences told off. Sitting  
 another  
 e'hk̄ona e'letokna i'hatiak̄ä. i'st la' kwi'likana' t̄i'nan'ona  
 the ones in front carefully listened. There next second row the ones who were sitting  
 la' i'tehw i'hatiak̄ä. ist ha'ik̄ana' t̄i'nanpa'ona sic a'wa-  
 then with gaps heard. Those third row the ones who were only here  
 sitting  
 yu'otip e'tsa'k̄äna la' ist a'witenak̄än t̄i'nan yäl'ona hic  
 and there being clear then those fourth row sitting the ones behind very

a'wan a'ce laḥ i'tehw-e'tsaḱāna le'snaḅa co'ya tco'loḥo-255  
for them exceedingly then with gaps being clear being thus dry grass rattling

ap a'kū. i'skon a'wan ṭe'wanan i'te'tcap i'skon yam  
because of there their time being used up there their

eleteli-we le'an i'yante'teiḱānan lu'walemaḱā. "si' kop  
sacred things carrying one another reaching around they arose. "Now how

li-l ṭe'cinaḱān-a." "ma' li-l ko'lin ṭe'huliḱān-a. le'stikleap  
here place shall be named?" "Well here sulphur fume inner world shall be." Furthermore

lu'hoti-ḱā'pinaḱān-a." le'tikwanan, "e-ha ma' honkwa. le'sti-  
dust raw it shall be." Thus having said, "Eha. Well perhaps. Thus

ci'nap e'leḱān-a." le'tikwanan s'u'kwai'ikā. u'kwai'inanan 260  
being called shall be well." Thus saying now they came forth. Coming forth

to'pa te'an yam e'leteli-we wo'ta-pi-laḱānan i'tinan  
one place their sacred things putting down making a row sitting down

ḥa'ḱikā. i'skon a'tei ḱā'latsilu ṭap e'laḱā. ṭap e'la'up i'skon  
they stayed There the two spruce ladder set up. ladder having set up there quietly.

a'witen ṭe'wanan i'tinaḱā. tem ṭa i'skon le' ti'kū  
four days they stayed. Yet again there all society

a'ciwan-i i'yan te'nap pi'lanapḱā. ṭi'nan e'hkōna e'letokna  
priests for one another song sequences told off. Sitting the ones in front carefully

i'hatiaḱā. ist kwi'liḱāna-na ṭinanana'ona laḥ i'tehwa 265  
listened. There second row sitting the ones then with gaps

yu'he-tonapḱā. laḥ ist ha'ikān'anana ṭi'nanpa'ona a'wai-  
they distinguished. Then those in the third row sitting the ones to them

yu'otip e'tsaḱāna laḥ ist ṭi'na yā'ona hic a'wan top'a'  
here and there it was clear then those sitting the ones very to them single

hoḥ e'tsḱāna le'snaḅa kwa'hoḥ le'na' tco'loḥo'a'non'akā  
some-where being clear thus being some growing things rattling the ones be cause of

i'skon a'wan ṭe'wanan i'te'tcap i'skon yam e'leteli-we  
there their time used up there their sacred things

le'an i'yante'teiḱāna i'skon lu'walemaḱā. "si' kop liḥ 270  
carrying one another reaching there they arose. "Now how here around

ṭecinaḱān-a." "ma' li-l a'nosian ṭe'huliḱān-a a'ḱāp kwa  
place shall be called?" "Well here soot inner place shall be because not

tem hon i'yuna'wam'e." "e-ha honkwa. le'stecinaḅ  
yet we one another do not see." "Eha perhaps. Thus place being called

e'leḱān-a." le'iyantikwanan i'skon lu'walemaḱā to'pa  
will be well." Thus to one another saying there they arose another

te'kwīn a'pikwai'inan i'skon yam e'leteli-we wo'ta-pi-laḱānan  
place to passing through there their sacred things putting setting in a row down

i'tinan ḥaḱikā. i'skon lo'kwimo ṭap e'laḱā. lo'kwimo 275  
sitting they stayed There piñon ladder he set up. Piñon down quietly.

ṭap e'la'up i'skon le' ti'kū a'ciwan-i le'w a'ciwan-i  
ladder having set up there all society priests all priests



- i'yan tenap -pi''lanapkä. ti'nan e'hk'ona e'letokna i'hatiaä.  
 for one song sequences Sitting in front the ones carefully listened.  
 another told off.
- kwi'likäna'na ti'nanan'ona la'i i'tehw a'wan e'tsaäna  
 Second row sitting the ones then with gaps to them being clear
- ha''ikanan ti'nanpa'nona a'waiyu'otip e'tsaäna a'witen-  
 in the third row sitting the ones to them here and there being clear fourth
- 280 aäana'na ti'nan'ona a'wan to'palhol e'tsaäna le'snapa  
 row sitting the ones to them singly somewhere being clear thus being
- co'ya tco'lo'lo'anona'kä. i'skon a'wan te'wanan i'te'tcap  
 dry grass rattling the ones because of. There their time used up
- yam e'leteliwe le'an i'yante'tciäna hu'walemakä. i'huwaknan  
 their sacred things carrying one another reaching they arose. Standing up
- "Si' kop li'l te'einaäna?" "ma' li'l te'pahaiyan fehuliäna  
 "Now how here place shall be called?" "Well here fog inner place shall be
- a'käp ko'witapte li'l e'tsaäna." "e'ha. ma' ho'nkwa  
 because a little even here will be clear." "Eha. Well perhaps
- 285 le'stecinaäpa e'leäna." le'tikwanan hu'walemaknan u'kwai'ikä.  
 thus place being called will be well." Thus saying arising they came forth.
- to'pa te'kwin a'pikwai'nan i'skon a'tci yam e'leteliwe  
 Another place to passing through there the two their sacred things
- wo'ta-pi'laäna i'skon i'tinakä. i'tinakna i'skon a'tci  
 putting setting in a row there they sat down. Sitting down there the two
- äni'nikoha äp e'läkä. i'skon le' ti'kä a'ciwani le'w a'ciwani  
 cottonwood ladder set up. There all society priests all priests
- i'yan te'nap-pi''lapkä. ti'nan e'hk'ona e'letokna yu''he-tonapkä.  
 for one song sequences told off. Sitting in front the ones carefully distinguished
- 290 kwilikäna'na ti'nanan'ona la'i i'tehw a'wan e'tsaäna. ist  
 The second row sitting the ones then with gaps to them being clear. Those
- ha''ikäna'na tinanpa'ona a'wan yu'otip e'tsaäna la'i  
 third row sitting the ones to them here and there being clear then
- a'witenakäna'na tinan yä'l'on a'wa to'palhol e'tsaäna  
 fourth row sitting last the ones to them single somewhere being clear
- le'snapa kwa'hol le'na tco'lo'lo'an'on a'kä. i'skon a'wan  
 thus being some growing things rattling because of. There their
- te'wanan i'te'tcap a'wan a'witen te'wakate'a yam e'leteliwe  
 time used up their four days passed when their sacred possessions
- 295 lean iy'ante'tciäna hu'walemakä. i'huwaknan "si' kop li'l  
 carrying one another reaching they arose. Standing up "Now how here
- te'einaäna?" "ma' li'l lata te'huliäna a'käp yam yä'tokä  
 place named shall "Well, here wing inner place shall be because our sun
- ta'tcu an lata hon u'napa." le'tikwanan u'kwai'ikä. yam  
 father his wings we see." Thus saying they came forth. their

yātōkā tateu an ũekohanakwi iħuwakna kwai'ikā. elehoł  
sun father his daylight standing came out nearly

ũekohatin'ihapa ukwai'ika.  
day about to break they came out.

ukwai'ina iskōn yam e'leteliwe wō'ta-pi'laķāna i'tinan  
Coming out there their sacred things putting down setting in a row sitting down

la'ķikā i'skōn a'tci le'sanikwanan, "si kō-wi te'nala'apa 300  
they stayed There the two thus saying to them, "Now a little after a while quietly.

ŭō'na-wan ta'teu yam ũe'łaci'nakwi, ye'łana kwai'ikāpa  
your father his ancient place to standing coming forth

yaiyu'anikto ŭon una-wa. ei ŭon i'hapiskāna'wameķāna'a."  
face to face you shall see Don't you shut your eyes!" they saw

le'a'wanikwap. kō-wi tenala'ap yā'tokwai'ikā. yā'tokwai'ip  
thus to them saying a little after a while sun came forth sun coming forth

u'natikānapķā. a'wan ŭunan'kona ķā'tuponoł pa'ni'lep u'napa  
they saw him! Their eyes from them tear drops rolling down they saw him.

kō-wi tenala'ap ŭu'na a'wits'umetiķā. "ha'kotci'" le'tikwaķā. 305  
Little after a while eyes became strong. "Ouch!" thus they said.

a'wico te'tc a'ho'i. a'wic a'hoktiņa a'wic a'mitoņa a'wasi  
Moss only persons. Moss tailed Moss horned hands

ķe'pilaņa i'yunatikāna-we.  
webbed one another they saw.

"ti'comaha' haiyi lec hon a'wina'ķā" le'tikwap i'skōn a'wan  
"Alas! Haiyi! thus we appear?" thus saying there their

kwa kō'lehoł a'te'ona yu'he'ton te'am'ap ta'tci kō-wi te'a  
not what kind beings distinguishable not being meanwhile little way

pi'tcik la'ciķi sa'ma ķā'kweye. an to'sito le'sanikwanan: 310  
dogwood old man alone is living. His spider thus to him saying

ķāpatu'. ķā'ķālip ŭo' i'watan'a." "kopla'ti?" "hon a'tate  
"Put on water. Water getting you shall wash your head." "Why?" "We fathers warm

i'laņa hon a'tsit i'laņa ķā-e'to-we teu-e'to-we mu-e'to-we  
the ones (we) we mothers the ones (we) have have have

le-e'to-we le. ti'ķā a'ciwan'i yam yātōkā ta'teu an  
all society priests their sun father his

ũe'kohanakwi i'ħwakna kwai'ikā. kwa kō'lehoł a'ho'  
daylight into standing have come forth. Not what kind persons

a'te'ona yu'he'tam'e. ŭo' a'wan yu'he'tonan a'cana'a." 315  
beings is not distinguishable. You a'wan them distinguishable shall make."

le'anikwap. "kō'ciķat'el'ea ho'łomacko'na kwa teuw a'wunam'e.  
Thus to him "Certainly not! far off where not anyone does not see them. saying

ŭi'nan laķi'kona hoł a'wan a'yū'ya'naticukwa" le'ķwap.  
Staying quietly where somewhere them one can not get to know them." thus saying

"ei le'skwana'ma. te'nat e'leķāna kwa ŭo' sa'ma te'acukwa  
"Don't thus say. However it shall be well. Not you alone shall not be.

te'nat hon a'nuwa," le'kwap k̄ā'k̄āh ip'watek̄ā. i'watep  
However we shall go," thus saying Water getting warm he washed his head. Having washed his head

320 ta'teic a'tci le'skwanan, "a'ma lai hon yam ta'tcu o'na-  
meanwhile the two thus saying, "Come on. There we our father road  
e'latece pi'tcik łaciķona luķon tem ta tse'ma a'nikwatu  
let us pass. Dogwood old man the one this one yet again thinking he must know  
le'stena aķap ho''na'wan a'tatecu k̄ā-e'to-we tcu-e'to-we  
probably because our fathers  
mu-e'to-we le-e'to-we kwa ko''lehoł a'ho' a'te'ona yu''he-  
not what kind persons beings distin-  
tonan te'amre" a'tci le'kwanan a'tc a'k̄ā.  
guishable is not." The two thus saying the two went.

325 a'tci te'tcik̄ā. a'tci ye'makup "u'kwahtci' s'arte iya'"  
The two arrived. The two having climbed up "Now indeed! Now the two come!"  
an to'sito le'kwanan an tu'knan i'teupateunan ye'mak̄ā.  
His spider thus saying his toe crawling along climbed up.  
la'cokt he'ķāpana i'teupateuk̄ā. a'tci kwa'tok̄ā. a'tci  
Ear back part she crawled along. The two entered. The two  
kwa'top "ton i'ya" le'kwap "e'h. ho''na ta'tcu ko' ton  
having entered "You come!" thus having said "Yes. Our father, how you  
te'wanan te'aiye." "ķetsanici ho' te'wanan te'akwi hom  
time live?" "Happily I time living when my

330 ton o'na-e'latek̄ā. a'tci i'mu." a'tci i'muk̄ā. "ma' s'a'tci  
you road have passed. Both sit down." The two sat down. "Well, now both  
pe'ne. hinik̄teci kwa'tikoł pe'nan teyulanam'e pe'nan te'ak̄ān'a.  
speak, I think some kind word not too long word shall be.  
tewuna' u'hsona hom ton yu''ya'ķāpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho'  
Finally that me you make know that knowing I  
te'wanan te'k̄ān'a." "ma' i'namilte'. hon a'tate i'laṗona  
time shall live." "Well indeed it is so. We fathers having the ones  
k̄ā-e'to-we tcu-e'to-we mu-e'to-we le-e'to-we le' ti'k̄ā a'ciwan'i  
all society priests

335 yam yā'tok̄ā ta'tcu an te'kohanakwi i'luwakna kwai'ina'  
their sun father his daylight into standing coming out  
kwa ko''lehoł a'ho' a'te'ona yu'he'to te'amreṗa a'k̄ā tom  
not what kind persons beings distinguishable not being therefore you  
hon o'na-e'latek̄ā." "haiyi' ma' honkwa'ati. ko'eikat'e'lea.  
we road have passed." "haiyi. Well perhaps so. Certainly not.  
ho'łomackona kwa tcu'wa u'nam'e. ti'nan la'ķi'kona hon  
From far off where not someone does not see. Staying where they are we  
quiet  
tcuw a'wanaiyu'ya'nacukwa." le'kwanan, "ma' e'te tom hon  
someone can not know them." Thus saying, "Well but you we

340 a'keihk̄ā." a'tci le'kwap s'a'wa'k̄ā.  
have chosen." the two thus saying now they went.  
a'te'tcinan "hom a'tatecu hom a'tsita ko''na ton te'wanan  
Arriving my fathers my mothers how you time  
a'teaiye?" "ķetsanici ho''na'wan ta'tcu ho''na'wan tca''le.  
are living?" "Happily our father our child

i'tinaḱä. le'ttikwap i'muḱä. i'munan i'sḱon i'tehkuna'ḱä.  
 be seated," thus having said he sat down. Sitting down there he questioned them.  
 "e'm'a la'ḱiman'te hom ṭon a'ntecematina'wapa ṭo'na lo' 345  
 "Well yes even now me you having wished for you I  
 a'wona-e'lateḱä. hi'ntcol kwa'tik pe'nan te'yulanam'e penan  
 roads have passed. I think some kind of word not too long word  
 te'aḱän'a. ṭe'wuna' u'hson hom ṭon yu'ya'ḱäna'wapa  
 shall be. Finally that me you having made know  
 u'hs ai'yu'ya'na ho' ṭe'wanan te'ḱän'a. le'kwap ma'  
 that knowing I time shall live." Thus having said "Well  
 i'namitte ho'na'wan a'tatcu ho'na'wan a'tsita ḱä'-eto'we  
 indeed it is true our fathers our mothers  
 tcu-eto'we mu-eto'we le-eto'we yam yä'tokä ta'tcu an 350  
 their sun father [his  
 ṭe'ḱohanakwi kwai'ipte kwa ko'leaho' lukni a'ho' a'te'ona  
 daylight into having come not what kind these persons beings  
 forth even though  
 ḱes kwa yu'bertonan te'amapa ṭom hon a'ntecematinapḱä."  
 now not distinguishable not being you we have wished for."  
 le'anḱäp "haiyi' ma ho' i'tetcut'u. ko'cikat'el'ea. ho'ṭomac'kona  
 Thus being said "Hail! Well I let (me) try Certainly not. From far off  
 kwa tcu'wa a'wunam'e. ṭi'nan la'ḱi'kona ko'le' a'ho'i  
 not someone sees them. Staying quietly where what kind persons  
 a'te'ona a'wan aiyu'yanatina'eukwa. ma ho' i'tet'euna 355  
 beings them one can not get to know. "Well I shall try"  
 le'kwanan wo'taṭ-pi'llan ye'liawelakä. an to'sito  
 thus saying laying in a row he stood beside them. To him spider  
 le'skwanan li'la aṭ-pa'tona ḱä'-eton'e laṭ ist an  
 thus saying, "Here lying at the end those then those it  
 i'pito'we tcu'-eto'we laṭ ist al'ona le'-eton'e laṭ ist  
 touching then those lying the ones then those  
 i'pito'we mu'-eto'we le'anikwap le'skwaḱä "ma lu'ḱä  
 touching thus to him having said thus he said "Well this  
 ḱä'-eton'e laṭ luk an i'pito'we ṭem'la tcu'-eto'we laṭ 360  
 Then this it touching all Then  
 luk le'-eton'e laṭ luk an i'pito'we ṭem'la mu'-eto'we  
 this Then this it touching all  
 le'kwap "halihi' elahḱwa'." ko' ko'lea lu'ḱni a'wa yä'tcu  
 Thus having said "Halihi! Thanks!" How which one these their month  
 pi'llan te'ḱän'a? le'kwap lu'ḱä ta'yamteo luk o'nan-u'laḱäkwam'e  
 sequence shall be?" thus having "This branches broken this on the road no snow lying  
 said, (January) (February)  
 luk hi'tekwaḱä tsa'n'ona luk hi'tekwaḱä la'n'ona luk yä'tcu  
 this sandstorm small the one this sandstorm large the one this month  
 (March) (April) (May)  
 kwa ci'am'e lu'ḱä i'kohpu luk ta'yamteo luk o'nan-u'laḱä- 365  
 not named this turn about this branches broken this on the road no snow  
 (June) (July) (August)  
 kwam'e luk hi'tekwaḱä tsa'n'ona luk hi'tekwaḱä la'n'ona  
 lying this sandstorms small the ones this sandstorms large the ones  
 (September) (October)

- luk yāteu kwa ei'am'e luk i'kohpu. le'wi lukā yāteu  
 this month not named this turn about (December) So many this months  
 pi'lan'e." "halihī. elahkwa' ho'na'wan ta'teu kwa ūo'  
 sequence." "Halihil. Thanks our father not you  
 tewukoli'yamekāna. et kwa ūo' e'leteli'we tse'mak-ūela-  
 poor shall (not) be. But not you sacred things thoughts touching  
 370 kwam'ekā'en'te ho' kākī i'tiwanan yu'he-ton yo'a'pa ūom  
 even if not somewhere sometime the middle distinguishable becoming your  
 tse'makwin akā luknia'wan kwaho' haito i'keato'kāna  
 thoughts because of these their something ordained shall rise.  
 kwaho' tomt ūo' wō teamekāna." le'anakna' yāto'kā  
 Something just you servant shall not be." Thus having been said Sun  
 ukna'kā "luk ūom eletelin tekāna." le'na teatip a'teakā.  
 was given him "this your sacred thing shall be." Thus having happened they lived.  
 a'witen ūe'wana'we a'witen ūe'wana'we le'kwap a'witen  
 Four days four days thus saying four  
 375 ūe'pikwai'ina i'skon a'teakā-n a'wan ūe'wanan i'te'tcan'ihap  
 years there living their time used up about to be  
 tu'nunuti'kā. a'tci le'skwanan "teu'wap ūa imetei'kā?" "ma  
 it rumbled. The two thus saying "Who also remains behind?" "Well  
 i'me et hon ūe'mlo' le'stena" le'kwap ūa tu'nunuti'kā. ūa  
 I don't but we all so I thought," thus having again it rumbled. Again  
 know  
 tu'nunuti' "ma i'mat tem ūa teu'ho' i'metei'kāci?" le'kwa-  
 having rumbled "Well apparently yet again someone remained behind?" thus say-  
 nan a'tc a'kā. yam u'kawi'ikā tekwin a'tci te'tcip  
 ing the two went. Their coming out place the two arriving  
 380 a'tci e'laiye. a'mpisa'ap tsi'polo'we. a'tci le'skwanan  
 the two stand. Mischief maker and Mexicans. The two thus saying  
 "haiyi' temc ūa ūon i'metei'kā?" "e." "tem ūac kwa'ho'  
 "Haiyi? Yet also you remained behind?" "Yes." "Yet again something  
 a'kā e'letun'ona ūon ho'i?" a'tci le'kwap "ma le'snapa.  
 because to be well the one you person?" the two thus having said "Well thus being.  
 e' li-l kāk'-eto'we ūe'kohana ya'hna'wapte kwa ūo'wa  
 Yes, here daylight issued even though not corn  
 kōke an kāk'hkwin a'kā a'ho' a'team'e. kāwawuli'a-w  
 good its juice with persons are not. Wild grasses  
 385 a'kā te'tc a'ho'i. tem ūa ho' i'tiwanan'e ūon o'na-e'latena-  
 with only persons. Yet also somewhere the middle you road having  
 wapa hom a' e'lekāna. ho' ho' e'ma'ana u'lohna  
 passed me with shall be well. people will be many country  
 ūenan'a kwa e'letun te'am'e. le'sna te'onakā ho' kwei'ikā."  
 will give out not to be well is not this being the one because of I came forth."

le'kwap "haiyi' ma honkwa'ati. si ta'tci fo'o kwap a'kü  
 Thus having "Haiyi! Well, perhaps it is so. No meanwhile you, what with  
 said,

tom e'letun'ona to' ho'i?" le'anikwap "ma i'nami'te. hol  
 your to be well the one you person?" Thus to him "Well, indeed it is true. Some-  
 having said, where

i'tiwanan e'latena'kapa homan to'wacanan a'kü tem ta 390  
 the middle having come upon my seed with yet also

e'lekan'a. a'küp kã'-eto-we kwa to'wacanan'e kãkãkã  
 shall be well. Because not seed good with

a'ho' a'team'e. kã'wawulaw a'kü te'tci. hom to'wacanan'e  
 persons are (not). Wild grasses with only. My seed (of corn)

no''anoti-we." le'kwap a'tci il-a'kü. kã'-eto-we ti'nakwin  
 bean clans." Thus having said the two with he went. staying place

a'te'tcinan i'tina'kãp i'skon a'ntehekunakã. "si a'ma' ko'plea  
 arriving having sat down there he questioned him. "Now come on how

tom a'kü e'lekan'a?" "ma lukã hom to'wacanan lu'ptsikwa," 395  
 you with shall be well?" "Well this my seed of corn yellow,"

le'kwanan lu'ptsikwa mi'le u'nakãkã. "si yam ho'i hom  
 thus saying yellow ear of corn he showed. "Now your person to me

u'tsi" le'kwap wi'ha'tsan u'kü. wi'ha'tsan u'tsip i'mat kohol  
 give," thus having said baby he gave. Baby having given apparently some  
 said thing

a'lewukã. we'tikã. ko'wi te'wap a'cekã. a'cep  
 he did to her. She became sick. A little time she died. Having died

le'skwa "si pa'lona'we. a'koknan pa'lo'kü. a'witen tewap  
 thus he "Now bury her." Digging a hole he buried her. Four days past

a'tcia le'sanikwakã "a'ma si tun-te'hace. yam u'kwai'ikã 400  
 to the two thus to them he said, "Come now go see her. Their coming out

te'kwin a'tc a'kü. a'tci te'tcip i'sa'na so'pi'la'ke'a. a'tci  
 place to the two went. The two having arrived the little one sand is scooping The two  
 up.

te'tcip ci'kwitco'ya ke'tsana. a'tc u'nan a'tc a'kü a'tci  
 having arrived she smiles she is happy. The two seeing the two went. The two

ti'nankwin te'tcinan "he hi'to! honkwat fon a'kü e'letun'ona  
 where they were arriving "Listen! Perhaps you with to be well the one  
 staying

tem ho'i kwa he'kw a'cenamkã. "ma le'sna te'kãna a'tcia  
 yet person not really did not die." "Well thus it shall be," to the two

le'anikwakã. 405  
 thus to them he said.

i'skon yam e'leteli-we i'lean i'yantetci'kãnan kãl a'wa'kü.  
 There their sacred things picking up one another reaching hither they went.  
 around

ka'kãna te'i'mikãkã a'wico'kaia le'ana'kãnankwi a'wikã.  
 Sometime the first beginning moss spring thus where it is called they came.  
 being

i'skon yam e'leteli-we wo'ta-pi'lana iskon i'tinakã. a'witen  
 There their sacred things putting down setting in there they sat down. Four  
 a row



- 410 *fewana* *le'anaḱāp* *a'witen* *te'pikwai'ina'* *i'skon* *a'tci*  
 days thus it being said four years there the two  
*w'w'kocokā.* *a'tci* *a'wan* *a'wicokti'we* *a'wan* *a'wiconmitowe*  
 washed them. The two their moss tails their moss horns  
*le' a'tci wo'tukā.* "tcukwe' *le'nap* *fon* *a'tci* *teikwanaḱān'a."*  
 all the two took away. "Behold. thus being you sweet shall be."  
*i'skon* *a'teakā—*  
 There they stayed.  
*a'wan fewanan i'te'tcap* *kāl* *a'wakā.* *yam* *e'leteli'we*  
 Their time used up hither they went. Their sacred things  
*lean i'yante'tciḱāna* *itiwan'a* *te'cuna* *ḱāihokw* *a'wona'ḱā.*  
 carry- one another reaching around the middle seeking off yonder roads went.  
 ing  
 415 *ḱā'ḱā* *teimiḱāḱā* *a'weluyan* *ḱaiakwi* *a'wiḱā.* *i'skon*  
 Sometime the first beginning cumulus cloud spring to they came. There  
*yam e'leteli'we wo'ta-pi'lana* *i'tinan* *la'ḱikna* *i'skon*  
 their sacred things putting down setting in a row sitting down staying quietly there  
*a'witen fewana'we i'tināḱā.* *a'witen fewana'we* *le'kwap*  
 four days they sat down. Four days thus saying  
*a'witen fewana'we i'skon i'tināḱā.* *i'skon* *yam*  
 four years. There they sat down. There their  
*fewanan pi'lanapḱā.* *ḱā-eto'we* *a'wan a'witen fewana'we*  
 time they told off. their four nights  
 420 *a'witen yā'towe* *ḱā'ḱsana* *ḱi'ton-fe'lakwi* *a'wan fewanan*  
 four days fine rain rain touching their time  
*fewana'we le'-eto'we mu'-eto'we* *a'wan fewana* *yo'aḱa*  
 time passed. their their days becoming  
*a'wite yā'towe a'witen fewana'we u'pina fewana'we* *a'wan*  
 four days four nights snow time passed. Their  
*fewanan i'te'tcapa i'skon a'teakā.*  
 time used up there they stayed.  
*a'wan fewanan i'te'tcap lu'walemaḱā.* *yam e'leteli'we*  
 Their time used up they arose. Their sacred things  
 425 *lean i'yante'tciḱāna* *ḱalok<sup>u</sup>* *a'wona'ḱā.* *ḱā'ḱā*  
 carrying one another reaching around oil yonder roads went. Sometime  
*teimiḱāḱā ci'pololon* *ḱaia* *le'anaḱānkwi* *o'neal* *i'ḱānapḱā.*  
 first beginning mist spring thus called to road they brought.  
*i'skon i'tinan la'ḱikna* *yam e'leteli'we wo'ta-pi'lana*  
 There sitting down staying quietly their sacred things putting down setting in a row  
*i'tinan la'ḱikna. i'skon i'yan fewanan pi'lanapḱā.* *i'yan*  
 sitting quietly. There one another time they counted up. For one another  
 down  
*ḱā'cimāḱā u'lohn u'natinapḱā* *ḱā'-eto'w* *a'wa a'witen*  
 waters with world they beheld their four  
 430 *yā'towe a'witen fewana'we* *ḱā'ḱana* *ḱi'ton-fe'lakwi* *a'wan*  
 days four nights heavy rain rain touching their  
*fewanan te'aḱā.* *a'wan fewanan i'te'tcapa le'-eto'we*  
 time was. Their time used up  
*mu'-eton'e a'wan fewanan yo'aḱa a'wite yā'towe*  
 their time becoming four days

departed blossom with a hundred piles of glowing embers. The masked gods return to the kiva where they dance until day. Anyone, man, woman, or child, who desires good luck, may go to the kiva at this time to receive the blessing of the presence of the gods.

The day is one of great festivity and rejoicing. All day the gods from the east dance on the roof of the kiva, throwing food and other articles to the populace. Meanwhile the bow priests summon to the kiva the men chosen to impersonate the gods during the coming year. When they have all arrived the wands of office are distributed by the *pekwin*.

The merrymaking continues in the plaza until sundown, when *Pautiwa* appears. He visits all the kivas. On the roof of each he lays down the crook of office for the *Ca'lako* god to be chosen from that kiva. The bar of the hatchway he marks with four lines of corn meal, to indicate that the masked gods will visit the village. Then using a twig to represent a scalp, he performs a brief ritual symbolizing the taking of an enemy scalp. Thus he brings the new year. After visiting all the kivas he departs for the west, taking *Ci'tsukä* and *Kwe'ele* with him.

After dark each house in the village is visited by *Tcakwenaokä*, a female masked impersonation and the special guardian of women in childbirth.<sup>92</sup> She is accompanied by other masked gods. As the group reaches each door live coals are thrown out of the house as a rite of purification. *Tcakwenaokä* comes only once to bring the blessing of fecundity. The other gods return for four consecutive nights, in accordance with the promise of *Pautiwa*. In early days the first dance of the winter series took place four days after the departure of the exorcising divinities (Stevenson, p. 141). Now it takes place any time the leaders wish. This closes the celebration of the solstice, unless the retreat and dance of the *lewekwe* which follow 10 days after the coming of *Pautiwa* be considered as part of the solstice ceremonies.

Theoretically the second half of the *Zuñi* year repeats the ceremonial calendar of the first six months. As in December, the summer solstice is marked by a ceremonial period called *i'tiwana*, the middle. As in the winter, this is a synchronization of independent cults. But here the resemblance ceases. The actual ceremonies, and above all the relative weight of various elements, are quite different.

Before the summer solstice the *pekwin* makes daily observations of the sunsets from a shrine at *Ma'tsakä*, a ruin a few miles east of *Zuñi*. When the sun sets behind a certain point on the mesa to the northwest the *pekwin* begins his plantings to the sun and to the ancestors. On the morning after his fourth planting he announces that in eight days everyone shall make prayer sticks for the sun, the moon, the ancients,

<sup>92</sup> In 1927 the visit of *Tcakwenaokä* was omitted. The man who owns her mask, a very dangerous one, and knows her ritual, was in prison for burglary. No one else dared touch the mask. (See p. 931.)

and the katchinas. The prayer sticks are offered in the afternoon of the eighth day, which should be the summer solstice, June 22. The offerings are less elaborate than those of the winter solstice, but their precise nature is not known to the writer. There is only one planting. Prayer sticks for the katchinas are offered together with the others on the eighth day. There are no offerings to the Beast Gods. The offerings are made in cornfields. For four days everyone refrains from sexual intercourse, trading, and quarreling, but there is no restriction on food.

On the day preceding the offering the societies, except the Wood Society,<sup>93</sup> meet in their houses. Altars are erected, but there are no images of the Beast Gods. The members remain in retreat overnight, and their prayers on this occasion, as on the night preceding the solstice in December, are directed primarily toward the rain makers. There is no four-day retreat in honor of the Beast Gods following this, and no general healing of the sick. This part of their activities is temporarily in abeyance.

On the third day following the solstice the impersonators of the Koyemci visit each house in the village and are doused with water by the female inhabitants as a suggestion to the supernatural powers to do likewise. Then they go into retreat.

On the fourth day following the general prayer stick planting the first of the chief priesthoods goes into retreat, to remain in for eight nights.

On the same day preparations are begun for the first of the summer rain dances. Every fourth year a pilgrimage is made to the village of the katchinas, a lake about 80 miles to the west. On the fourth day following the solstice the officers of the katchina society and the impersonators of all of the katchina priests, accompanied by the chief of the Hunters Society and men of the Deer and the Badger clans leave for the home of the gods. The lake is reached on the evening of the second day. Offerings of prayer sticks are made at various shrines and turtles are hunted. The party returns next morning, arriving at Zuñi the fourth day at sunset, the seventh after the solstice.

On intervening years the same party leaves at dawn on the seventh day to plant at a spring at Ojo Caliente, 17 miles southwest of Zuñi. The spring symbolizes the more distant shrine. Since the date coincides with the monthly planting of the katchina priests, the impersonators separate, some going with the others to Ojo Caliente, some taking the offerings of his fellows to the spring at which they make their regular monthly planting. Each person makes offerings for both springs.

<sup>93</sup> Stevenson, p. 150. This society does not meet with the others in the winter rites. Its rituals are especially potent for bringing cold winds and snow. For it to function at this time would be disastrous.

Returning at evening, the party from the katchina village is met on the plain by a group of katchinas from the kiva that is to present the first dance. The priests bring the gods back with them from their village. From now until they are sent home in the fall they are present, though invisible, in the village. After dancing in the four courts of the village the dancers retire to the house where they are to spend the night. Here one of the societies which has been invited to provide music has erected its altar. The gods are welcomed and throughout the night dance for the delectation of the hosts. Their presence is manifested by rain. Meanwhile the Koyemci hold similar rites in their own ceremonial house.

The dancers on this occasion abstain from food and drink until they have made the round of the plazas four times the following morning, or until rain falls.<sup>64</sup> Each round takes about an hour, and the outdoor dancing begins at sunrise. Dancing in the plazas continues throughout the day, while in the two houses visited by the gods the medicine societies keep up continuous singing. At sunset the dancers depart and the society people dismantle their altars and return home. With this ceremony the celebration of the summer solstice closes.

The chief priesthood remains in retreat for four more nights, and comes out on the eighth morning. The second priesthood goes in that same evening and the rest follow in regular order.

The summer solstice observances are notable in the complete absence of any ceremonies to secure the blessings of the Beast Gods or the Ahayuta. The omission of the Ahayuta is especially noteworthy. In the winter they are appealed to for protection and aid in war, but more especially for snow and cold winds. Prayer sticks are offered at all their shrines in conjunction with the dance of the Wood Society, a potent snow-making ritual. The second calendrical ceremony of the Bow Priesthood is held in March, before corn planting and in preparation therefor. The ceremony has never been observed nor described, nor, unfortunately, have the words of the prayers and songs been recorded. However, it corresponds to the summer solstice ceremonies of other cults, in being a partial repetition, with variations, of their winter observances. The writer hazards the guess, in the absence of direct evidence, that this is an appeal for snow and violent rains to swell the spring freshets and prepare the ground for the reception of seeds.

If the winter ceremonies emphasize rites having as their object medicine, war, and fecundity, the summer ceremonies are weighted

<sup>64</sup> At Acoma the summer dance of katchinas is held early in July, the public ceremonies consuming four days, from about the 10th to the 14th. These are preceded by a period of purification lasting eight days. The participants abstain from food and especially from water from nightfall preceding the dance until noon the day of the dance. (White, MS.) The date is that of the Hopi Niman. In certain Aztec ceremonies there is prohibition on drinking from nightfall until noon.

overwhelmingly on the side of rain, the most conspicuous features being the retreats of the priests and the dances of the *katchinas*. It is tempting to attribute this pattern difference to practical consideration. The first of July is the approximate date of the opening of the rainy season in this semiarid land. At this time the corn plants are about 10 inches high and desperately in need of rain. Two more weeks of drought and blazing heat will burn them beyond hope. Upon prompt and plentiful rains in July depends the welfare of the tribe. It is, therefore, to this end that all the magical resources of the tribe are bent. The *Ahayuta*, associated with wind and low temperatures, are shunned.

On the other hand, in December the conditions are reversed. The crop is already harvested and whereas it is desirable to have heavy snowfalls in the mountains to feed the spring freshets, inclement weather in the valley is a great hardship and works ruin among the flocks that form so large a part of *Zuñi* wealth. Therefore prayer sticks are twice offered at the mountain shrines of the *Ahayuta* with prayers for snow. The *Uwanam'i* and the *katchinas* receive but very meager attention, and the efforts of the tribe are focused on rites directed toward war, medicine and fecundity. At both solstices the sun father is appealed to in similar fashion for his great blessing of life.

#### PERSONAL RELIGIOUS LIFE

The vast wealth of ceremonial elaboration which we have been considering is notably weak on the side of what have been called "crisis rites." In contrast to the ceremonial recognition given to natural phenomena—the solstitial risings of the sun, the alternation of summer and winter, the perpetual dearth of rain—crises in personal life pass almost unnoticed. The ceremonies surrounding birth, puberty, marriage, and death are meager and unspectacular. There is sprinkling of ashes for purification of the newborn. On the eighth day of life the infant is presented to the sun with brief prayers, but the occasion is not one of any ceremonial importance. There are no ceremonies whatsoever at marriage, and mortuary rituals are simple and undramatic in comparison with calendrical ceremonies. Relatives are summoned at death. The body is dressed for burial, all present weep and sprinkle corn meal on the head of the deceased with brief prayers, and the corpse is interred at once. Four days later prayer sticks are planted, and the property of the deceased, including certain ceremonial possessions, is buried and additional prayer sticks may be offered to the dead after an interval of time. But there are no public demonstrations and no elaborate ceremonies of mourning.

On the other hand, initiations are always important occasions. The general initiation of all young males into the *Katchina* Society

corresponds in some ways to puberty ceremonies of other tribes, even though it has very little relation to the physical fact of adolescence. The first "initiation" takes place at the age of from five to seven years. It corresponds to no physiological change and marks no change of status on the part of the child. The child who has been "initiated" in this preliminary ceremony has no more knowledge or responsibility than one who has not yet gone through the rite. The final ceremony at which knowledge is revealed takes place anywhere between the ages of 10 and 20, depending on the interference of schooling—in old days it probably took place between the ages of 10 and 14—and is unrelated either to physical maturity or the assumption of adult responsibilities. It is an initiation solely into the *katsina* cult and has nothing to do with the social status of the individual. Marriage, for instance, does not depend upon it, nor participation in other ceremonies. Although any initiated boy may, if he wishes, take part in masked dances, he does not feel any obligation to do so. It is usually many years before he assumes even the responsibility of making his own prayer sticks. Curiously enough, considering general North American custom, no notice whatever is taken of the advent of maturity in girls.

Initiations into medicine societies are more clearly ceremonial recognition of personal crises. The initiate is a patient who has been snatched from the jaws of death and his initiation into the group that saved him is the ceremonial assumption of his new status. At his initiation he gets a "new heart," and, as a symbol of the new life he has begun, receives a new name.<sup>95</sup> This name, however, is not usually used and does not ordinarily replace his childhood name or names. The ceremony may be delayed for years—sometimes as long as 20 years—after the cure which it affirms. Like initiation into the *Katsina Society*, it involves a minimum requirement of attendance, and the privilege of additional participation as the interests and ability of the individual may dictate. Children need not assume any responsibilities upon initiation.

Religious participation starts among children when, as infants on their mother's backs, they are taken to watch the *katsinas* dance. The summer dances outdoors are largely attended by small children of both sexes. During the morning and early afternoon they constitute the entire audience. Formerly children were not permitted to attend night dances of the *katsinas* where the *katsinas* dance unmasked, but this rule is broken among the more lax parts of the population.

Children learn early to share the interest of their elders in the more spectacular phases of religious life. They are keen observers of dances, they know songs, and give accurate and lively accounts of

<sup>95</sup> Contrary to custom in other pueblos, and reported information from Zuñi, naming is not a part of the initiation into the *Katsina Society*.



ceremonies which they attend; they are interested in sacerdotal gossip; and they orient their activities about great religious festivals. In early childhood boys and girls are especially interested in religious affairs. Sometime between the ages of 5 and 10 boys make their first direct contact with the deeper aspects of religion, on their preliminary initiation into the Katsina Society. This makes no change in a child's religious life. It is only after his final initiation, which may occur any time after the age of 10, that active participation in dances begins. Boys of 10 or 12 take part in the winter dancing but rarely in the more strenuous dancing of the summer series. At about the same age girls have their attention diverted from religious spectacles to their own adult activities.

Most adult men engage in other religious activities besides the required minimum of katsina dancing and the semiannual prayer stick plantings required of all persons. The younger men, who find exhilaration in dancing and singing, dance many times a year, either with their own groups or with others, and organize extra dances. As their knowledge of dance forms increases they may advance to formal office in one of the six dance societies. Those who display an aptitude in memorizing long prayers, if of exemplary conduct, may be appointed to impersonate one of the gods.

Membership in curing societies is not ordinarily a matter of individual choice. Once initiated into one of these groups a man may limit his activities to attendance at the regular winter meetings and initiations. Or if he has sufficient intellectual curiosity to pay high for esoteric knowledge he may, by accumulating knowledge and the supernatural power which knowledge gives him, advance to a position of influence in his society. For a successful career as a medicine man, intelligence and ambition seem more important than piety and virtue. However, although a man of questionable moral character may build up a good medical practice, he is not likely to be chosen for office in his society.

Membership in priesthoods is even less a matter of free choice than curing societies. Priesthoods are hereditary in maternal families, and to fill a vacancy the members select the least quarrelsome rather than the most intelligent of the eligible young men.

The priesthoods are the branch of religious service that carries the greatest prestige and heaviest responsibilities. Because of the heavy responsibilities the office is avoided rather than sought, and considerable difficulty is experienced in recruiting the priesthoods. As one informant said, "They have to catch the men young to make them priests. For if they are old enough to realize all that is required of them, they will refuse." She was not thinking of the taboos and restraints of the priestly life, but of the sense of responsibility for the welfare of the tribe which lies so heavily on the shoulders of the priests. The same informant continued: "Yesterday my younger

brother went with his uncle to the spring for water for their altar. He was dressed in his ciwan'i costume and looked very handsome. As he went out, light rain fell, and everyone was happy that they had been blessed with rain. But my heart hurt and my eyes were full of tears to see my younger brother. He is so young and yet he has his mind on these serious things."

Another and very different type of voluntary participation is to "take the crook" for the ca'lako, that is to volunteer to entertain the gods in one's house. This involves the host in very great expense, and can be undertaken only by a man who is wealthy in his own right or who has wealthy relatives who are willing to help him. This munificence brings to the house the blessing of fecundity but is primarily a social activity in that it merely provides the background for a great tribal festival. Its rewards (to the individual) are to be measured largely in terms of social prestige. If volunteers fail, the obligation to hold the ceremony falls upon members of the religious hierarchy.

The religious activities of women are less varied and picturesque than those of men. In early adolescence a girl's interest is diverted from religious affairs. About the time she assumes adult dress—or did before the days of the American school—she falls under a system of chaperonage that hampers her movements. Especially running around to public dances is regarded as unbecoming. So if she goes to dances at all she goes to watch discreetly from the houses of relatives who live on the plaza, or gets very much dressed up and stands and giggles on the corner of some housetop with a group of equally dressed up and equally self-conscious little girls. Furthermore, about this time she assumes adult responsibilities in the household, and beyond that all her interests are absorbed in mating activities. Adult economic status comes later to boys than to girls. In the years between initiation and marriage boys give much of their attention to dancing, while girls of the same age are cooking, grinding, and caring for their sisters' babies.

After marriage they become even more domestic, and remain so throughout the period of childbearing. Not only is their time filled with domestic duties, but it is displeasing to a man to have his wife gadding about, and Zuñi women, despite their economic and social security, are careful not to displease their men. Furthermore, their avenues of participation are restricted. They are not, except in very rare cases, initiated into the Katsina society, the only democratic religious organization. Some of the priesthoods have women members, but these positions are, it seems, even harder to fill than positions for men. One of the reasons is that husbands get very restive under the long periods of continence required of their wives. A man will remain continent during his own ceremonies but seems to think

it is too much to expect him to remain continent during his wife's ceremonies also. Here, again, the problem is to catch the girl young enough. Women are initiated into medicine societies on an equal basis and as frequently as men. They participate in the dances of the society, but they are debarred from holding office. They frequently practice medicine and are "given" children for their society, but they must call upon male members for assistance in cures and to perform many of the initiation rites over their children. Women never possess the ultimate medical power, that of calling the bear, and do not usually possess esoteric songs. However, their knowledge of actual therapeutics is often greater than that of men. Most societies have "mothers" who brew their medicines and jealously guard the secrets of the treatment of medicinal herbs.

Some women who are well endowed mentally exert a good deal of influence indirectly upon religious affairs. Although their activities may be restricted, knowledge is not taboo to them. There are women who know prayers and rituals better than their men folks and some men customarily consult their wives, mothers or sisters on matters of sacerdotal procedure. In the Onawa priesthood the member with the best verbal memory is a young woman, not especially intelligent in other respects. However, she has an aggressive, managing mother who, although not herself a member of the priesthood, is the head of the priestly household, and contrives to run her brothers and children. Several other women have a reputation for their knowledge of esoteric lore. One, in particular, is reputed to be the only person who knows the prayers, songs and secret rituals of Anahoho, one of the katchinas coming at the initiation ceremony.

Women are less active in religion than men, but their activity is not essentially different in kind. The richness of ceremonial tends to mask the fact that in any but a superficial sense, religious activity is limited in scope.

The religious life of an individual is exclusively a series of participations in group rituals. No avenue is left open for individual approach to the supernatural. All over North America individual mystical experience is prized. On the plains such experience is valued since it provides one with a guardian in the supernatural world, or furnishes supernatural sanction for some special exploit. Among the Pima of the Southwest, the experience itself is regarded as the highest value in life. In Zuñi the religious life is a highly developed system of techniques for producing rain and furthering the growth of crops. Certain socially valuable attitudes and modes of behavior are regarded as more favorable to this purpose, and much esthetic joy and enhancement of life are achieved through them. But these subjective values are secondary and merely incidental to the primary purposes of religious participation, which is an objective social good.

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## ZUÑI ORIGIN MYTHS

By RUTH L. BUNZEL

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## ZUÑI ORIGIN MYTHS

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By RUTH L. BUNZEL

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Three English versions of Zuñi origin myths have already been published. Cushing published his "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths" (Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology) in 1891. The next published version is that contained in Mrs. Stevenson's monograph, and a third recorded by Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons appeared in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* in 1923 (vol. 36: 135-162). The three versions placed side by side give one of the most striking examples of the great handicap under which the science of ethnology labors. All ethnological information comes to us through the medium of another mind, and, with data so complex and subtle as those of human civilization, no matter how clear and honest that mind is, it can absorb only what is congenial to it, and must give it out again through such means of expression as it may command. The Zuñis are as much preoccupied with the origins and early history of their people as were, for instance, the ancient Hebrews, and the three accounts are what might be gathered from any people by individuals of varying interests.

Doctor Parsons, asking for "the" origin myth, got the basic account of the early history of the people which is generally current in folklore. The narration, of course, suffers in vividness and subtlety of expression from having been recorded through an interpreter. Mrs. Stevenson's version is an attempt to give a comprehensive and coherent account of Zuñi mythology in relation to ritual. The Cushing version contains endless poetic and metaphysical glossing of the basic elements, most of which explanatory matter probably originated in Cushing's own mind.

Cushing, however, hints at the true character of Zuñi mythology. There is no single origin myth but a long series of separate myths. Each ceremonial group has a myth which contains, in addition to a general synopsis of early history, the mythological sanction for its own organization and rituals. There is not, however, any collected



version which is "the talk," because no mind in Zuñi encompasses all knowledge, the "midmost" group to which Cushing refers being a figment of his own imagination. These separate myths are preserved in fixed ritualistic form and are sometimes recited during ceremonies, and are transferred like any other esoteric knowledge. The "talk" of Kāklo is a myth of this kind. It recounts in poetic form the origin of the tribe, their coming into this world, the origin of Kāklo's ceremony, and the wanderings of the people in search of the middle. The synoptic version in "Zuñi Indians," mentions the episodes peculiar to this version. The Stevenson "origin myth," recorded in the opening pages of her monograph, is not a ritual version. Into the general outline have been introduced whatever bits of special information she had acquired. Her most intimate associations were with the Ne'we'kwe society, and many episodes of the esoteric myth of that society appear in her account.

The main outlines of the origin myths are known to all, and great delight is found in recounting them. The history myth is not fixed in form or expression and varies in comprehensiveness according to the special knowledge of the narrator. The Parsons version treats the katchina origins fully; the Stevenson version society origins. Portions or the whole general outline in brief or extended versions were told me on many occasions as I sat by Zuñi firesides. One old priest desired me to write it down in text so that I and others might read it. But although an excellent narrator he was a bad dictator. He spoke so rapidly, vividly, and with such wealth of gesture and mimicry that only a sound picture could do justice to his narration. However, the version recounted the principal events briefly without any special elaboration of any portion, and therefore added nothing to published versions.

The following text recorded from another informant is an origin myth in esoteric ritual form. It belongs to the priests—"any priesthood." It is recited for purposes of instruction during the winter retreat. It was related to me by a man who was not himself a priest but was born in the Patto'kwe house and learned the tale from his maternal uncle. He was a member and an officer of the Great Fire society and characteristically refused to give the origin myth of his society since that was his "very own prayer." The tale related to me publicly by the chief priest of the Onawa priesthood did not contain the elaboration of priestly origins found in the following text, nor any of the striking stylistic features.

The brief text which follows, the "talk of Komosona," belongs to the same category. This is the ritual form of the tale of origin of masked dancing and the safeguards of the katchina cult. It is recited

in the form given by the kateina chief at the final initiation of boys into the kateina society. It was told by the same informant. Less formal versions are, of course, current. Both this and a version of the origin of the people were introduced into an autobiography of an old woman, when speaking of her girlhood days spent with her grandfather.

TCIMIĶĀNA'KONA    PE'NA'WE  
first beginning according    words  
to

|                                 |                             |                                    |                              |                                       |                           |                                        |                           |  |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| no'milte.<br>truly              | luk'<br>this                | u'lo'nan<br>world                  | kwa<br>not                   | tcu'hoł<br>anyone                     | tcu'wa.<br>who            | hic<br>very                            | yā'toḡā<br>sun            |  |
| kwai'inan<br>coming out         | hic<br>very                 | kwa'to.<br>goes in                 | kwa<br>not                   | tcu'hoł<br>anyone                     | ca'mli<br>early           | ha'lawotinane<br>prayer meal           |                           |  |
| le'ena'maḡ<br>(not) bringing    | kwa<br>not                  | tcu'hoł<br>anyone                  | te'liḡinan'e<br>prayer-stick | le'ena'maḡ<br>(not) bringing          | hic<br>very               |                                        |                           |  |
| te'wu'acona.<br>place lonely    | yam<br>his                  | tcaw<br>children                   | a'tcia<br>both to            | le'sanikwanan—<br>thus to them saying | ton<br>"you"              | a'witen<br>fourth                      |                           |  |
| te'hulikwin<br>womb to          | a'nuwa.<br>shall go.        | yam<br>your                        | a'tatcu<br>fathers           | yam<br>your                           | a'tsita<br>mothers        | ḡā'-e'tone<br>water fetish             | 5                         |  |
| tcu'e'eton'e<br>corn fetish     | mu'e-ton'e<br>wood fetish   | le'-eton'e<br>all                  | le'<br>society               | ti'ḡā<br>priests                      | a'ciwani<br>society       | ti'ḡā<br>priests                       |                           |  |
| p'e'kwi-we<br>speakers          | ti'ḡā<br>society            | a'pi'la'ci'wan'i<br>bow priests    | hoł<br>yonder                | yam<br>your                           | yā'toḡā<br>sun            | ta'tcu<br>father                       |                           |  |
| an<br>his                       | te'kohanakwi<br>daylight to | ton<br>you                         | a'wili<br>with them          | kwa'in'a"<br>shall come out"          | a'tcia<br>the two to      | le'anikwaḡ<br>thus to them having said |                           |  |
| a'tci<br>the two                | le'skwanan,<br>thus saying, | "kop<br>"how                       | ma'<br>well                  | le'<br>thus                           | hon<br>we                 | kwa'ton'a."<br>shall go in."           | "ten<br>"however          |  |
| e'leḡān'a."<br>it will be well" | yam<br>their                | a'mitolan<br>rainbow               | pi'lan<br>bow                | wi'lolonan<br>lightning               | co'le<br>arrow            | yā'tonan<br>laying across              | 10                        |  |
| pi'łana<br>bow on               | yā'tonan<br>laying across   | i'pakukā.<br>he shot               | i'pakunan<br>shooting        | pa'ni'ḡāp.<br>descending.             | s'<br>so                  |                                        |                           |  |
| a'tci<br>the two                | kwa'toḡā<br>entered         | a'witen<br>fourth                  | te'hulikwin<br>womb into     | a'tci<br>both                         | kwa'top<br>having entered | te'ḡwin<br>dark place                  |                           |  |
| u'le<br>inside                  | kwa<br>not                  | yu'he'tame.<br>it was (not) clear. | a'tci<br>The two             | le'skwanan<br>thus saying             | ho'ḡāmp<br>"which way     |                                        |                           |  |
| hon<br>we                       | a'nap<br>having gone        | e'leḡān'a"<br>will be well"        | s'a'tci<br>so the two        | su'nhakwin<br>the west to             | tahn<br>direction         | a'ḡā.<br>went.                         |                           |  |
| a'tci<br>The two                | tcu'wai<br>someone          | a'nikto'ḡā.<br>met face to face    | a'tci<br>the two             | lesanikwakā.<br>thus to him said      | ho'ḡāmp<br>"which way     | to<br>you                              | 15                        |  |
| i'ya'"<br>come"                 | "li'wanem<br>"hither        | ḡāliciankwin<br>west towards       | ta'hna<br>direction          | ho'<br>I                              | i'ya'"<br>come"           | "kop<br>"what                          |                           |  |
| to'<br>you                      | le'yen<br>doing             | a'luya"<br>go about "              | ho'<br>"I                    | yam<br>my                             | le'na<br>crops            | tun-a'luya."<br>watching go about."    |                           |  |
| "hop<br>"where                  | ton<br>do you               | a'teaiye"<br>live"                 | e'la<br>"no                  | kwa<br>not                            | hoł<br>anywheres          | hon<br>we                              | a'team'e<br>do (not) live |  |

- li'wan      i'yamakwin      ta'hna      ho'n      tate-ili      te'ona      yä'tokä  
hither      above towards      direction      us      father having      the one who is      sun
- 20 ci'wan'i      ho'na      kwa'tokäpa      hon      kwatokä'      a'tci      le'kwap  
priest      us      having made come in      we      came in      they      thus saying
- "ma'      ho'nkwa"      an      su'we      le'skwanan      "a'ma      hon      u'nace"  
well      is that so      his      younger brother      thus saying      come:      let us see
- le'kwanan      a'tcian      pi'lan      a'unan      a'tci      kwahoł      o'ma'kusna  
thus saying      their      bow      putting down      they      something      leaves dry
- pepewi      ku'sna      a'tci      wo'tehkunan      a'tcian      pi'lan      yält'onan  
grass      dry      they      throwing them down      their      bow      putting down on top
- a'sosuëä'kä.      a'tci      a'sosuëäp      ma'ke'      lo'mon      kwai'ka.  
drilled for fire      they      drilling for fire      coals      glowing      came forth.
- 25 kwai'ip      a'tci      puaps      a'lokä.      lo'—pa      fe'kohatip      "a'fu—"  
having come forth      they      having blown on it      it caught fire      Aglow!      Becoming bright      "Ouch!"
- kwap      fo'n      u'hsi'      le'kwanan      to'tsipo      la'nikä.      a'wico      mi'toye  
what      yours      that      thus saying      crouching      he fell.      Moss      horn is
- a'wic      ho'ktiye      a'wico      te'te      ho'i.      a'si      kēpilaḡa      am      papa  
moss      tail is      moss      only      person.      Hands      webbed      his      elder brother
- le'skwanan      "iyos      a'klalkä"      le'kwap      a'klalk'ap      tsa'yaḡ  
thus saying,      "Poor thing!      Now put out the fire!"      thus having said      fire having put out      young man
- le'skwanan.      "he—      kotei—      kwap      fo'n      u'hsi."      "ma'  
thus saying      "He,      ouch!      What      yours      that?"      "Well,
- 30 ho'na      ma'ke'"      a'tci      le'anik'ap.      "kwap      ma'      fon      u'wanaḡa."  
our      coals,"      they      thus      to him      "What      well      you      have growing?"
- "ma' i'la hon      u'wanaḡa"      le'kwap.      kä'wawula      tun      a'luya  
"Well, here      we      have things growing,"      thus having said      wild grass      watching      he goes about.
- a'tcia      le'sanikwanan  
To them      thus to them saying:
- "Ma'      si'      hon      a'wa'ce."      A'tcia      ye'hkup      kä'liciankwin  
"Well      now      us      let go!"      Them      having gone before      west      towards
- ta'hna      a'wa'kä.      lu'walakwin      a'te'tciä.      i'skon      yam      fe'hwiti-  
direction      they went.      Village      at      they arrived.      There      their      space
- 35 wanakwin      i'tinakä.      i'skon      i'yanitaton      i'tinakä.      iskon      iyan-  
middle      in      they sat down.      There      close to one another      they sat down.      There      oneanother
- tehkunapkä.      le'stikwanan      "e'h      mas      a'tci      pene.      hinik      kwahoł  
they questioned.      thus (they) saying:      "yes      well now      both      speak!      I think      some
- pe'nan      te'yulanam'e      pe'nan      te'känä.      |      u'hson      ho'      fon  
word      not over-long      word      will be.      that      us      you
- ai'yu'ya'käpa"      |      uhs      ai'yu'ya'na      hon      te'wanan      a'tekän'a."  
having caused to know it      that      knowing      we      time      shall live.
- "hatei'"      "-hatei'"      le'anaḡap.      "Ma' i'nam'i'te.      |      li'wan      i'ya-  
"Is it not so?"      "It is so,"      thus it being said,      "Well      without doubt it is true.      hither      above
- 40 makwin      ta'hna      hon      ta'te'ili      te'ona      |      yä'tokä      |      kwa      kä'ëi  
towards      direction      us      father with      the one who is      sun      not      ever

teu'wa te'likinan'e le'ana'ma | kwa teu'wa ha'lawo'tinan'e  
who prayer stick does (not) bring not who prayer meal

le'ana'ma | kwa teu'wa lo''o le'ana'ma | le'sna te''onakā  
does (not) bring no who shell does (not) bring thus because it is

| ho! yam yā'tokā ta'tcu | an te'kohanakwi ũon i'lu-  
yonder your sun father his daylight into you standing

wakna kwai''itunonakā | ũon hon a'wona-e'latekā | tenat  
in order that you may be you we on your roads have passed however  
the ones to go out

ho'ŭnotiko! ũon a'penuwa'' | le'a'tc'i'kwapa | "haiyi' 45  
whichever way you may speak." thus they having said "Haiyi!

ma' ho'ŭnka' le'sna te''onakā ho''na ũon a'wona-e'latekā. |  
Well is that so? thus because it is us you on our roads have passed

A'tic hon te'wuko'liya a'teakwin ho''na ũon a'wona-  
Truly we poor where we live us you on our roads

e'latip ho! a'we!akuna hon a'penuwa ũsena. e! kwa hon  
having passed some- deviating we shall speak far be it Indeed, not we  
passed where

i'yuna'wam'e tomt hon i'yateuculen-u'likwi tomt hon i'yan-  
(do not) see one just we trampling on one where we are just we on one  
another another inside another

teu'koclen-ulikwi tomt hon i'ya'pinakwi tomt hon i'potcehnakwi 50  
spitting where we are inside just we on one another just we defiling ourselves  
urinating where

tomt hon i'tapantin-u'laconankwi ho' ũon a'wona-e'latepa  
just we following one pushing where us you on our roads having  
another passed

a'tichol hon a'we!akun a'penuwa ma' u'latitic pi'cle ci'wa'ni  
surely not we deviating shall talk well rather north priest

lu'kon ho'ŭno pe'nap i'snokon te'kān'a. ma' a'te a'ntecemati''  
this one wherever his word being there it shall be. Well you two summon him"

a'tcia le'ana'kāp a'tci pi'clankwin ta'hna i'tiu'lakā. . . .  
to them thus it having been said they north towards direction stood beside. . . .

\*A'tci picle ci'wa'ni o'na-e'latip "ũon i'ya" le''kwap "e'h 55  
They north priest on his having passed, "You come," thus having "Yes.  
road said,

hon i'ya ko to' te'wanan te'aiye" "ke'ũsanici ho' te'wanan  
We come. How you time are living?" "Happily I time

te'akwi lom ũon o'na-e'latekā. a'tci i'mu"—a'tci i'mup  
when (I) live me you on my road have sit down." They having sat  
passed. down

i'skon i'yanitehkunanapkā.  
there one another they questioned.

"Ma' a'tci pe'ne | hinik kwa'hol pe'nan te'yulanam'e  
Well both speak! I think some word not over long

pe'nan te'akān'a | te'wuna' u'hsona hom ũon yu''ya'kān'a." | 60  
word will be. Finally that me you will make know."

"Ma' i'na'milte | ho! yam yā'tokā ta'tcu | an te'ko-  
Well without doubt it is true Some- where  
where

hanakwi ũon i'luwakna-kwai''itunona'kā | ũom lom o'na-  
into you standing that you may be the you we on your  
ones to go out road

e'latekă. | holnotikol ŋo' pē'nap te'kănă. | "Ma' i'namiltē |  
have passed. Whichever way you speaking. it shall be." "Well, without doubt  
it is true.

a'tic le'na hon te'wuko'liy a'teakwi | ho'na ŋon a'wona-  
truly thus we poor where we live us you on our road  
65 e'latepā | ho' a'welaKuna ho' pē'nuwan ŋsena. | tomt hon  
having passed some- stepping aside I shall speak far be it. Just we  
where

i'yateuculen-u'likwi | tomt hon i'yantecukoclena'wankwi |  
on one another where we are just we on one another spitting where  
trampling inside

tomt hon i'pōtcelena'wankwi | tomt hon iyahpina'wankwi |  
just we ourselves defiling where just we on one another urinating  
where

tomt hon i'tapantin-u'laconankwi | ho'na ŋon a'wona-  
just we one another pushing where us you on our roads  
following

elatepā | hoin a'welaKuna te'kănă. | le'kwap i'skon  
having passed wherever stepping aside it shall be." Thus having there  
said

70 lu'walemakă. kăl a'wa'kă. lu'walakwin a'winan yam te'hwi-  
they arose. Hither they went village to coming their middle

tiwana i'ŋinaknan i'skon i'yantehkunanapkă. "e'h ma' la'ki-  
space sitting down there one another they questioned. "Yes well, even

mante ŋon i'yona-e'latenapkă. ime' kwatikol pē'nan te'yu-  
now we one another's roads have passed. Surely somewhat word not

lanam'e pē'nan te'a'kănă. | ŋe'wuna' u'hsona hom ŋon  
over long pē'nan word will be. Finally that me you

yu'ya'kăna'wapā | uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' ŋe'wanan te'kănă. |  
having made know that knowing it I time shall live."

75 le'ciantikwakă. | le'ciantikwapa, | "ma' i'namiltē | ho'  
Thus to one another Thus to one another "Well without doubt it some  
they said. having said. is true where

yam yā'tokă ta'teu | an ŋekohanakwi ŋon i'luwakna-  
your sun father his daylight into you standing

kwai'i'tunona'kă | ŋo'n hon a'wona-e'latekă. | le'kwap  
in order that you may be you we on your roads have passed." Thus having said  
the ones to come forth

"hai'yi ma'honkwa. | a'tic kwa hon le'na i'yuna'wam'e  
"Haiyi! Well is that so? Truly not we thus one another see

a'teakwi | tomt hon i'yateuculen-u'likwi | tomt hon  
where we live just we on one another where we are just we  
trampling inside

80 i'yateuculen-u'likwi | tomt hon iyahpina'wan kwi | tomt  
on one another spitting where just we on one another where just  
we are inside urinating

hon i'pōtcelena'wankwi | tomt hon i'tapantin-u'laconankwi |  
we ourselves defiling where just we one another pushing where  
following

ho' ŋon a'wona-elatepā | hoin a'welaKuna ho' pē'nuwan  
us you on our roads having passed some- stepping aside I shall speak  
wheres

ŋsena \* | ma' u'lat hom su'we kă'lici ci'wani lu'kon  
far be it! Well rather my younger brother west priest this one

ho'lnatikol    pe'nuwa    li'ino    te'atu    le'kwap    i'snokon    te'kän'a.  
 wherever    he may speak    'here    let it be!'    thus saying    there    it shall be.  
 ma'    te'wuna'    a'tei    a'ntecemati."    pi'cle    ci'wan'i    le'kwap    85  
 Well    finally    you two    summon him!    North    priest    thus saying,  
 a'tei    kä'liciankwini    i'tiulakä. . .  
 they    west    towards    stood beside. . .

The section between asterisks to be repeated for the priests of the six directions in the following order:

kä'lici ci'wan'i    west priest  
 a'laho ci'wan'i    south priest  
 temako ci'wan'i    east priest  
 i'yama ci'wan'i    above priest  
 ma'nila'ma ci'wan'i    below priest.

ma'    i'mat    holko'n    teu'waiya    tse'makwin    a'kä    yam  
 Well    it seems    somewhere    someone's    thought    by means of    our  
 according to  
 yä'tokä    ta'teu    an    te'kohanakwi    hon    i'luwakna    kwai'itun'ona  
 sun    father    his    daylight into    we    standing up    the ones to go out  
 te'a'kän'a."    le'kwap    a'tei    tse'makä.    "a'ma    la'    hon    90  
 may be."    Thus having said    they    thought.    "Come!    Then    we  
 kä'käli    ci'wan'i    a'cuwa'käce."    a'te    a'kä.    a'tei    kä'käli  
 Eagle    priest    let us talk with."    They    went.    They    eagle  
 i'nkwin    te'tcinan.    "ton    i'ya."    "e'h."    "a'tei    i'mu."    a'tei  
 where he    arriving.    "You    come."    "Yes."    "You two    sit down."    They  
 stays  
 i'mukä.    "a'tei    pene."    "tom    hon    ce'me'a."    "holtei."    "lalik  
 sat down.    "You two    speak."    "You    we    call."    "Where?"    "Nearby  
 hon    a'tatc    i'lapona    kä'-eto-we    ti'nana'kikwi    tom    hon  
 we    fathers    the ones    water fetish    staying quietly where    you    we  
 (we) have  
 a'ntecemati."    "haiyi."    s'a'wa-kä.    kä'-eto-we    ti'nankwi    95  
 summon."    "Haiyi."    So they went.    Water fetish    staying where  
 a'te'teikä.    "ma'    la'kimante    hom    ton    a'ntecematipa  
 they arrived.    "Well,    now even    me    you    having summoned  
 to'na    lo'    a'wona-e'latekä.    ime'    kwa'tikoli    pe'nan  
 you    I    on your roads have passed.    Surely    some    word  
 te'yulaname    pe'nan    te'a'kän'a.    te'wuna'    u'hsona    hom  
 not over long    word    will be.    Finally    that    me  
 ton    yu'ya-käpa    uhs    ai'yu'ya-na    ho'    tewanan    te'kän'a."  
 you    having made know    that    knowing it    I    time    shall live."  
 le'kwap    "mä'    i'namilte    ho'na'wan    a'tatcu    kä'-eto-we    100  
 Thus having    "Well,    without doubt it    our    fathers    Water fetish,  
 said    is true  
 teu'-eto-we    mu'-eto-we    le'-eto-we    le'    ti'kä    a'ciwani    yam  
 corn fetish    ————    wood fetish    all    society    priests    their  
 yä'tokä    ta'teu    an    te'kohanakwi    i'luwakna    kwai'in'a.  
 sun    father    his    daylight into    standing up    will come forth.



- a'wan o'nealan'e fo' te'cun'a" "ma' ho'nkwa'ati." le'kwanan  
 Their road you shall seek." "Well, is that so." Thus saying,  
 "so a'ne." le'kwanan i'tulohkä. i'mtekanan la'lika'kon  
 "now I am going." Thus saying he circled around. Coming back to his starting place a little along ways off
- 105 a'kä. i'mtekanan tem fa la'lika'kon a'kä. i'mtekanan  
 he went. Coming back to his yet again farther along he went. Coming back to his starting place  
 la' hic la'lika'kon a'kä. i'mtekap kwa hol yu'he-  
 then very farth off along he went. Having come back to his starting place not anywhere it was  
 tam'e. i'kä. kä'-eto-we ti'nakwin i'kä. i'mup a'nteh-  
 (not) clear. He came. Water fetish staying where he came. Having sat down He ques-
- kunakä. "si' lehok' fo' o'nealan kwai''inan tecukan a'kä.  
 tioned him. "Now yonder you road going out seeking went.  
 ko' ko'lea fo' u'lohnnan u'nakä." "kwa hol yu'he'tam'e."  
 In what manner you world saw?" "Not anywhere it was (not) clear."
- 110 "hai'yi." "ma' ko'ma so' a'ne." s'a'ka.  
 "Haiyi." "Well, very well so I am going." So he went.  
 a'nap a'tci tse'map. "a'ma hon yam nan-i'li te'ona cokäpiso  
 He having the two thought. "Come! we our grandfather with, the one who is  
 hon a'ntecemate." a'tci le'kwanan a'te a'kä. a'tci co'kapis  
 let us summon." They thus saying they went. They  
 i'nkwin a'tci te'tcinan "ho'na na'na ko' fo' te'wanan  
 where he they arriving, "Our grandfather how you time  
 te'aiye?" "ke'tsanici ho' te'wanan te'akwi hom fo' o'na-  
 are living?" "Happily I time when I live me you on my road
- 115 e'latekä. i'me' hi'ntcol kwa'tik pe'nan te'yulanam'e pe'nan  
 have passed. Surely I think some word not over long word  
 te'akan'a. te'wuna' u'hson hom fon yu'ya'käpa uhs ai'yu-  
 will be. Finally that me you having made know that knowing  
 ya'na ho' te'wanan te'kan'a. le'kwap ma' i'namilte. hon  
 I time shall live." Thus having said "Well, without doubt it We is true.
- a'tate i'lapona kä'-eto-we tcu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we le'-eto-we  
 fathers the ones (we) water fetish corn fetish — wood fetish  
 le' ti'kä a'ciwani yam ya'tokä ta'tcu an te'kohanakwi  
 all society priests their sun father his daylight into
- 120 i'luwakna kwai'nuwapa fo' a'wan o'nealan te'cutun'ona'ka  
 standing being about to come forth you their road -that [you] may be the one to seek
- fom hon a'ntecemati." "honkwa'." le'kwap s'a'wa'kä. a'te'tcinan  
 you we summon." "Indeed?" Thus having said so they went. Arriving
- i'tinaknan i'tehkunakä. "e'ma' la'kimante hom fon a'ntece-  
 sitting down he questioned them. "Yes, well, even now me you have  
 matikä. ime' kwa'ticol pe'nan te'yulanam'e penan te'kan'a.  
 summoned. Surely some word not over long word will be.  
 te'wuna' u'hsona hom fon yu'ya'käpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho'  
 Finally that me you having let know that knowing it I

ŋe'wanan te'kän'a." "ma' i'namilte. ho'na'wan a'tatcu ho'- 125  
time shall live." "Well, without doubt it is true, Our fathers, our

na'wan a'tsita kã'-eto-we tcu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we le'-eto-we  
mothers, water fetish, corn fetish, wood fetish,

ti'kã a'ciwani yam yäto'kã tatcu an ŋe'kohanakwi i'huwakna  
society priests, their sun father, his daylight into standing up

kwai'ina. ŋo' a'wan o'nealan te'cun'a. a'tci le'kwap a'laho-  
shall come forth. You their road shall seek." They thus having said south

ankwin ta'hna kwai'ikã. i'tulohkã. i'mtek'ap kwa hoł  
towards direction he went out. He circled around. coming back to his starting place not any-where

yu'he'tam'e kwi'likãna'na la'likã'ko a'kã. i'mtek'ap kwa hoł 130  
it was not clear. The second time farther out along he went. Coming back to his starting place not any-where

yu'he'tam'e. ha'ikãna'na la'likã'kon a'kã kwa hoł  
it was (not) clear. The third time farther out along he went not any-where

yu'he'tam'e. a'witenakãna'na hic ai'yaton a'kã. kwa hoł  
it was (not) clear. The fourth time very twice as far he went. not any-where

yu'he'tam'e. kã'-eto-we ŋi'nakwin te'tcip a'tc a'ntehkunakã.  
it was (not) clear. Water fetish where they were staying arriving they questioned him.

"si' ho'na na'na le'hok'u ŋo' u'lohnan u'nakã a'kã.  
"Now, our grand-father yonder you the world to see went.

ko' ko'lea ŋo u'lohn u'nakã." a'tci le'kwap "ma' kwa 135  
In what manner you the world saw?" They thus having said, "Well not

hoł yu'he'tam'e." "ma' ho'nkwa'ati'." a'tci le'kwap "ko'ma  
any-where it was (not) clear." "Well, is that so?" They thus having said, "Very well,

so a'ne." le'kwanan s'a'kã.  
now I am going." Thus saying so he went.

Co'kãpis a'nap a'tci tse'makã. "a'ma lał yam nan a'cu-  
having gone, they thought, "Come! now our grand-father let

wak'ace a'nelawa te'ona." a'tci le'kwanan a'tc a'kã. a'tc  
us talk with hawk the one who is." They thus saying they went. They

a'nelaw i'nkwin te'tcinan. "ŋon i'ya." "e'h." "a'tci i'mu." "ko' 140  
hawk where he arriving. "You come." "Yes." "You sit down." "How

ŋo' ŋe'wanan te'aiye." "kẽ'tsanici. "ma' s'a'tci pene. hi'niktei  
you time live?" "Happily." "Well, now you speak. I think

kwatikoł penan te'yulanam'e pe'nan te'a'kan'a. ŋe'wuna' hom ŋo'  
some word not over long word may be. Finally me you

yu'ya'kãp uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' ŋe'wanan te'kän'a" "ma'  
having let know that knowing it I time shall live." "Well,

i'namilte'. ho'na'wan a'tatcu kã'-eto-we tcu'-eto-we mu'-  
without doubt it is true. Our fathers water fetish, corn fetish,

eto-we le'-eto-we ti'kã a'ciwani yam yäto'kã ta'tcu an 145  
wood fetish, society priests, their sun father his,

- ʔe'kohanakwi i'huwakna kwai''ina ʔo a'wan o'nealan te'cun'a."  
 daylight into standing up coming forth You their road shall seek."  
 s'a'wa'kā. a'te'tcinan i'tinakā. iskon i'tehkunakā. e'h ma'  
 So they went. Arriving they sat down. There he questioned them. "Yes, well  
 la'kinante hom ʔon a'ntecematinapkā. i'me' kwa'tikoʔ pe'nan  
 even now me you have summoned. Surely some word  
 te'yulanam'e penan te'kāna. u'hson hom ʔon yu''ya'kā-  
 not over long word will be. That me you having let  
 150 na'wapa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' ʔe'wanan te'kāna. le'kwapa. "ma,  
 know that knowing it I time shall live." So having said "Well  
 inamilt'e. ho'na'wan a'tatcu kā-eto-we tcu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we  
 without doubt it is true. Our fathers' water fetishes, corn fetishes,  
 le'-eto-we ti'kā a'ciwan'i yam yātokā ta'tcu an ʔe'kohanakwi  
 wood fetishes, society priests, their sun father, his daylight, into  
 i'huwakna kwai''ina. ʔo a'wan o'nealan te'cun'a." "ma' ho'nkwa'-  
 standing up shall come you their road shall seek." "Well, indeed?"  
 ati'." le'kwanan. kwai''ikā. a'laho'ankwin ta'hna a'kā.  
 Thus saying he went out. South toward direction he went.  
 155 co'kāpis a'kāte'a'kowa a'kā. i'mte'kāp kwa yu''he'tam'e.  
 where he had along he went. Coming back to his starting place not it is (not) clear.  
 kwilikāna'na la'likānko a'kā. i'mte'kāp kwa hoʔ yu''-  
 The second time further out along he went. Having come back to his starting place not anywhere it is  
 he'tam'e. ha'ikāna'na a'kā. kātul-ulapna'kona. a'witenā-  
 (not) clear. The third time he went ocean encircling along. The fourth  
 kāna'na la'likona a'kā. i'mte'kāp kwa hoʔ yu''he'tam'e.  
 time further out along he went. Having come back to his starting place not anywhere it is (not) clear.  
 kā-eto-w ʔi'nakwin i'kā. "kwa hoʔ yu''he'tam'e." "haiyi'." "e'h.  
 Water fetishes staying place he came. "Not anywhere it is (not) clear." "Haiyi!" "Yes  
 160 ko'ma' so a'ne." "ma' lu'u." s'a'kā.  
 Very well, Now I am going. "Well go." So he went.  
 i'skon a'tci tse''makā. "si' a'ma lai hon yam nan  
 There they thought. "Now, come! Now we our grand-  
 a'ntecematikāce." a'tci le'kwanan a'tc a'kā. a'tci  
 let (us) summon." They thus saying they went. They  
 ʔsuy i'nkwin te''te'kā. "ʔon iya." "e'h. ko' ʔo ʔe'wanan  
 Humming- where he arrived. "You come." "Yes. How you time  
 Bird stays  
 te'aiye" "ʔe'tsanici ho' ʔe'wanan te'akwi hom ʔon o'na- e'latekā.  
 live?" "Happily I time when I live me you on my road have  
 passed.  
 165 a'tci i'mu." a'tci i'mupma's a'tci pe'ne. hi'ntcoʔ  
 You two sit down." They having sat down, Well now, speak. I think  
 kwa'tik pe'nan te'yulanam'e pe'nan te'akāna. ʔe'wuna'  
 some word not over long word may be. Finally  
 u'hson hon ʔon yu''ya'kāpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' ʔe'wanan  
 that us you having let know that knowing it I time

- te'kän'a." "ma' i'namilte' hon a'tatc i'lapona kã'-eto'we  
shall live." "Well, without doubt it is true, we fathers the ones (we) have water fetishes
- tcu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we le'-eto-we ti'kã a'ciwani yam  
corn fetishes wood fetishes society priests their
- yã'tokã ta'tcu an te'kohanakwi i'luwakna kwai'in'a. 170  
sun father his daylight into standing up shall come forth
- fo' o'nealan te'cutun'onakã tom hon a'ntecemati." "ma'  
You road that (you) may be you we summon." "Well,  
the one to seek
- honkwa'ati'" le'kwap s'a'wa'kã. a'te'tcinan i'tehkunakã.  
indeed?" thus having said so they went. Arriving he questioned them.
- "e'h ma' la'kimante hom ton a'ntecematinapkã. i'me'  
"Yes well even now me you have summoned. Surely
- pe'nan te'yulanam'e pe'nan te'a'kãna'" te'wuna' u'hson  
word not over long word may be" Finally that
- hom ton yu'ya'kãpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' te'wanan te'kän'a." 175  
me you having let know, that knowing it I time shall live."
- le'kwa'pa ma' i'namilte ho'na'wan a'tatcu kã'-eto-we  
thus having said "Well, without doubt our fathers water fetishes
- tcu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we le'-eto-we tikã a'ciwani yam  
corn fetishes wood fetishes society priests their
- yã'tokã tate an te'kohanakwi i'luwakna kwai'in'a. fo'  
sun father his daylight into standing up shall come forth. You
- a'wan o'nealan te'cutun'on a'kã tom hon a'ntecemati'kã"  
their road that you may be the one you we have summoned."
- le'kwap a'lahoa'nkwin ta'hna kwai'ikã. a'kã. i'mte'kãp 180  
This having said, south towards direction he went out. He went. Having come back to his starting place
- kwa hol yu'he'tam'e la'likãnkwin a'kã. i'mte'kãp kwa  
not anywheres it is (not) clear. Farther out he went. Coming back to his starting place not
- hol yu'he'tam'e. la' ha'i'kãna'n a'kã. i'mte'kãp kwa hol  
any- it is (not) clear. Then the third time he went. Having come back to his starting place not wheres
- yu'he'tam'e a'witenakãna'na a'po'yan te'lakwi'ko a'kã.  
it is (not) clear. The fourth time the sky touching along he went.
- i'mte'kãp kwa yu'he'tam'e i'kã. kã'-eto-w ti'nakwi i'nan  
Coming back to his starting place not it is (not) clear. He came. Water fetishes where they stay coming
- "kwa yu'he'tam'e" "hai'yi" "e'h ko'ma so a'ne." "ma' hu'u" 185  
"Not it is (not) clear." "Indeed?" "Yes. Very well, Now I am going." "Well, go."
- a'kã. a'tci le'skwa'kã "si' ko'pleatap e'le'kãna. le'wi  
He went. They thus said: "Now and how will it be right?" So many
- kwa'hol wowa'latapa kwa a'wek a'ipitina'ma a'walun'ona  
some creatures winged not ground do not touch. The ones who go about
- i'natikã." a'tci le'kwanan, "a'ma hon la' yam nan  
have failed." They this saying, "Come! we now our grand-father

- a'cuwaḱāce    tcu'mali    te'a'ona    tem    ta    lu'ko    ki'nawa'kā  
 let us address.    Locust    the one who is.    Yet    again    this one    wet    because of
- 190 tse''mak    tsu'metun    le'stena''    a'tci    le''kwanan    a'tc    a'ḱā.  
 thoughts    strong to be    so being''    they    thus saying    they    went.
- a'tcian    na'na    o'mali    a'tc    o'na-e'latekā.    "fon    i'ya''    "e'h  
 Their    grandfather    locust    they    on his road passed.    "You    come?"    "Yes
- hon i'ya''    "a'tci    i'mu.''    "ko'na    fon    te'wanan    a'teaiye''  
 We come.''    "You two    sit down.''    "How    you    time    are living?"
- "ḱe'tsanici.  
 "Happily.
- Si'    ma'    la'ḱimante    hom    fon    o'na-e'latekā.    i'me'    kwa'tikoli  
 Now    well    even now    me    you    on my road have    Surely    some
- 195 pe'nan    te'yulanam'e    pe'nan    te'aḱāna.    te'wuna'    u'hsona  
 word    not over long    word    may be.    Finally    that
- hom    fon    yu'ya'ḱāpa    uhs    ai'yu'ya'na    ho'    te'wanan    te'ḱāna.  
 me    you    having let know,    that    knowing it    I    time    shall live."
- le''kwaḱa    "ma'    i'namiḱte    hon    a'tate    i'laḱona    ḱā-eto-we  
 This having    "Well    without doubt    We    fathers    the ones (we)    water fetishes,  
 said,    it is true.
- tcu'-eto-we    mu'-eto-we    le'-eto-we    ti'kā    a'ciwani    yam  
 corn fetishes    —————    wood fetishes    society    priests    their
- yā'tokā    ta'tcu    an    te'ḱohanakwi    i'luwakna    kwai''itun'on a'kā  
 sun    father    his    daylight    into    standing up    that they may be the  
 ones to come forth
- 200 fon    hon    o'na-e'latekā.    "ma'    ho'nkwa.''    le''kwap    a'wakā.  
 you    we    on your road have    "Well    indeed?"    This having    they went.  
 passed."
- a'te'tcinan    i'tinaka.    i'tinaknan    i'tehkunaka.    "e'h.    ma'  
 Arriving    they sat down.    Having sat down,    he questioned them.    "Yes.    Well
- laḱimante    fo'na    lo    a'wona-e'latekā.    i'me'    kwatik    pe'nan  
 even now    you    I    on your roads have passed.    Surely    some    word
- te'yulanam'e    pe'nan    te'aḱāna    te'wuna'    u'hsona    hom    fo'  
 not over long    word    may be.    Finally    that    me    you
- yu'ya'ḱāna-wap    u'hson    ai'yu'ya'na    ho'    te'wanan    te'ḱāna.''    shall live."  
 having let know,    that    knowing it    I    time
- 205 "ma'    i'namiḱte    hon    a'tate    i'laḱona    ḱā-eto-we    tcu'-eto-we  
 "Well,    without doubt    we    fathers    the ones (we)    water fetishes    corn fetishes  
 it is true.
- mu'-eto-we    le'-eto-we    ti'kā    a'ciwani    yam    yā'tokā    ta'tcu  
 —————    wood fetishes    society    priests    their    sun    father
- an    te'ḱohanakwi    i'luwakna    kwai''itunonakā    fon    hon  
 his    daylight into    standing up    that they may be the ones to    you    we  
 come forth
- a'ntecematikā.''    ma'    ho'nkwa'ati.''    le''kwanan    o'mali    te'ona  
 have summoned.''    "Well,    indeed?"    This saying    locust    the one  
 who is
- i'skont    i'ḱeato'kā.    i'ḱeato'u.    fo'pa    tekwin    pi'kwe'kā.  
 right there    raised himself.    He rises!    Another    place to    he passed  
 through.
- 210 ta    i'skon    i'ḱeato'u.    fo'pa    te'kwin    pikwe'kā.    ta    i'skon  
 Again    there    he rises!    Another    place to    he passed  
 through.

i'k̄eato'u. ta to'pa te'kwin pikwe'k̄ä. i'skon i'k̄eato'u tomt  
 he rises! Again another place to he passed through. There he rises. Just

ko'w a'n̄an i'su'mena te'n̄k̄ä. i'su'menan te'n̄an i'kwalt  
 a little having gone strength gave out. Strength giving out back

i'k̄ä. k̄ä'-eto'we ti'nankwi i'n̄an le'skwanan "ho' ha'ik̄anan  
 he came. Water fetishes where they coming thus saying: "I three times

ho' pikwe'nan a'witenak̄āna-na ho' i'sumena te'n̄k̄ä." "hai'yi.  
 I, passing through the fourth time I strength wore out." "Indeed?

ma'ho'nkwa'ati le'kwap s'a'k̄ä. a'nap a'tci tse'mak̄ä. 215  
 Is that so?" so saying now he went. He having gone, they thought.

"A'ma lat hon yam na'na la'kaia tsa'waki a'cuwa'k̄āce  
 "Come! Now we our grandson Reed Youth let us address.

tem ta lukon ho'to'isu'mewa'k̄ä ho' e'letun le'stena." a'tci  
 Yet again this one point strong with some-where that it may so may it be." They

le'kwanan a'tc a'k̄ä. a'tci la'kaia tsa'wak̄ i'nkwin te'-  
 thus saying they went. They Reed Youth where he stays arriv-

tcinan "ton i'ya" "e'h. ko' to' i'e'wanan teaiye" "k̄e'tsanici ho'  
 ing "You come?" "Yes. How you time are living?" "Happily I

i'e'wanan teakwi hom ton o'na-e'latek̄ä. a'tci i'mu." le'kwap 220  
 time when I live me you on my road have passed. You two sit down." Thus having said

a'tci i'muk̄ä. i'skon i'tehkunak̄ä. "e'h ma' la'k̄ima' hom  
 they sat down. Then he questioned them. "Yes, well even now me

ton o'na-e'latek̄ä. hi'ntcol kwatik pe'nan te'yulanam'e  
 you on my road have passed. I think some word not over long

pe'nan te'a'k̄āna. u'hson hom ton yu'ya'k̄āpa uhs ai'yu'-  
 word may be. That me you having let know that knowing

ya'na ho' i'e'wanan te'k̄āna." le'kwap, "ma' i'namilte.  
 it I time shall live." Thus having said, "Well, without doubt it is true.

hon a'tate i'laḡona k̄ä-eto'we tcu'-eto'we mu-eto'we 225  
 We fathers the ones (we) have water fetishes Corn fetishes

le-eto'we ti'k̄ä a'ciwan-i yam yä'tok̄ä ta'tcu an i'e'-  
 Wood fetishes society priests their sun father his day-light

kohanakwi i'luwakna kwai'itun'onak̄ä tom hon o'na-e'latek̄ä."  
 into standing up that they may be the ones you we on your road have passed."

"haiyi' ma' ho'nkwa'ati" le'kwap s'a'wak̄ä. a'te'-  
 "Haiyi! well, indeed?" thus having said so they went. arriv-

tcinan i'muk̄ä. i'skon i'tehkunak̄ä e'h ma'la'kimante hom  
 ing he sat down. There he questioned them. "Yes, well even now me

ton a'ntecematina'wapa to'na lo' a'wona-e'latek̄ä. i'me' 230  
 you having summoned you I on your roads have passed. Surely

kwatik pe'nan te'yulanam'e pe'nan te'a'k̄āna. u'hsona hom  
 some word not over long word may be. That me

to yu'ya'k̄āpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na ho' i'e'wanan te'k̄āna."  
 you having let know that knowing it I time shall live.



- "ma' i'namilte. ho'na'wan a'tatcu kã'-eto-we tcu'-eto-we  
 "Well, indeed it is true. Our fathers water fetishes corn fetishes  
 mu'-eto-we le'-eto-we ti'kã a'ciwani yam yã'tokã ta'tcu  
 wood fetishes society priests, their sun father  
 235 an tẽkohanakwi i'luwakna kwai'itun'ona'kã tom hon  
 his daylight into standing up that they may be the ones to come forth you we  
 a'ntecematikã." le'kwap, "haiyi' ma' ho'nkwa'ati" le'kwanan.  
 have summoned." Thus having said, "Haiyi! Well, indeed?" le'kwanan.  
 kwai'ikã tcu'mali kwai'ikãteakowa kwai'ikã tci'mnakwe  
 he went out Locust where he had gone out along he went out For the first time  
 pi'kwai'ikã. kwi'likana'na pi'kwai'ikã. ha'ikana'na pi'kwai'ikã.  
 he passed through. The second time he passed through. The third time he passed through.  
 a'witenakana'na pi'kwai'inan yam yã'tokã ta'tcu an  
 The four thime passing through his sun father his  
 240 tẽ'kohanakwi yo'lana kwai'ikãkã. kwai'ikãnan i'kwalt  
 daylight into standing up he came forth. having come forth back  
 kwa'tokã. i'kwalt kwa'tonan kã'-eto-we ti'nankwin te'tcinan.  
 he went in. back going in water fetishes where they stayed reaching.  
 "ti'ya" le'ana'kãp "e'h" le'kwap, "si' le'hok" o'nealan te'tatun'ona  
 "You thus it was said. "Yes" thus having "Now yonder road the one that  
 come?" should be  
 to' tu'nakã a'kã. ko'teile a hol te'kãna k'e'si" le'ana'kãp  
 you to see went. How some- may it be now" thus having said  
 where  
 "ma' i'namilte' hol ko'lea ton a'ntecemana hom ton  
 "Well indeed it is so where whatever you wishing me you  
 245 a'ntecematina'pkona yam yã'tokã ta'tcu an tẽ'kohanakwi  
 what (you) have wished our sun father his daylight into  
 ho' ye'lana kwai'ikãkã k'e'si." le'kwap, "ha'li' e'lahkwa."  
 I standing went forth now." thus having said, "Hali thanks!"  
 "so a'ne." "lu'u." -le'kwap s'a'kã.  
 "Now I go." "Go on," thus hav- so he went.  
 ing said  
 Anap s'iwokwi'kã. s'iwokwi'kãp. i'skon a'tci a'cekã  
 He hav- so they sat in a circle. So they having sat in a There the two pine tree  
 ing gone circle  
 tap e'lakã. i'skon si' i'tinakã. a'witen tẽ'wana i'skon  
 ladder set up. There now they stayed. Four days there  
 250 i'tinakã. a'witen tẽ'wana-we le'kwap a'witen tẽ'pikwai'ina.  
 they stayed. Four days thus saying Four years passed.  
 i'skon le' ti'kã a'ciwani i'yan tenap pi'lappã. ti'nan  
 there all society priests for one song told off. Sitting  
 another sequences  
 e'hkona e'letokna i'hatiakã. i'st la' kwi'likana'na ti'nan'ona  
 the ones in front carefully listened. There next second row the ones who were sitting  
 were sitting  
 la' i'tehw i'hatiakã. ist ha'ikana'na ti'nanpa'ona sic a'wa-  
 then with gaps heard. Those third row the ones who were only here  
 sitting  
 yu'otip e'tsakãna la' ist a'witenakã ti'nan! yã'lona hic  
 and there being clear then those fourth row sitting the ones behind very

a'wan a'ce' lał i'tehw-e'tsaḡāna le'snaḡa co'ya tco'holo-255  
for them exceedingly then with gaps being clear being thus dry grass rattling

ap a'ḡā. i'sḡon a'wan i'e'wanan i'te'tcap i'sḡon yam  
because of there their time being used up there their

eleteli-we le'an i'yante'tciḡānan lu'walemaḡā. "si' kop  
sacred things carrying one another reaching around they arose. "Now how

li-l i'e'cinaḡāna." "ma' li-l ḡo'lin i'e'huliḡāna. le'stikleap  
here place shall be named?" "Well here sulphur fume inner world shall be." Furthermore

lu'hoti-ḡā'pinaḡāna." le'tikwanan, "e'ha ma' honkwa. le'sti-  
dust raw it shall be." Thus having said, "Eha. Well perhaps. Thus

ci'nap e'leḡāna." le'tikwanan s'u'kwai'ikā. u'kwai'inanan 260  
being called shall be well." Thus saying now they came forth. Coming forth

to'pa te'an yam e'leteli-we wo'ta-pi'laḡānan i'tinan  
one place their sacred things putting down making a row sitting down

la'ḡikā. i'sḡon a'tei ḡā'latsilu ṭap e'laḡā. ṭap e'la'up i'sḡon  
they stayed quietly. There the two spruce ladder set up. ladder having set up there

a'witen i'e'wanan i'tinaḡā. tem i'a i'sḡon le' ti'ḡā  
four days they stayed. Yet again there all society

a'ciwan-i i'yan te'nap pi'lanapḡā. ti'nan e'hḡona e'letokna  
priests for one another song sequences told off. Sitting the ones in front carefully

i'hatiḡā. ist kwi'liḡāna-na tinanan'ona lał i'tehwa 265  
listened. There second row sitting the ones then with gaps

yu'hertonapḡā. lał ist ha'ikā'an-an ti'nanpa'ona a'wai-  
they distinguished. Then those in the third row sitting the ones to them

yu'otip e'tsaḡāna lał ist ti'na yā'l'ona hic a'wan top'a  
here and there it was clear then those sitting the ones very to them single

hoł e'tsḡāna le'snaḡa kwa'hoł le'na' tco'holo'a'non'akā  
some-where being clear thus being some growing things rattling the ones because of

i'sḡon a'wan i'e'wanan i'te'tcap i'sḡon yam e'leteli-we  
there their time used up there their sacred things

le'an i'yante'tciḡāna i'sḡon lu'walemaḡā. "si' kop li 270  
carrying one another reaching around there they arose. "Now how here

icinaḡāna" "ma' li-l a'nosian i'e'huliḡāna a'ḡāp kwa  
place shall be called?" "Well here soot inner place shall be because not

tem hon i'yuna'wam'e." "e'ha honkwa. le'stecinap  
yet we one another do not see." "Eha perhaps. Thus place being called

e'leḡāna." le'iyantikwanan i'sḡon lu'walemaḡā to'pa  
will be well." Thus to one another saying there they arose another

te'kwīn a'pikwai'inan i'sḡon yam e'leteli-we wo'ta-pi'laḡānan  
place to passing through there their sacred things putting setting in a row down

i'tinan laḡikā. i'sḡon lo'kwimo ṭap e'laḡā. lo'kwimo 275  
sitting down they stayed quietly. There piñon ladder he set up. Piñon

ṭap e'la'up i'sḡon le' ti'ḡā a'ciwan-i le'w a'ciwan-i  
ladder having set up there all society priests all priests

- i'yan tenap -pi'llanapkä. ti'nan e'hk'ona e'letokna i'hatiakä.  
for one song sequences Sitting in front the ones carefully listened.  
another told off.
- kwi'likäna'na ti'nanan'ona la' i'tehw a'wan e'tsakäna  
Second row sitting the ones then with gaps to them being clear
- ha'ikānan ti'nanpa'nona a'waiyu'otip e'tsakäna a'witen-  
in the third row sitting the ones to them here and there being clear fourth
- 280 a'kāna'na ti'nan'ona a'wan to'palho' e'tsakäna le'sna'pa  
row sitting the ones to them singly somewhere being clear thus being
- co'ya tco'lolo'anona'kä. i'skon a'wan te'wanan i'te'tcap  
dry grass rattling the ones because of. There their time used up
- yam e'leteli-we le'an i'yante'tci'kāna lu'walemakä. i'luwaknan  
their sacred things carrying one another reaching they arose. Standing up
- "Si' kop li'l te'cinakān'a?" "ma' li'l te'pahaiyan te'huli'kān'a  
"Now how here place shall be called?" "Well here fog inner place shall be
- a'k'ap ko'witapte li'l e'tsakān'a." "e'ha'. ma' ho'nkwa  
because a little even here will be clear." "Eha. Well perhaps
- 285 le'stecina'pa e'le'kān'a." le'tikwanan lu'walemaknan u'kwai'ikä.  
thus place being called will be well." Thus saying arising they came forth.
- to'pa te'kwin a'pikwai'inan i'skon a'tci yam e'leteli-we  
Another place to passing through there the two their sacred things
- w'ota-pi'la'kāna i'skon i'finakä. i'finakna i'skon a'tci  
putting setting in a row there they sat down. Sitting down there the two
- la'nili'koha fap e'lakä. i'skon le' ti'kā a'ciwani le'w a'ciwani  
cottonwood ladder set up. There all society priests all priests
- i'yan te'nap-pi'llapkä. ti'nan e'hk'ona e'letokna yu'he'tonapkä.  
for one song sequences told off. Sitting in front the ones carefully distinguished
- 290 kwilikāna'na ti'nanan'ona la' i'tehw a'wan e'tsakāna. ist  
The second row sitting the ones then with gaps to them being clear. Those
- ha'ikāna'na tinanpa'ona a'wan yu'otip e'tsakāna la'  
third row sitting the ones to them here and there being clear then
- a'witenakāna'na tinan yä'l'on a'wa to'palho' e'tsakāna  
fourth row sitting last the ones to them single somewhere being clear
- le'sna'pa kwa'ho' le'na tco'lolo'an'on a'kä. i'skon a'wan  
thus being some growing things rattling because of. There their
- te'wanan i'te'tcap a'wan a'witen te'wakate'a yam e'leteli-we  
time used up their four days passed when their sacred possessions
- 295 lean iy'ante'tci'kāna lu'walemakä. i'luwaknan "si' kop li'l  
carrying one another reaching around they arose. Standing up "Now how here
- te'cinakān'a?" "ma' li'l lata te'huli'kān'a a'k'ap yam yä'tokä  
place named shall "Well, here wing inner place shall be because our sun
- ta'tcu an lata' hon u'napa." le'tikwanan u'kwai'ikä. yam  
father his wings we see." Thus saying they came forth. their

yätokä tateu an ñekohanakwi iluwakna kwai'ikä. elehol  
sun father his daylight standing came out nearly

ñekohatin'ihapa ukwai'ika.  
day about to break they came out.

ukwai'ina iskon yam e'leteli-we wo'ta-pi'lañäna i'tinan  
Coming out there their sacred things putting down setting in a row sitting down

la'fikä i'skon a'tei le'sanikwanan, "si ko'wi te'nala'apa 300  
they stayed quietly. There the two thus saying to them, "Now a little after a while

to'na'wan ta'teu yam te'ñaci'nakwi, ye'lana kwai'ikäpa  
your father his ancient place to standing coming forth

yaiyu'nikto ñon una'wa. eñ ñon i'hapisñäna'wameñäna."  
face to face you shall see Don't you shut your eyes!"

le'a'wanikwap. ko'wi tenala'ap yä'tokwai'ikä. yä'tokwai'ip  
thus to them saying a little after a while sun came forth sun coming forth

u'natikñanapkä. a'wan ñunan'kona kã'tuponol pa'ni'lep u'napa  
they saw him! Their eyes from them tear drops rolling down they saw him.

ko'wi tenala'ap tu'na a'wits'umetikä. "ha'kotci'" le'tikwakä. 305  
Little after a while eyes became strong. "Ouch!" thus they said.

a'wico te'te a'ho'i. a'wic a'hoktipa a'wic a'mitopa a'wasi  
Moss only persons. Moss tailed Moss horned hands

ke'pilaña i'yunatikñawe.  
webbed one another they saw.

"ti'comaha' haiyi lec hon a'wina'kä" le'tikwap i'skon a'wan  
"Alas! Haiyi! thus we appear?" thus saying there their

kwa ko'lehol a'te'ona yu'he-ton te'am'ap ta''teic ko'wi te'a  
not what kind beings distinguishable not being meanwhile little way

pi'tcik la'ciki sa'ma kã'kweye. an to'sito le'sanikwanan: 310  
dogwood old man alone is living. His spider thus to him saying

kãpatu'. kã'kalip to' i'waten'a." "kopla'ti?" "hon a'taic  
"Put on water. Water getting you shall wash your head." "Why?" "We fathers

i'laßona hon a'tsit i'laßona kã-e'towe teu-e'towe mu-e'towe  
the ones (we) have we mothers the ones (we) have

le-e'towe le- ti'kä a'ciwan-i yam yätokä ta'teu an  
all society priests their sun father his

ñekohanakwi i'twwakna kwai'ikä. kwa ko'lehol a'ho'  
daylight into standing have come forth. Not what kind persons

a'te'ona yu'he'tame. to' a'wan yu'he'tonan a'can'a." 315  
beings is not distinguishable. You them distinguishable shall make."

le'anikwap. "ko'cikat'el'ea ho'lomacko'na kwa teuw a'wunam'e.  
Thus to him "Certainly not! far off where not anyone does not see them.  
saying

ñinan la'ñi'kona hoñ a'wan a'yuya'naticukwa" le'kwap.  
Staying quietly where somewhere them one can not get to know them," thus saying

"eñ le'skwana.ma. te'nat e'leñäna kwa to' sa'ma te'acukwa  
"Don't thus say. However it shall be well. Not you alone shall not be.

te'nat hon a'nuwa," le'kwap k̄ā'k̄ālip i'watek̄ā. i'watep  
However we shall go," thus saying Water getting he washed Having  
warm his head, washed his  
head

320 ta'teic a'tei le'skwanan, "a'ma la! hon yam ta'teu o'na-  
meanwhile the two thus saying, "Come on. There we our father road  
e'latece pi'teik laçikona lu'kon tem ta tse''ma a'nikwatu  
let us pass. Dogwood old man the one this one yet again thinking he must know  
le'stena aḱap ho''na'wan a'tatcu k̄ā-e'to'we teu-e'to'we  
probably because our fathers  
mu-e'to'we le-e'to'we kwa ko''leho! a'ho' a'te'ona yu''he-  
not what kind persons beings distin-  
tonan te'am'e" a'tei le'kwanan a'te a'k̄ā.  
guishable is not." The two thus saying the two went.

325 a'tei te'teik̄ā. a'tei ye'makup "u'kwahtei' s'a'te iya'"  
The two arrived. The two having climbed up "Now indeed! Now the two come!"  
an to'sito le'kwanan an tu'knan i'tcupatcunan ye'mak̄ā.  
His spider thus saying his toe crawling along climbed up.  
la'cokt he'k̄āpana i'tcupatcuḱā. a'tei kwa'tok̄ā. a'tei  
Ear back part she crawled along. The two entered. The two  
kwa'top "ṭon i'ya" le'kwap "e'h. ho''na ta'teu ko' ṭon  
having entered "You come!" thus having said "Yes. Our father, how you  
ṭe'wanan te'aiye." "ḱetsanici ho' ṭe'wanan te'akwi hom  
time live?" "Happily I time living when my

330 ṭon o'na-e'latek̄ā. a'tei i'mu." a'tei i'muk̄ā. "ma' s'a'tei  
you road have passed. Both sit down." The two sat down. "Well, now both  
ṭe'ne. hinik̄tei kwa'tikol ṭe'nan teyuḱanam'e ṭe'nan te'aḱāna.  
speak. I think some kind word not too long word shall be.  
tewuna' u'hsona hom ṭon yu''ya-k̄āpa uhs ai'yu''yana ho'  
Finally that me you make know that knowing I  
ṭewanan te'k̄āna." "ma' i'namilte'. hon a'tate i'laḱona  
time shall live." "Well indeed it is so. We fathers having the ones  
k̄ā-e'to'we teu-e'to'we mu-e'to'we le-e'to'we le' ti'k̄ā a'ciwani  
all society priests

335 yam yā'tok̄ā ta'teu an ṭe'kohanakwi i'luwakna kwai''ina'  
their sun father his daylight into standing coming out  
kwa ko''leho! a'ho' a'te'ona yu''he'to te'am'eḱa a'k̄ā ṭom  
not what kind persons beings distinguishable not being therefore you  
hon o'na-e'latek̄ā." "haiyi' ma' honkwa'ati. ko'cikate'lea.  
we road have passed." "haiyi. Well perhaps so. Certainly not.  
ho'ḱomackona kwa teu'wa u'nam'e. ṭi'nan la'ḱi'kona hon  
From far off where not someone does not see. Staying where they are we  
quiet  
teuw a'wanaiyu'ya-nacukwa." le'kwanan, "ma' e'te ṭom hon  
someone can not know them." Thus saying, "Well but you we

340 a'keik̄ā." a'tei le'kwap s'a'waḱā.  
have chosen." the two thus saying now they went.  
a'te'tcinan "hom a'tatcu hom a'tsita ko''na ṭon ṭe'wanan  
Arriving my fathers my mothers how you time  
a'teaiye?" "ḱetsanici ho''na'wan ta'teu ho''na'wan tea''le.  
are living?" "Happily our father our child

- i'tinakä. le'tikwap i'mukä. i'munan i'skən i'tehkuna'kä.  
 he seated, thus having said he sat down. Sitting down there he questioned them.
- "e'ma la'kiman'te hom ñon a'ntecematina'wapa ño'na lo' 345  
 "Well yes even now me you having wished for you I
- a'wona-e'latekä. hi'ntcoł kwa'tik pe'nan te'yulanam'e penan  
 roads have passed. I think some kind of word not too long word
- te'a'kän'a. ñe'wuna' u'hson hom ñon yu'ya'kän'a'wapa  
 shall be. Finally that me you having made know
- u'hs ai'yu'ya'na ho' ñe'wanan te'kän'a. le'kwap ma'  
 that knowing I time shall live." Thus having said "Well
- i'namilte ho'na'wan a'tateu ho'na'wan a'tsita kã'-eto-we  
 indeed it is true our fathers our mothers
- teu-eto-we mu-eto-we le-eto-we yam yã'tokä ta'teu an 350  
 their sun father [his]
- ñe'kohanakwi kwai'ipte kwa ko'leahoł lukni a'ho' a'te'ona  
 daylight into having come not what kind these persons beings
- ķes kwa yu'he'tonan te'amapa ñom hon a'ntecematina'p'kä."  
 now not distinguishable not being you we have wished for."
- le'an'kãp "haiyi' ma ho' i'tetcut'u. ko'cikat'el'ea. ho'łomac'kona  
 Thus being said "Haiyi! Well I let (me) try Certainly not. From far off
- kwa teu'wa a'wunam'e. ñi'nan la'ķi'kona ko'le' a'ho'i  
 not someone sees them. Staying quietly where what kind persons
- a'te'ona a'wan aiyu'yanatina'cukwa. ma ho' i'tetecuna 355  
 beings them one can not get to know. "Well I shall try"
- le'kwanan wo'tal-pi'lan ye'liawelakä. an to'sito  
 thus saying laying in a row he stood beside them. To him spider
- le'skwanan lił al-pa'łtona kã'-eton'e lał ist an  
 thus saying, "Here" lying at the end then those it
- i'pito-we teu'-eto-we lał ist al'ona le'-eton'e lał ist  
 touching then those lying the ones then those
- i'pito-we mu'-eto-we" le'anikwap le'skwakä "ma lu'kä  
 touching thus to him having said thus he said "Well this
- kã'-eton'e lał luk an i'pito-we ñem'la teu'-eto-we lał 360  
 Then this it touching all Then
- luk le'-eton'e lał luk an i'pito-we ñem'la mu-eto-we  
 this Then this it touching all
- le'kwap "halihi' elahkwa'." ko' ko'lea lu'kni a'wa yã'teu  
 Thus having said "Halihi! Thanks!" How which one these their month
- pi'lan te'kän'a? le'kwap lu'kä ta'yamteo luk o'nan-u'la'kakwam'e  
 sequence shall be?" thus having said, "This branches broken this on the road no snow lying  
 (January) (February)
- luk li'tekwakä tsa'n'ona luk li'tekwakä la'n'ona luk yã'teu  
 this sandstorm small the one this sandstorm large the one this month  
 (March) (April) (May)
- kwa ci'am'e lu'kä i'kohpu luk ta'yamteo luk o'nan-u'la'kä-365  
 not named this turn about this branches broken this on the no snow  
 (June) (July) road (August)
- kwam'e luk li'tekwakä tsa'n'ona luk li'tekwakä la'n'ona  
 lying this sandstorms small the ones this sandstorms large the ones  
 (September) (October)



- luk yāteu kwa ei'am'e luk i'kohpu. le'wi lukā yāteu  
 this month not named this turn about (December) So many this months  
 pi'lan'e." "halihī'. elahkwa' ho'na'wan ta'teu kwa ūo'  
 sequence." "Halihī! Thanks our father not you  
 tewukoli'yamekāna. et kwa ūo' e'leteli'we tse'mak-ūela-  
 poor shall (not) be. But not you sacred things thoughts touching  
 370 kwam'ekā'en'te ho' kā'ki i'tiwanan yu'he'ton yo'a'pa ūom  
 even if not somewhere sometime the middle distinguishable becoming your  
 tse'makwin akā luknia'wan kwaho' haito i'keato'kāna  
 thoughts because of these their something ordained shall rise.  
 kwaho' tomt ūo' wo' teamekāna." le'anakna' yāto'kā  
 Something just you servant shall not be." Thus having been said Sun  
 ukna'kā "luk ūom eletelin tekāna." le'na teatip a'teakā.  
 was given him "this your sacred thing shall be." Thus happened they lived.  
 a'witen ūe'wana'we a'witen ūe'wana'we le'kwap a'witen  
 Four days four days thus saying four  
 375 ūe'pikwai'ina i'skon a'teakā—n a'wan ūe'wanan i'te'tcan'ihap  
 years there living their time used up about to be  
 tu'nunuti'kā. a'tei le'skwanan "teu'wap ūa imetci'kā?" "ma  
 it rumbled. The two thus saying "Who also remains behind?" "Well  
 ime et hon ūe'mloi le'stena" le'kwap ūa tu'nunuti'kā. ūa  
 I don't but we all so I thought," thus having said again it rumbled. Again  
 tu'nunuti' "ma i'mat tem ūa teu'ho' i'metci'kāci?" le'kwa-  
 having rumbled "Well apparently yet again someone remained behind?" thus say-  
 nan a'te a'kā. yam u'kawi'ikā tekwin a'tei te'tcip  
 ing the two went. Their coming out place the two arriving  
 380 a'tei e'laiye. a'mpisatap tsi'polo'we. a'tei le'skwanan  
 the two stand. Mischief maker and Mexicans. The two thus saying  
 "haiyi' temc ūa ūon i'metci'kā?" "e." "tem ūac kwa'ho'  
 "Haiyi? Yet also you remained behind?" "Yes." "Yet again something  
 a'kā e'letun'ona ūon ho'i?" a'tei le'kwap "ma le'snapa.  
 because of to be well the one you person?" the two thus having said "Well thus being.  
 e' li' kā'-eto'we ūe'kohana ya'hna'wapte kwa ūo'wa  
 Yes, here ——— daylight issued even though not corn  
 kōke an kā'hkwin a'kā a'ho' a'team'e. kāwawuli'a'w  
 good its juice with persons are not. Wild grasses  
 385 a'kā te'te a'ho'i. tem ūa ho' i'tiwanan'e ūon o'na-e'latena-  
 with only persons. Yet also somewhere the middle you road having  
 wapa hom ak e'lekāna. ho' ho' e'ma'ana u'lohna  
 passed me with shall be well. some- people will be many country  
 ūenan'a kwa e'letun te'am'e. le'sna te'onakā ho' kwei'ikā."  
 will give out not to be well is not this being the one because of I came forth."

le'kwap "haiyi' ma honkwa'ati. si ta't'ci fo'o kwap a'kā  
Thus having "Haiyi! Well, perhaps it is so. No meanwhile you, what with  
said,

tom e'letun'ona fo' ho'i?" le'anikwap "ma i'nami'te. hol  
your to be well the one you person?" Thus to him "Well, indeed it is true. Some-  
having said, where

i'tiwanan e'latenaḡāpa homan fo'wacanan a'kā tem ta 390  
the middle having come upon my seed with yet also

e'leḡān'a. a'ḡāp ḡā'-eto-we kwa fo'wacanan'e ḡōḡeḡā  
shall be well. Because not seed good with

a'ho' a'team'e. ḡā'wawulaw a'ḡā te't'ci. hom fo'wacanan'e  
persons are (not). Wild grasses with only. My seed (of corn)

no'anoti-we." le'kwap a't'ci il-a'ḡā. ḡā'-eto-we ti'nakwin  
bean clans." Thus having said the two with he went. staying place

a't'et'cinan i'tinaḡāp i'skon a'ntehkunakā. "si a'ma' ko'plea  
arriving having sat down there he questioned him. "Now come on how

tom a'ḡā e'leḡān'a?" "ma luḡā hom fo'wacanan lu'ptsikwa," 395  
you with shall be well?" "Well this my seed of corn yellow,"

le'kwanan lu'ptsikwa mi'le u'naḡāḡā. "si yam ho'i hom  
thus saying yellow ear of corn he showed. "Now your person to me

u'tsi" le'kwap wi'haḡsan u'ḡā. wi'haḡsan u'tsip i'mat kohol  
give," thus having said baby he gave. Baby having apparently some  
thing

a'lewukā. we'tiḡā. ko'wi te'wap a'cekā. a'cep  
he did to her. She became sick. A little time she died. Having died

le'skwa "si pa'lona-we. a'ḡoknan pa'lo'ḡā. a'witen te'wap  
thus he "Now bury her." Digging a hole he buried her. Four days past  
says

a't'cia le'sanikwakā "a'ma si tun-te'hace. yam u'kwai'ikā 400  
to the two thus to them he said, "Come now go see her. Their coming out

te'kwin a'te a'ḡā. a't'ci te't'ci'p i'sa'na so'pi'laḡe'a. a't'ci  
place to the two went. The two having arrived the little one sand is scooping The two  
up.

te't'ci'p ci'kwitco'ya ḡe'tsana. a'te u'nan a'te a'ḡā a't'ci  
having arrived she smiles she is happy. The two seeing the two went. The two

ti'nankwin te't'cinan "he' hi'to! honkwat fon a'ḡā e'letun'ona  
where they were arriving "Listen! Perhaps you with to be well the one  
staying

tem ho'i kwa he'kw a'cenamḡā." "ma le'sna te'ḡān'a a't'cia  
yet person not really did not die." "Well thus it shall be," to the two

le'anikwakā. 405  
thus to them he said.

i'skon yam e'leteli-we i'lean i'yantetciḡānan ḡāl a'wa'ḡā.  
There their sacred things picking up one another reaching hither they went.  
around

ḡā'ḡāna te'i mi'ḡāḡā a'wicoḡāia le'anaḡānankwi a'wiḡā.  
Sometime the first beginning moss spring thus where it is called they came.  
being

i'skon yam e'leteli-we wo'ta-pi'lana iskon i'tinaḡā. a'witen  
There their sacred things putting down setting in there they sat down. Four  
a row

tewana le'anaḡāp a'witen te'pikwai'ina i'skon  
days thus it being said four years there the two

410 wo'kokoḡā. a'tei a'wan a'wicokti'we a'wan a'wiconmitowe  
washed them. The two their moss tails their moss horns

le' a'tei wo'tuḡā. "teukwe' le'nap ion a'teikwanaḡān.a."  
all the two took away. "Behold, thus being you sweet shall be."

i'skon a'teakā—  
There they stayed.

a'wan tewanan i'te'tcap kāl a'wakā. yam e'leteli'we  
Their Their time used up hither they went. Their sacred things

lean i'yante'tciḡāna iti'wana te'cuna kāl'hokw a'wona'kā.  
carry- one another reaching around the middle seeking off yonder roads went.  
ing

415 kā'kā teimiḡākā a'weluyan ḡaia'kwi a'wikā. i'skon  
Sometime the first beginning cumulus cloud spring to they came. There

yam e'leteli'we wo'ta-pi'ana i'tinan ḡa'ḡikna i'skon  
their sacred things putting down setting in a row sitting down staying quietly there

a'witen te'wana'we i'tinaḡā. a'witen te'wana'we le'kwap  
four days they sat down. Four days thus saying

a'witen te'pikwai'ina. i'skon i'tinaḡā. i'skon yam  
four years. There they sat down. There their

te'wanan pi'lanapḡā. ḡā-eto'we a'wan a'witen te'lina'we  
time they told off. their four nights

420 a'witen yā'to'we ḡā'ḡsana ḡi'ton-te'ḡakwi a'wan te'wanan  
four days fine rain rain touching their time

te'wakā. le'-eto'we mu'-eto'we a'wan tewana yo'aḡa  
time passed. their days becoming

a'wite yā'to'we a'witen te'lina'we u'pina te'wakā. a'wan  
four days four nights snow time passed. Their

te'wanan i'te'tcap i'skon a'teakā.  
time used up there they stayed

a'wan te'wanan i'te'tcap ḡu'walemaḡā. yam e'leteli'we  
Their time used up they arose. Their sacred things

425 lean i'yante'tciḡāna ḡa'ok' a'wona'kā. kā'kā  
carrying one another reaching around off yonder roads went. Sometime

tei'miḡākā ci'pololon ḡaia le'anaḡānkwi o'neal i'ḡanapḡā.  
first beginning mist spring thus called to road they brought.

i'skon i'tinan ḡa'ḡikna yam e'leteli'we wo'ta-pi'ana  
There sitting down staying quietly their sacred things putting down setting in a row

i'tinan ḡa'ḡikna. i'skon i'yan te'wanan pi'lanapḡā. i'yan  
sitting down. There one another time they counted up. For one another

ḡā'cimakā u'lohn u'natinapḡā ḡā'-eto'w a'wa a'witen  
waters with world they beheld their four

430 yā'to'we a'witen te'lina'we ḡā'ḡana ḡi'ton-te'ḡakwi a'wan  
days four nights heavy rain rain touching their

te'wanan te'aḡā. a'wan te'wanan i'te'tcap le'-eto'we  
time was. Their time used up

mu'-eton'e a'wan te'wanan yo'aḡa a'wite yā'to'we  
their time becoming four days

|                                                |                                |                                        |                            |                                 |                                   |
|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a'witen<br>four                                | te'hi'na'we<br>nights          | u'pinan-te'lakwi<br>snow touching      | a'wan<br>their             | u'lohnna<br>world               | te'a'kä.<br>was.                  |
| a'wan<br>Their                                 | te'wanan<br>time               | i'te'tcapa<br>used up                  | i'skon<br>there            | a'teakä.<br>they stayed.        |                                   |
| a'wan<br>Their                                 | te'm'la<br>all                 | te'wakä<br>time passed                 | tea'ana<br>when it was     | yam<br>their                    | e'leteli'we<br>sacred things      |
| i'yante'teikana<br>one another reaching around | kälhok <sup>u</sup><br>hither  | a'wona'kä.<br>roads went.              | a'wona'kä.<br>Roads went.  | äm-e'lan<br>Tree standing       | lean 435                          |
| kai'akwi<br>spring to                          | a'wikä.<br>they came.          | i'skon<br>There                        | i'tinan<br>sitting down    | lakikna<br>staying quietly      | yam<br>their                      |
| wo'ta-api'lana<br>putting down                 | i'tinan<br>setting in a row    | lakikä.<br>they stayed quietly         | i'skon<br>There            | i'yan<br>one another            | te'wanan<br>time                  |
| unati'kakä.<br>made see.                       |                                |                                        |                            |                                 |                                   |
| kä'-eto'w<br>—                                 | a'wan<br>their                 | te'wanana<br>time                      | a'wite<br>four             | yä'to'we<br>days                | a'witen<br>four                   |
| te'hina'we<br>nights                           | kätsana<br>fine rain           | iton-te'lakwi<br>rain touching         | a'wan<br>their             | te'wanan<br>time                | a'kä. 440<br>went.                |
| a'wan<br>Their                                 | te'wanan<br>time               | i'te'tcapa<br>used up                  | le'-eton'e<br>—            | mu'-eto'we<br>—                 | a'wan<br>their                    |
| te'wanan<br>time                               | yo'äpa<br>becoming             | a'wite<br>four                         | yä'to'we<br>days           | a'witen<br>four                 | te'hina'we<br>nights              |
| te'lakwi<br>touching                           | a'wan<br>their                 | u'lohnna<br>world.                     | te'a'kä.<br>was.           | a'wan<br>Their                  | te'wanan<br>time                  |
| i'skon<br>there                                | a'teakä—<br>they stayed.       |                                        |                            |                                 | u'pinan-<br>snow                  |
| a'wan<br>Their                                 | te'm'la<br>all                 | te'wana<br>time                        | te'a'ana<br>when it was    | yam<br>their                    | e'leteli'we<br>sacred things      |
| i'yante'teikana<br>one another reaching around | i'skon<br>there                | lu'walemaknan<br>arising               | kä'l<br>hither             | a'wa'kä.<br>they came.          | kä'kä<br>Sometime                 |
| tei'mikakä<br>First beginning                  | upuilimakwi<br>— to            | a'wikä.<br>they came.                  | i'skon<br>There            | a'winan<br>coming               | yam<br>their                      |
| e'leteli'we<br>sacred things                   | wo'ta-pi'lanan<br>putting down | i'tinan<br>setting in a row            | lakiknan<br>sitting down   | i'skon<br>staying quietly       | i'ya'tsu-<br>there                |
| manapk'ä.<br>they contested.                   | i'skon<br>There                | yam<br>their                           | to'wacanan<br>seed of corn | te'm'la<br>all                  | i'tsumanapkä.<br>they planted.    |
| i'skon<br>There                                | i'yan<br>one another           | kä'cimakä<br>waters with               | i'yan<br>one another       | te'wanan<br>time                | u'natina'kä.<br>was beheld.       |
| eto'w<br>—                                     | a'wa<br>their                  | a'witen<br>four                        | yä'to'we<br>days           | kä'lana<br>heavy rain           | iton-te'lakwi<br>rain touching    |
| i'skon<br>there                                | a'wan<br>their                 | a'towa<br>corn plants                  | ho'i<br>persons            | ya'kanapkä.<br>became finished. | kwali'tam'e<br>There was no rain; |
| i'skon<br>There                                | a'tci<br>the two               | le'skwa'kä<br>thus said,               | "si<br>Now,                | tcu'wakan<br>who the one        | tse'makwinakä<br>thoughts with    |
| ho'na'wan<br>our                               | a'towa<br>corn plants          | yä'litina?"<br>will become palatable?" | a'tci<br>The two           | le'kwana<br>thus saying         | ko'ko<br>crow                     |
|                                                |                                |                                        |                            |                                 | kwi'n'e<br>black                  |

- 455 a'ntecematikā.      lu'kon      i'na      a'wan      a'towa      a'cuklīpa  
they summoned.      This one      coming      their      corn plants      pecking
- a'wisikwatikā.      a'wisikwatīpa      s'u'hson      a'kā      yo'navilap      a'teakā.  
they became good      Having become good      now that one      with      becoming with      they lived.  
to eat.      to eat
- i'skōn      a'wan      tē'wanan      i'te'teap      i'skōn      lu'walemakā.  
There      their      time      used up.      There      they arose.
- yam      e'leteliwe      i'yante'teikāna      kał      a'wakā.      kākā      tci'-  
Their      sacred things      one another      reaching      hither      they went.      Sometime      first  
around
- mi'kākā      kē'a'ī'nakwi      a'wikā.      i'skōn      yam      e'leteliwe  
beginning      cornstalk sitting to      they came.      There      their      sacred things
- 460 wo'ta-pi'la'kāna      i'skōn      a'witen      tē'wanan      i'tinakā.      a'witen  
putting      setting in      there      four      days      they sat down.      Four  
down      a row
- tē'wana      le'kwap      a'witen      tē'pikwai'ina.      i'skōn      yam      tō'wacōnan  
days      thus said      four      years.      There      their      seed of corn
- tē'mla      i'isumanap'kā.      i'skōn      i'yan      kākā'cim      a'kā      i'yan  
all      they planted.      There      one another      waters      with      one  
another
- tē'wanan      u'natina'kā.      kākā'-eto-w      a'wite      yā'to-we      a'witen  
time      was beheld.      four      days      four
- tē'lina-we      kākā'ana      li'ton-tē'lakwi      le'-eto-we      mu'-eto-we      a'wite  
nights      heavy rain      rain      touching      four
- 465 yā'to-we      a'witen      tē'lina-we      u'pinan-tē'lakwi      a'wan      u'lohnan  
days      four      nights      snow      touching      their      world
- tē'akā.      a'wan      tē'wanan      i'te'teikā.      a'wan      a'towa      ho'i-ya'-  
was.      Their      time      was used up.      Their      corn plants      persons
- kānap'kā.      ho'i-ya'kāna-wap      a'lo'o.      i'skōn      a'tci      le'skwanan  
were finished.      persons being finished      they were hard.      There      the two      thus saying,
- "si      tē'wap      tse'makwin      a'kā      ho'na'wan      a'towa      a'wicakā-  
"Now      who      thoughts      with      our      corn plants      shall become
- tin'a?"      "ma      la'ci'powa."      a'tci      le'kwanan      a'tci      mu'hukw  
soft?"      "Well, soft feather bundle."      the two      thus saying      the two      owl
- 470 a'ntecematikā.      mu'hukw      i'kākā.      i'nan      a'wan      a'towa  
summoned.      Owl      came.      Coming      their      corn plants
- a'cuklīpa      a'wicakatikā.  
pecking      they became soft.
- i'skōn      lu'walemakunti'ahna      a'tci      le'skwa'kā      "si      ama      lai  
There      about to arise      the two      thus said,      "Now      come on      there
- hon      tō'wa      ci'wan      a'cuwakāce.      a'tci      le'kwanan      a'tci      a'kā.  
we      corn      priest      let us speak with."      The two      thus saying      the two      went.
- a'tci      tō'wa      ci'wan      an      i'inkwin      tē'tcinan      "ko'na      tōn      tē'wanan  
The two      corn      priest      his      staying place      arriving      "How      you      time
- 475 a'teaiye."      "kē'tsanici      hon      tē'wanan      a'teakwi      ho'na      tōn      a'wona-  
are living?"      "Happily      we      time      living when      us      you      roads
- e'latekā      a'tci      i'mu."      a'tci      i'mukā.      i'skōn      i'yanthekunanap'kā.  
have passed.      Both      sit down."      The two      sat down.      There      one another they questioned.
- "ma      a'tci      pene.      hi'nik      kwa'tik      pē'nan      tē'yulanam'e      pēnan  
"Well      both      speak out.      I think      some-kind      word      not too long      word
- tē'kāna.      tē'wuna'      u'hsona      hom      tōn      yu'ya'kāpa      uhs  
will be.      Finally      that      me      you      making know      that

ai'yu'ya-na ho' fe'wana te'aḱan'a." "ma i'namilte. fe'wan  
knowing I time shall live." "Well without doubt it To-morrow  
is true.

yā'ton'e hon lu'wale'kona li'no hon i'tiwanan te'cun a'ne. 480  
day we standing the ones right here we the middle seeking go.

kwa ho! hon i'tiwanan e'latena'ma ho'na-wan tca'we a'woḱ  
Not any- where we the middle do not come upon. Our children, women

a'te'ona a'yu'te'tciḱä. a'koye'a. le'sna te'onakä ūom hon  
beings have gotten tired. They are crying. Thus being because of you we

o'na-e'lateḱä. ūewa yā'ton ūom tcawatci ūun e'hkwiḱā'na.  
road have passed. To-morrow day your children both looking shall go ahead.

ho'nkwat ho! a'tci i'tiwanan e'latepa i'skon ho'na-wan  
Perhaps some- where the two the middle coming upon there our

a'tatcu ho'na-wan a'tsita ḱä-eto-we tca'-eto-we mu'-eto-we 485  
fathers our mothers

le'-eto-we le ti'ḱä a'ciwani yu'taḱitiḱa ho'na-wan tca'we  
all society priests coming to rest our children

yu'te'tcinana-wa. aḱäp son i'tiwanan e'laten-i'natiḱäḱä."  
shall rest. Because now we the middle to come upon have failed.

"haiyi' ma honkwa'. yu'he'to ḱenan a'ḱä ho'na ūon a'wona-  
"Hail! Well perhaps. Plain word with us you roads

e'lateḱä. ma te'nat le'sna te'ḱā'na." le'kwap s'atc a'ḱä.  
have passed. Well, however thus it shall be." Thus having now the two went.

fe'wap ca'mli lu'walemakuntiahnan mi'le yaminakna ūa 490  
Next day early being about to arise ear of corn being broken and

mo'le wo'tiḱä. ūo'wa ci'wani a'tci yelakä. a'tci le'skwakä  
egg he put down. Corn priest(s) both stood up. The two said,

"si hom tca'we ha'me li'wan a'lahoankwin ta'hna ūon  
"Now my children some this way to the south direction you

a'wa'nuwa. lu'ḱä ūon wo'tihna-wa." le'tikwaḱa mi'l-  
shall go. This you shall take. Thus saying ear of corn

am mi'ton'e la! mu'la mo'le. la! mi'l an co'walin'e la!  
its horn and then macaw egg. Then ear its butt and then

ḱwa'laci mo'le ḱālem a'wa'tun'ona wo'tihnapḱä. la! alaho- 495  
raven egg hither to come the ones they took. Then south

ankwin a'wa'tun'ona mi'l am miton tap mu'la mo'le.  
to to go the ones ear its horn and macaw egg.

"si hom tca'we li'wan a'lahoankwin ta'hna ūon a'wa'nuwa.  
"Now my children this way south to direction you shall go.

ten ḱäḱi ho! hon i'tiwana e'latenapḱä tea ḱä'komastapte  
Yet sometime we the middle have come upon when after a long time even

hon i'yona-e'latena-wa." le'tikwanan ḱäl a'wa'ḱä.  
we one another's roads shall pass." Thus saying hither they went.

Ko'ḱuwalawatun te'kwin a'wiḱä. e'lactok yu'te'tcip am 500  
Katcina village to be place to they came. Girl getting tired her

pa'pa le'skwakä, "a'ma wan i'mu. ho' ūuna ye'makut'u.  
elder thus said, "Come on, wait, sit down. I looking let me climb up.



- ko'kona    hon    a'wa'tun    te'kwin    te'lina'ān'a."    le'kwap  
 How it is    we    about to go    place    it shall appear."    Thus saying
- an i'kin i'mup    am pa'pa te'po'ālakwi    ye'makā.    ye'maknan  
 his younger sister    her elder brother    hill    to    climbed up.    Climbing up
- k'ā'tem    ūn-e'la'yāla'kā.    "e'ha! ho'nkwa le'em'i hon a'wa'tun  
 hither    looking standing    he was above.    "Eha!    Perhaps    on this side    we    about to go
- 505 te'kwi.    ho'nkwa le'    te'lin'a.    le'kwanan    pa'ni'kā.    pa'niup  
 place.    Perhaps    thus    it appears."    Thus saying    he descended.    Descending
- ta'htciē    an i'kina so'kwai'ikānan    yā'liulanān    yu'te'tci'āpan  
 meanwhile    his younger sister    sand scooping out    lying down on it    being tired
- a'lapa    pi'nan i'nan    an cu'lihte    k'e'atop    i'te'h    k'e'atop  
 sleeping    wind    coming    her grass apron    rising    rising    rising
- le'nat    a'co    tēu'alap    pa'ni'nan    u'nati'ānan    ko'kwiyute'ci  
 thus    vulva    lying asleep    he descending    beholding    feeling desire
- k'ānan    yam i'kina    ye'maknan    yam i'kin    co'hap    yam  
                  his    sister    climbing on    his younger sister    intercourse    his
- 510 i'kin o'kwinan    "hiyaha'"    le'kwan'iyahnan    "wa'tsela wa'tsela"  
 younger    waking    "Hiyaha"    thus    about to say    "Watsela    watsela," (she said)
- am pa'pa    "ha hwai'"    le'kwanan i'muna    pi'laknan    sa'kwin  
 Her elder brother    "Hahwai'"    thus saying    sitting    arising    foot
- a'kā    ūomt    ūsi'na'up    k'ā'piyālan    yo'kā.    a'tci    pēn    a'l'u'ya.  
 with    just    drawing    river course    became.    The two    speaking    go about.
- am pa'pa    ko'yemcinama    pē'yep    an i'kina    ko'mokātsik  
 Her elder brother    koyemci like    speaking    his younger sister    komokatsik
- pē'yep    a'ho'    a'wi'kā.  
 speaking    people    came.
- 515    "he    he.    ya'sek    ho'na'wan    tcawa'tci    ūop    a'ho'i  
                  "He    he    alas    our    children both    other    persons
- yo'kā."    le'tikwap    am pa'pa    pē'nan    "la'    a'wiwahi'    ten  
 became."    Thus saying    her elder brother    speaking,    "There    cross over    however
- e'le'ān'ai'."    le'kwap    a'te'tcinan    u'kwatoka.    k'ā'winana  
 it will be well,"    thus saying    they arriving    they entered    river in
- u'kwatop    a'wan    a'ūsana    ha'me    mi'kaial'    a'wiap    ha'me  
 having entered    their    children    some    water snakes    coming,    others
- e'to'w    a'wi'ap    ha'me    ta'k    a'wi'ap    ha'me    te'wac    a'wiap  
 turtles    becoming,    others    frogs    coming,    others    lizards    coming,
- 520 yam    a'tsita    a'wuteclenawap    a'konan    a'yaknaenawap  
 their    mothers    having bitten    crying out    dropping them
- k'ā'wiankwin    u'kwatēlap    ūopa'kān    a'ūaci    te'tci    i'ūinan-  
                  into    entering    other side    old people    only    sitting down
- yālakāp.    ho'    i'tiwiha'kip    a'tci    le'skwanan    "si wan yu'lukiti.  
                  above    people    divided in half    the two    thus saying,    "Now, wait    stay here."
- a'tci    le'kwap    ha'me    yu'ūakitip.    a'tci    le'skwakā    si    ūon  
 The two    thus saying,    some    waiting quietly,    the two    thus said,    "Now    you
- u'kwatop    ūo'na'wan    tca'we    kwa'hol    wo'wea'an    a'wiyan'a.  
 having entered    your    children    some    creatures dangerous    will become.

fo' a'wuteclana'wapa konan'te el i'yakna'ma. fo'pa'ka 525  
You having bitten crying out don't drop them. Other side  
although

fon u'kwai'ip fo''na'wan tea'we yam ko'n ho'i te'akona  
you coming out your children their kind person which they were

kwa a'wiyo'na'mapa tei'mi fon kwi'hokwaiina'wa." le'a'wanti-  
not not becoming then first you will throw in." Thus to them

kwap u'kwatel'ka. a'wan tea'we fo'p a'ho' a'wiyo'na' a'wu-  
saying they went in Their children other persons becoming having  
one by one.

teclana'wapa a'konan'te a'wiwa'hika. a'wan tea'we i'kwalt  
bitten them crying out although they crossed over. Their children back

yam ko'n ho'i te'akona a'ho' a'wiyo'apa. "hanah'a' honkwa" 530  
their kind person that they were persons becoming. "Hanaa! Perhaps!

le'nap e'lekanan'ka." le'tikwana' i'skon tem'i a'wiwa'hika.  
thus it would have been well." Thus saying there all were on the other side.

i'skon yam e'leteli-we wo'ta-pi'la'kana i'tinan la'kika.  
There their sacred things putting setting down in a row sitting down stayed quietly.

i'tinan la'kika a'witen te'wana-we le'kwap a'witen  
Sitting down staying quietly four days thus saying four

te'pikwai'ina i'tinakä. iskon kona te'lina-we tom't  
years they stayed. There each night just

te'na-we'ana'ka e'lute a'teaiye. a'wan tem'la te'wap a'tci 535  
singing loud with joyfully they lived. Their all time passed the two

le'skwanan "si a'ma la' hon ne'we'kwe a'cuwa'kace."  
thus saying, "Now come on there we Ne'we'kwe let us speak to."

le' a'te i'kwana a'tci ne'we'kwe tinankwin a'ka. a'tci  
Thus the two saying the two Ne'we'kwe staying where they went. The two

te'tcinan "ko' fon te'wanan a'teaiye." "ke'tsanici. tone i'ya.  
arriving, "How you time are living?" "Happily you come?

i'tina'ka." a'tci i'mup i'skon a'tci a'ntehkunaka. "si ma a'tci  
Be seated." The two sitting down there the two he questioned. "Well now both

pe'ne. hi'nik kwatikol penan te'yulanam'e pe'nan te'kana. 540  
speak out. I think some kind word not too long work will be.

te'wuna' u'hson hom fon yu'ya'kapa uhs ai'yu'wana ho'  
Finally that me you making know that knowing I

te'wanan te'akana. mai'nami'te. te'wan ya'ton hon lu'wal-  
time shall live." "Well, indeed it is true. To-morrow day we shall

akun'a hon a'tatc i'lapona hon a'tsit i'lapona ka'-etowe  
arise we fathers the ones (we) we mothers the ones (we) have have

ten'-etowe mu'-etowe le'-etowe le' ti'ka a'ciwan'i li'l  
all society priests here

i'tiwanan te'euna a'wane. kwa hol i'tiwanan e'latena'ma 545  
the middle seeking go. Not anywhere the Middle not coming upon

ho'na tea'we a'wok' a'te'ona a'yu'te'tci'ka a'koye ke'si.  
our children women beings are tired they cry now,

lesna te'onaka to'na hon o'na-e'lateka. te'wan ya'ton'e fon  
Thus being because of you we road have passed. To-morrow day you

- ʔun e'hkwiʔān'a. honkwat hoʔ ʔon i'tiwan'a e'lateʔa i'skon  
 looking shall go ahead. Perhaps some- you the middle coming upon there  
 where
- ho'na'wan tca'we yu'te'tcinahna-wa." a'tei le'kwap "hana'  
 our children shall rest." The two thus saying, "Hana'  
 550 ʔomte kwa hon yai'yu'ya'nam'e. kwa'tikoʔ a'kā hoʔ hon  
 just not we have no knowledge. Somehow because of some- where we
- te'nin a'capa kwa e'letun te'am'e." a'tcia le'kwapa "ma ʔa  
 wrong doing not to be well it is not." To the two thus saying, "Well and
- te'alati ʔa tenas ʔo'na hon a'keihkā." a'tei le'kwap "ma  
 no matter. And however you we have chosen." The two thus saying "Well  
 honkwa'ati." "e' so a'ne. "hu'no." a'tei kwei'ʔkā.  
 perhaps it is so." "Yes; I go." "Go ahead." The two went out.
- a'te'tcinan "si ama laʔ hon yam tca'we a'wacuwaʔāce."  
 Arriving, "Now come on there we our children let us speak to."
- 555 le'kwanan s'ate a'kā. ʔānakwin kwa'top ko'ko ʔi'mpōʔiye.  
 thus saying now the two went. lake into entering kateinas staying it is full.
- "si wan. yu'ʔakāti. ho'na'wan a'tateu a'te i'kā." le'tikwap  
 "Now wait. Stay quiet! our fathers both have come," thus saying
- ko'ko hu'walan-la'nikā. hu'walan-la'nip a'tcia lesanikwa "si  
 kateinas suddenly stood still. Suddenly standing still to the two thus to them "Now  
 he said,
- ho'na'wan a'tate a'tei laʔiman'te ho'na ʔon a'wona-  
 our fathers two now even us you roads-  
 elatekā. ime' kwatikōʔ penan teyulanam'e ʔe'nan te'aʔān'a.  
 have passed. I think some kind word not too long word will be.
- 560 u'hson ho'na ʔon a'yu'ya'ʔāpa uhs ai'yu'ya'na hon  
 That us you making know, that knowing we
- ʔe'wanan a'teʔān'a" le'kwapa "ma i'namilte. ʔe'wan yā'ton'e  
 time shall live." thus saying, "Well indeed it is true. Tomorrow day
- hons hu'walemakun'a a'kā to'na hon a'wacuwaʔān i'ya."  
 we now shall arise, therefore you we to speak with come.'
- "ma honkwa'ati. ʔon ʔe'tsanie a'wa't'u. ho'na'wan  
 "Well, perhaps it is so. You happily may (you) go. Our
- a'ʔacinawona ʔon ya'tinepa et i'tse'menamt'u. kwa hon  
 parents the ones you telling them, "Don't worry." Not we
- 565 a'yalakwai'namka. i'camalti te'atunon a'kā hon i'ʔinakā.  
 were not destroyed. Forever to stay the one because of we stopped.
- ʔomt to'pniit a'ntewaʔā ʔehw e'tciye. le'sna te'onakā  
 Just only once passing the night space remains. Thus being because of
- le'witea hon i'ʔinakā. ho'n u'lohnna ʔa'cana ʔā'cim e'tcihana  
 nearby we stopped. Our world getting old, waters giving out
- ʔo'wacunan e'tcihana kwa tci'wa ʔon yam tci'miʔakātekwī  
 seeds giving out not anyone you your first beginning place
- te'ʔteicukwa. hoʔ ʔā'cim e'tcihana ʔo'wacunan e'tcihana  
 could not reach. Some time waters giving out seeds giving out
- 570 ʔon te'likinan i'ʔāna-wa. le'hoʔ yam tci'miʔakā te'kwi hon  
 you prayer stick shall send. Yonder our first beginning place we

a'ka a'cuwa-felakunakna'wa a'kü kwa kácim i'natinam'e  
with it speaking shall be bent over therefore not waters without fail

te'kán'a. le'na te'atunonakä le'witea hon i'tinan-lakikä."  
shall be. Thus being the one because of nearby we stopping stay quietly."

a'tcia le'anaKäp "ma honkwa'ati." "e. hom ta'tcona hom  
To the thus having said, "Well perhaps it is so." "Yes. My father the one my  
two

tsi'tona to' a'tinaPa ei tse'menamtu. kwa hon a'yala-  
mother the one you telling don't worry. Not we are not

kwai'ina'ma." le'tikwanan yam a'facinan a'wan tsume-575  
destroyed." Thus saying their parents to them strong

pena'w a'kanapkä. "son a'ne ho'n tca'we. ketsanici ton  
words they sent. "Now we go, our children. Happily you

te'wanan a'teat'u." "le'snapa le'santik ton a'wa't'u." a'tcia  
time may (you) live." "Thus just the same you may (you) To the  
go. two

le'anaKäp a'tc kwai'ikä. a'tci te'tcinan a'tci ya'tinekä.  
thus having spoken the two went out. The two arriving the two told them.

"si ho'na tca'we li'i to'na'wan tcaw i'tinaKä. a'yalakwai'kä  
"Now our children here your children stay. They have been  
destroyed

ton le'tikwapa eha'. a'wots a'te'ona a'tsawak a'ho'580  
you thus saying No! Men beings youths persons

a'ya'na a'woK a'te'ona e'wactok a'ho' a'ya'na i'ketsana  
completing women beings maidens persons completing happy

e'lute a'teaiye. to'na'wan ts'ume pena' a'wi'kana'we. ei  
joyously they live. To you strong words they send. Don't

ton i'tse'menamtu" le'a'wanaKäp "haiyi'. honkwa."  
you worry," thus to them saying, "Haiyi! Perhaps."

s'a'wanfewaKä. te'wap ca'mli lu'walemaKä. yam e'leteli'we  
So they passed the night. Next day early they arose. their sacred things

le'an i'yante'tcikäna ka' a'wa'kä. ha'nlipinkakwin a'wi'kä.585  
carrying one another reaching hither they went. they came.

ta'hteic ne'we'kw a'tci a'tci fun-e'hwie. a'kälükwin a'tc i'yaP  
Meanwhile Ne'we'kwe both the two looking were ahead. Rock in water to they coming

e'wactok a'tci e'he' ko'cap. a'tci ai'nakä. a'tci ai'nap  
girls two blanket dresses washing. Them they killed. Them having killed

a'tci mo'fsihkäp a'tci a'nkohakä. a'tci ankohap a'tci  
them having scalped the two they found out. Them having found out the two

yam kápin ho'iwakä a'tci ci'pololon i'pehana la'k ká'-  
their raw person because of the two mist wrapping them- there —  
selves

eto'we ti'nakwin a'tci te'tcikä. "hana. uhkwahtci'. hon590  
— staying where the two arrived. "Alas! So now indeed! we

teninackä." le'kwap i'nakwan tewana yo'kä. i'skon yam  
wrong have done." Thus having said enemy his time became. There their

kä'cima iyan te'wanan u'natikä. ká'-eto'w a'wa a'wite  
water one another's time beheld. — their four

- yä'to-we a'witen te'lina-we kälana hi'to te'wakä. i'skon  
 days, four nights heavy rain rain time passed. There
- a'mekuliya ho! kã'we pa'ni-una u'mo ye'lana a'haiyut  
 rock cave somewhere water falling foam standing
- 595 a'tci ye'tsaka'kã. a'tci kã-eto-w ti'nakwin i'kã.  
 the two appeared. The two foam staying where they came.
- ta'h'teic i'skon a'witen te'hulikwi u'nasinte u'hepo'lolo  
 Meanwhile there four inner place in whirlwind wrapped-in-wool
- kailuh tsa'wakï ha'tun'kã o'loma cu'tuin'kã te'kohanakwi  
 youth tsayouth into daylight into
- i'tinakna kwai'ina. i'skon co'mato te'na'pi'la'u'uwukã.  
 sitting down coming out. There spiral song sequence he taught them.
- i'snakonte su'skï lat-a'lupa te'pehan u'kna'kã. i'skon  
 Right there coyote hunting went about pottery drum was given to him. There
- 600 co'mato'kãna'kã.  
 the spiral dance was danced.
- le'snahol a'teap a'tci le'skwa'kã "si hom su'we i'tiwana-  
 Thus sometime being the two thus said: "Now me younger the Middle brothers,
- kwi kwas a'n'tewanam'e te'hwaiye. yam tca'we le' we'ma-  
 to not now not over night is distant. Our children this many beast
- a'ciwani kwa'hol wo'w a'lata'pa hon ha'po'kãna lu'kã  
 priests some kind creatures winged we shall assemble this
- te'linane." a'te a'kã la'ku co'm'kãkwekwi a'te te'tci'kã.  
 night." The two went Yonder foam they arrived.
- 605 i'skon a'tci we'ma' te'm'la ha'po'kãkã. ho'kitaca ai'nce  
 There the two beasts all assembled. Mountain lion bear
- yu'nawiko te'pi to'naci su'skï la'na'ko ya'ci kã'kãli pi'pi  
 wolf wildcat badger coyote fox squirrel eagle buzzard
- co'kãpiso a'nelawa cu'tsina kwa'laci muhukwi le'sna feml  
 hawk bald headed eagle raven owl thus all
- a'te ha'po'kãkã. ta'h'teic ya'ci kwa'hol wo'w a'lata'pa  
 the two assembled. Meanwhile squirrel some creatures winged
- a'keiye. ta'h'teic muhukwi we'ma'w i'nkwin a'keiye.  
 is with. Meanwhile owl beasts where they stay is with.
- 610 "si hom tca'we yam yãto'kã ta'tcu an te'kohanane fon  
 "Now my children your sun father his daylight you
- i'cematin'a ho'kantiko! i'kolowate yã'tokwai'ipa yam yã'tokã  
 will scramble. On whichever side the ball is hidden when the sun rises your sun
- ta'tcu an te'kohanane fon o'kãna'wa." a'tci le'kwap "ma  
 father his daylight you will win." The two thus having "Well said
- ho'nkwa'ati'" i'skon s'a'te a'nap i'teh-piyahkã. we'ma-  
 perhaps it is so." There now the two having gone they threw it down. Beasts
- a'wan la'nikã. i'kolonap'kã. i'kolok'ap kwa'hol wo'w a'lata'pa  
 theirs it fell. They hide the ball. They hiding the something creatures winged ball
- 615 a'weletcelkã. kwa ta'pna'wam'e. a'wite te'tc a'keicna'kã. kwa  
 came one by one. Not they did (not) take it. Four only it was withdrawn. Not

fa'pna'wam're le'snate fe'kohatin'ihap ta'hteic ya'ei a'klan a'la-  
they did (not) take it. Thus even daylight about to come meanwhile squirrel by the fire lying

pi'laiye. le'sna ho! a'w'eteco kwa fa'pna'wam're. ka'kali le's-  
was by the Thus some- they came one not they did (not) take it. Eagle thus  
fireplace. where by one

kwanan "lakw a'la-pi'lan a't'u." pi'pi e'lemaknan a'tei te'tcinan  
saying "Over lying by the fire gol!" Buzzard rising the two arriving  
there the one

le'sanikwakä "toc ala?" "e'a. kwa ho' a'ina'ma." "ticomaha'.  
thus to him said, "Do you sleep?" "No. Not I do (not) sleep." "Alas!"

ko'ma to' a't'u." le'kwap "ana' kwa ho' a'cukwa." le'kwap 620  
Very well you gol!" thus having "Oh dear, not I won't go." Thus having  
said said

te'tcinan "kwahe kwa a'ntecemana'ma." le'kwap tcu'watikol  
arriving "Not at all not he does not wish to." Thus having said Someone

a'kä. ta kwa ta'pna'ma. ke'si fe'kohatin'iha. "lakw  
went Again not he did (not) Now daylight is about to come. "Over  
take it. to come. there.

a'la-pitan a't'u." le'tikwap ta pip a'kä. "ti'comaha'.  
lying by the fire gol!" Thus having again buzzard went. "Alas!"  
said

t'a'waki to' a't'u." "ana' kwa ho' yu'aniktam'e" le'kwap  
Young man you gol!" "Oh dear, not I do not feel like it." thus having  
said

ta a'kä. "kwa a'ntecemana'ma." le'kwap ta tcu'watikol 625  
again he went. "Not he does not want to." Thus having said again someone

a'kä. ta kwa ta'pnamkä. ke'si fe'kohatin'iha. an to'sito  
went. Again not he did (not) Now daylight was about To him spider  
take it. to come

le'skwanan "lak i'yap to se'waht'u." le'kwap ta le'stikwakä  
thus saying "Now coming you consent." Thus having again thus saying  
said

"lakw a'lap-pilon a't'u." le'tikwup ta tcu'watikol a'kä.  
"Over lying by the fire go." Thus having again someone went.  
there the one said

te'tcinan le'sanikwakä "ti'coma t'a'waki! to' a't'u." "ma  
Arriving thus to him he said, "alas young man! you go." "Well

ho' a'nuwa." le'kwanan pi'lakä. pilakup an to'sito le'skwanan 630  
I shall go." thus saying he arose. Having arisen to spider thus saying  
him

"u'hsi tam i'lea'u." leho! tam ko'ni i'leakä. i'lea'up a'tc  
"That stick pick up." This stick short he picked up. Having picked the  
much it up two

a'kä ke'sic ya'tokwai'in'iha. a'tei te'tcinan an to'sito  
went. Now sun is about out to come. The two arriving to him spider

le'skwanan la'känho! i'mon a'tei ya'k'toha. le'kwap  
thus saying "On the far side sitting ones the two strike. Thus having said

fumte! a'tei i'tehkä. a'tei i'tehnan a'tei a'u'kä. le'sno!  
The two he threw down. The two throwing the two he laid out. Thus  
down

e'lap ho'kititaca le'skwanan "s'hanat. he'kwat ta'pinuwanholi." 635  
standing mountain lion thus saying "Now hurry. See whether you can not take it."

le'kwap. an to'sito le'skwanan. "ma' e'lapa kwa ho'  
Thus having to him spider thus saying, "Oh no. Not I  
said



ta'peukwa le'anikwa." "ma' e'laḡa kwa ho' ta'peukwa.  
won't take it, thus say." "Well no, not I won't take it.

he'kwat u'lapholi. kop ma le ho' ta'pin'a. kwa u'lam'e."  
See if it isn't there at all. How indeed I shall take it Not (ball) is not inside."

"ma kwa ten u'lam'e. le'wi lom tcaw ha'ponaiye  
"Well not however it is not inside. So many my children are gathered

640 teu'watikoḷ le'ona ḡo' hi'ninci yaḡenan ḡo ta'pin'a."  
whoever holding it the one you the right one grabbing you will take it,"

"i'ya'." i'skon an to'sito ḡe'nan "kwa li-l ḡi'nan teu'hoḷ  
"All right." There to him spider speaking, "Not here sitting who

le'ame. i'sno ot-a'l'un'ona le'aiye." le'kwap. a'kā. mu'hukw'  
is not That one dancing going about he is hold- Thus having he went Owl  
holding it. the one ing it."

a'san ya'ktohap lo'mon kwai'ip a'kā. te'tienan  
on the hand striking shining coming out he went. Arriving

ḡo'ma'tin a'hnan a'wil a'kā. kwa'hoḷ wo'we a'lataḡa  
hollow sticks taking with them he went. Something creatures winged

645 i'kolonapkā. to'sito ḡa'ni'nan ḡoma' fem-l u'he ḡile-kā.  
they hid the ball. Spider coming down hollow sticks all web strung.

u'lin ḡi'kaiaḡā. le'sna we'ma' a'witelkā. kwa'tikoḷ ḡome  
Ball she tied. Thus beasts came one by one. Whichever stick

ya'fena-wap le'kon a'nahap. a'stem-la te'te a'keicna-we.  
touching there pulling away ten only they withdrew.

yā'to kwai'ikā. yā'tokwai'inan ho'tomac i'mi'keatup s'a'te  
Sun rose. Sun having risen far having ascended now the two

i'kā. a'tei le'skwanan "si le'wi hom tca'we ḡoms yam  
came. The two thus saying "Now all my children you now your

650 yā'tokā ta'tcu an ḡe'kohanan o'ḡānapkā. ḡo'no we'ma'we  
sun father his daylight have won. You, beasts,

yam yā'tokā ta'tcu an ḡe'kohanan'e ḡon i'tosokā. ḡon  
you sun father his daylight you have lost. You

yā'tonil-i ḡon yatelan'a. yā'to kwatona ḡe'finana ḡon  
all day you will sleep. Sun setting by night you

ḡa'ta-a'wal'un'a. ḡo'o mu'hukwi e't ḡo kwa wow  
hunting will go about. You owl but you not creatures

a'lataḡanankwi a'keicun'ona te'amelkā le'snate ḡo' yam  
winged with to be with the one were not therefore you your

655 yā'tokā ta'tcu an ḡe'kohanan'e ḡo' tosoḡā ḡo' ḡo'miyacna.  
sun father his daylight you have lost. You made a mistake.

yā'tona ḡo' ḡat-a'l'una i'yamakwin u'lohn i'laḡona ḡom  
By day you to hunt going about above world the one who has you

a'nkohakāna. ḡa'ni'na yam a'witelin tsi'ta a'ntehaktcel'na  
will find. Coming down his earth mother removing a bit from her

ḡom ak' ya'ḡāna-waḡa hoḷ li-la le'hatina ḡo' ḡe'kohanan  
you with it having finished wherever here thus thinking you daylight

- pa'itona ho'i te'kän'a." a'tci le'a'wanikwanan a'tc  
ending person will be." The two thus to them saying the two
- a'wantewakä. we'ma wo'ptsickä. 660  
they passed the night. Beasts separated.
- a'tc a'kä. kã-eto-w ti'nakwin a'tc te'tciä. i'skon  
The two went kã-eto-w staying place the two arrived. There
- lu'walemakä. yam e'leteliwe le'an i'yante'tciäna hu'wale-  
they arose. Their sacred things carrying one another reaching around they arose
- makä. le'-eto-we le'skwakä. "si hom a'suwe ta'tci li'wan  
thus said, "Now my younger brothers meanwhile this way
- pi'clankwin ta'hna ho' o'neal a'kän'a hol kã'xi i'tiwan'a  
the north to direction I road shall make go. Somewhere sometime the Middle
- yu'he'toti-käte'a kã'xi le'hatina to'n ho' a'wona-e'laten'a." 665  
has become plain when sometime thus thinking you I roads shall pass,"
- le'kwanan pi'clankwin ta'hna a'kä.  
thus having said the north to direction he went.
- ta'htci tcuw o'kä a'wunatiän "nai'yaha' hopek lukn  
Meanwhile some woman beholding them "Naiyaha! where indeed these
- a'wane." le'kwap  
are going? thus having said
- naiya he'ni naiya.  
naiya he'ni naiya.
- tomt mopina'kä. ko'hana i'tsinapa a'wane. ta'htci kã'-670  
Just it hailed. White striped they go. Meanwhile
- eto-we kãl a'wa'kä he'cofayälakwin a'wikä. a'wiyap kwa  
this way went. House Mountain to they came. Having come not
- a'pikwai'känaknam'kä. i'lakna'kä. ho'i la'na i'tulaco'ya.  
they would not let them pass. There was fighting person large walks back and forth.
- lesn i'lakna'kä. le'snate su'nhakä. Su'nhap i'kwalt ha'n-  
Thus there was fighting. Even thus evening came. Evening having back come
- lipinkäkwin a'te'tciä. te'wap ta a'wa'kä. li-ton-po'ti  
Hanlipinka to they came. Next day again they went rain thick
- i'lakna'kä. su'nhap ta i'kwalt a'wa'kä. te'wap ca'mli 675  
there was fighting. In the evening again back they went. Next day early
- ha'ikänana ta a'wa'kä. ta i'lakna'kä. ho'i lana i'tu'letco  
the third time again they went. Again there was fighting. Giant walked back and forth
- toms co'psikätean te'an'te kwa a'cena'ma. yä'ton'e kwa'top  
just arrows sticking in even not she did not die. Sun having set
- i'kwalt a'wa'kä. te'wap ca'mli a'wa'kä. a'te'tci i'lakna'kä.  
back they went. Next day early they went. Having come there was fighting
- kwa ya'nfewusuna'wam'e ho'ilana i'tulaco'ya tomt pokokon  
not They did not yield. Giant walked back and forth just shot
- te'an'te kwa ya'nfewusuna'ma. a'haiyute a'tci le'skwanan 680  
even being not she did not yield. Ahaiyute the two thus saying,

- "i'comaha' ko'plea te'onakä kwa luk ho'n a'pikwai'i-  
 "Alas how because of not these us do not let us  
 kãna-wam'e? holkon i'kenakãna? i'sno i'tulaco'yen'ona  
 pass? Wherever may his heart be? That one the one who walks back and forth  
 i'kenatun tea'kona hon haiyalucapte kwa ya'ntewusuna'ma.  
 heart where it all over where we striking even though not he does not yield.  
 should be it is  
 i'mat kwa hon ha'ntikwa'na'ma. te'wuna' a'ma hu  
 It seems not we do not overcome him. Finally come on go  
 685 yam tate i'nkwin ye'makce. i'natinam'e lukon  
 your father where he stays climb up. Without doubt this one  
 ai'yu'ya'na" le'kwap an su'we ya'toka i'nkwin ye'makã.  
 knows." Having thus his younger brother sun where he stays climbed up.  
 e'lehol i'tiwap te'tciã "to i'ya?" "e. ho' i'ya."  
 Nearly noon he arrived. "You come?" "Yes. I come."  
 "mas pe'ne hi'nik kwa'tikol pe'nan te'yulanam'e pe'nan  
 "Well now speak out. I think some kind word not too long word  
 te'akãna. te'wuna' u'hsona hom to' yu'ya'kãpa uhs  
 will be. Finally that me you having made know that  
 690 ai'yu'ya'na ho' te'wanan te'kãna." le'kwap "ma i'namile.  
 knowing it I time shall live." Thus having "Well without doubt it is true.  
 said,  
 ho'na'wan a'tatcu ho'na'wan a'tsita kã'-eto-we teu'-eto-we  
 Our fathers our mothers  
 mu'to-we le'-eto-we le' ti'kã a'ciwan'i te'kohana ya'hnapte  
 all society priests daylight into having emerged even  
 li'l i'tiwanan te'eun a'wonapa lukno kwa a'pikwai'ikã-  
 here the middle seeking roads going these not they will not let  
 na-wam'e. i'sno i'tulaco'yen'ona holkon i'kenakãna? te'alt i'ken-  
 them pass. That one walking back and forth wherever her heart may be? In vain heart  
 the one  
 695 tun tea'kona hon haiyolucapte tomt co'ptsikatean tean'te kwa  
 where it are over we shooting even though just arrows sticking in even being not  
 should be where it is  
 ya'ntewusuna'ma." "haiyi'. te'kaial ton o'tsi. kwa hol  
 she does not yield." "Haiyi! For nothing you men. Not any-  
 where  
 lu'ninan i'ke'nam'e. i'teala-we i'skon ton haiyaluce'a. an  
 body in her heart is not. It is vain there you go on shooting. Her  
 tei'monan i'kenaiye. le'kwanan lu'kã tom tap lu'kã tom  
 rattle in heart is. Thus having said "This yours and this your  
 pa'pona." le'kwanan kwi'li li'akwa le'an u'kã. "tenat ton  
 brother's." Thus having said two turquoise rabbit he gave him. "However you  
 sticks him.  
 700 ai'yaknahapa yam a'nikwanan a'kã ho' yam i'nasnakã  
 letting it go my wisdom with I my weapons  
 wo'tan'a." "haiyi'. ma honkwa'ati. ko'ma so' a'ne." "hu a'ce."  
 shall take." "Haiyi! Well perhaps it is so. Very well, now I go." "Go on, go."  
 "ke'tsanici to' a't'u." le'aniãp pa'ni'kã. Am pa'pa  
 "Happily you may (you) Thus being he descended. His elder brother  
 go." said

le'sanikwanan "si ko'tcilea ũom a'tinakä?" "ma i'namitte.  
thus to him saying, "Now how is it to you did he tell?" "Well indeed it is true.

yo'se' hon to'lonan hai'yauce'a kwa i'sk'on i'kenam'e.  
In vain we body on keep on shooting not there heart is not.

an tci'mon i'kenaiye. luk a'kä. ya'lakwai'in'a." 705  
Her rattle heart is. This with she will be destroyed."

le'kwanan yam pa'pa ũo'pa le'an u'kä. yam pa'pa  
Thus having said his elder brother one rabbit stick he gave. His elder brother

le'an u'tsip "si hanat ko'ma ũo'o." le'kwap an su'we  
rabbit having "Now hanat. Very well you," thus having said his younger brother  
stick given

i'tokwan a'welanan ya'ktonan ya'ktäp ts'i—kwe! yä'tok  
to the right went around throwing it having thrown it tsikwe! sun

i'nkwin le'an ye'makä le'an ye'makup yä'tokä a'hkä.  
where he rabbit ascended rabbit having ascended sun took it.  
sticks

"si a'matcie ũo'o" le'kwap am pa'pa we'cikän a'welanan 710  
"Now go on you," thus having said his elder brother to the left going around

i'pakukä. i'pakunan kō—tsa! an le'an'e an tci'mon  
threw it. Having thrown it Crack! his rabbit stick her rattle

ya'ktap ũu—n! yutulakä. yu'tulaḡap a'wan ho'i la'na  
struck t'uum! they ran away. Running away their giant

a'cekä. a'cep yu'tulakä. i'tapan'in-a'kä lu'walakwin  
died. Having died they ran away. Following them he went village to

a'te'tcinan u'kwatelnä a'wa'kä. "luk hom ḡä'kwen'e."  
arriving going in they went. "This my house."

ta'h'tci "luk ho'ma." le'tikwanan co'atsena a'wa'ne ho'ti'kol 715  
Meanwhile "This mine." Thus saying arrows sticking in they go. Wherever

a'te'tcinan u'kwatop o'ḡatsik la'ci le'ho' a'ḡtsik tsä'na  
reaching going in old woman old this much boy small

ḡä'tsik tsä'na u'pe. a'wan ũe'hwitiwa he'pikāḡap i'map  
girl small are inside. Their middle space urine vessel standing

ḡänait u'tea' wō'pāp a'wan no'a'akona pi'tsem u'le  
flowers putting in their noses in cotton wool

wō'pāp wopkwatonaiye. a'wunatikän'a "ati—! hapupe'!"  
putting in pot they are bending over. Beholding them. "Ati! Ghosts!"

le'tikwap a'tci le'sa'wanikwanan "e' ũon kon a'wale- 720  
thus having said the two thus to them saying "Don't you something

wuna'wamet'u! ũa hi'nik luknio kwaho' ai'yu'ya'nāpa  
do anything to them. Also I think these something know.

ũe'wuna' le'n a'tanitina lukn a'ho'i" le'kwanan. a'tci  
Finally thus in danger these are alive," thus having said the two

kwa'tokä. a'tci kwa'tonan a'tci ya'ntekunakä. "ũac ũon  
entered. The two entering the two questioned them. "And do you

kwa'ho' ai'yu'ya'nāpa ũe'wuna' le'n a'tanitina kwa ũon  
something know? Finally thus in danger not you

a'yalakwai'ina'ma." "ma hon e'letelin ilāpa." "haiyi' ma 725  
are not destroyed." "Well we sacred thing have." "Haiyi'. Well



- i'skōn lu'walemakā. yam e'leteli-we le'an i'yante'tciḱāna  
 Their they arose. Their sacred things carrying one another reaching around
- ḱahok<sup>u</sup> a'wona'ḱā. ḱā'ḱā tci'miḱāḱā ha'lona i'tiwanakwi 750  
 hither roads came. Sometime the first beginning ant hill middle to
- o'neal i'ḱānapḱā. i'skōn a'pate a'wan i'satona nom  
 road they made come There Navajo their helper bug
- ci'lowa u'natiḱānapḱā. "si a'ma wa'n'i te'alt le'si hon  
 red they beheld. "Now come, wait! in vain so far we
- i'tiwan'an te'cun a'wona'ḱā. kwa hoḷ luḱā hon u'na'wam'eḱā."  
 the middle seeking roads have been going. Not anywhere this we have not seen."
- le'tikwana yam nan a'ntecematinapḱā ḱānastepi. luḱōn  
 Thus having said their grandfather they summoned ḱānastepi. this one
- i'ḱā. "ko'na ḱon te'wanan a'teaiye." "ḱe'tsanici hon te'wanan 755  
 came. "How you time live?" "Happily we time
- a'teakwi ho'na ḱo a'wona-e'lateḱā. i'ifnaḱā. le'anaḱāpa  
 living when us you roads have passed. Be seated. Thus said
- i-muḱā. i'skōn i-tehḱunakā. "e ma laḱiman-te hom ḱon  
 he sat down. There he questioned them. "Yes now, even now me you
- a'ntecematinapḱā. ime' kwatik pe'nan te'yulaname pe'nan  
 have summoned. Apparently some kind word not too long word
- te'ḱān'a. te'wuna' u'hson hom ḱon yu'ya-ḱāna-wapa uhs  
 will be. Finally that me you having made know that
- ai'yuya'na ho' te'wanan te'ḱān'a. "ma i'namikte. ho'na'wan 760  
 knowing I time shall live." "ma i'namikte. ho'na'wan 760  
 "Well, indeed, it is true. our
- a'tatcu ho'na'wan a'tsita ḱā-eto-we teu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we  
 fathers, our mothers, ————— ————— —————
- le-eto-we le' tiḱā a'ciwan'i te'ḱohanan ya'hnap'e'n liḱ  
 all society priests daylight into emerging even tho here
- i'tiwanan te'cuna a'wonaiye. ḱo' a'wan i'tiwanan te'cun'a.  
 the middle seeking road go. You for them the middle shall seek.
- ḱe'sic e'letapa ḱom tse'makwin a'ḱā ḱo'man i'ḱena'a  
 This now being well, your thoughts because of your heart at
- ho'na'wan a'tatcu ḱā'-eto-we teu'-eto-we mu'-eto-we le'-eto-we 765  
 our fathers ————— ————— —————
- le' ti'ḱā a'ciwan'i i'tinan i'laḱiḱāpa a'tapana tse'mak-  
 all society priests sitting down coming to rest following them thoughts
- te'lakwi hon te'wanan a'teḱān'a. le'anaḱāp te'wankwin  
 touching we time shall live." Thus said east toward
- ḱun i'poakā. we'ciḱā hic a'si tsa'hinaie. i'tohkwa a'si  
 looking he sat down. Left all arm is stretched straight. To the right arm
- to'tsipoiaye. pi'clankwin ḱun i'poana i'tsaliḱa hic an  
 stands bent over. To the north looking sitting down stretching out very his
- hi'nin a'si i'tiulapḱā. "a'ma hon pi'clankwin ta'hn a'wiwa'-770  
 the same arms stood against "Come we to the north direction let (us)  
 (the sky).
- hice. li'wan ho' ifohk ko'w a'si to'tsipoiaye. le'kwap  
 cross On this side I to the right a little arm stands bent over." Thus having  
 over, said



|                                    |                                |                            |                               |                                 |                              |                             |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a'wiwa'hikā.<br>they crossed over. | i'finakā.<br>They sat<br>down. | i'poana<br>Sitting down    | le'si<br>all                  | te'kwin<br>sides                | a'si<br>arms                 | u'lekā<br>he reached<br>out |
| an<br>his                          | a'si<br>hands                  | hi'nina.<br>were the same. | "li'la<br>Here                | i'tiwanici,"<br>is the middle," | le'kwaḡa<br>thus having said | i'skon an<br>there his      |
| a'tatcu<br>fathers,                | an<br>his                      | a'tsita<br>mothers,        | ḡā'-eto-we                    | tcu'-eto-we                     | mu'-eto-we                   |                             |
| 775 le'-eto-we                     | le'<br>all                     | ti'kā<br>society           | a'ciwan-i<br>priests,         | ti'kā<br>society                | ḡe'kwī-we<br>speakers,       | ti'kā a'pi'-<br>society bow |
| la'ciwan-i<br>priests,             | a'wan<br>their                 | tca'we<br>children         | yulakiti'kā.<br>came to rest. |                                 |                              |                             |
| le'n<br>Thus                       | i'no'te<br>long ago            | te'atikā.<br>it happened.  |                               |                                 |                              |                             |

## TALK CONCERNING THE FIRST BEGINNING

Yes, indeed. In this world there was no one at all. Always the sun came up; always he went in. No one in the morning gave him sacred meal; no one gave him prayer sticks; it was very lonely. He said to his two children:<sup>66</sup> "You will go into the fourth womb. Your fathers, your mothers, ḡāeto-we, tcu-eto-we, mu-eto-we, le-eto-we, all the society priests, society ḡekwins, society bow priests, you will bring out yonder into the light of your sun father." Thus he said to them. They said, "But how shall we go in?" "That will be all right." Laying their lightning arrow across their rainbow bow, they drew it. Drawing it and shooting down, they entered.

When they entered the fourth womb it was dark inside. They could not distinguish anything. They said, "Which way will it be best to go?" They went toward the west. They met someone face to face. They said, "Whence come you?" "I come from over this way to the west." "What are you doing going around?" "I am going around to look at my crops. Where do you live?" "No, we do not live any place. There above our father the Sun, priest, made us come in. We have come in," they said. "Indeed," the younger brother said. "Come, let us see," he said. They laid down their bow. Putting underneath some dry brush and some dry grass that was lying about, and putting the bow on top, they kindled fire by hand. When they had kindled the fire, light came out from the coals. As it came out, they blew on it and it caught fire. Aglow! It is growing light. "Ouch! What have you there?" he said. He fell down crouching. He had a slimy horn, slimy tail, he was slimy all over, with webbed hands. The elder brother said, "Poor thing! Put out the light." Saying thus, he put out the light. The youth said, "Oh dear, what have you there?" "Why, we have fire," they said. "Well, what

<sup>66</sup> Watusti and Yanaluba, called ḡāeto-w' a'wan' a'wati' a'tei (rain fetish's two mouths).

(crops) do you have coming up?" "Yes, here are our things coming up." Thus he said. He was going around looking after wild grasses.

He said to them, "Well, now, let us go." They went toward the west, the two leading. There the people were sitting close together. They questioned one another. Thus they said, "Well, now, you two, speak. I think there is something to say. It will not be too long a talk. If you let us know that we shall always remember it." "That is so, that is so," they said. "Yes, indeed, it is true. There above is our father, Sun. No one ever gives him prayer sticks; no one ever gives him sacred meal; no one ever gives him shells. Because it is thus we have come to you, in order that you may go out standing yonder into the daylight of your sun father. Now you will say which way (you decide)." Thus the two said. "Hayi! Yes, indeed. Because it is thus you have passed us on our roads. Now that you have passed us on our roads here where we stay miserably, far be it from us to speak against it. We can not see one another. Here inside where we just trample on one another, where we just spit on one another, where we just urinate on one another, where we just befoul one another, where we just follow one another about, you have passed us on our roads. None of us can speak against it. But rather, as the priest of the north says, so let it be. Now you two call him." Thus they said to the two, and they came up close toward the north side.

They met the north priest on his road. "You have come," he said. "Yes, we have come. How have you lived these many days?" "Here where I live happily you have passed me on my road. Sit down." When they were seated he questioned them. "Now speak. I think there is something to say. It will not be too long a talk. So now, that you will let me know." "Yes, indeed, it is so. In order that you may go out standing there into the daylight of your sun father we have passed you on your road. However you say, so shall it be." "Yes, indeed, now that you have passed us on our road here where we live thus wretchedly, far be it from me to talk against it. Now that you have come to us here inside where we just trample on one another, where we just spit on one another, where we just urinate on one another, where we just befoul one another, where we just follow one another about, how should I speak against it?" so he said. Then they arose. They came back. Coming to the village where they were sitting in the middle place, there they questioned one another. "Yes, even now we have met on our roads. Indeed there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. When you let me know that, I shall always remember it," thus they said to one another. When they had spoken thus, "Yes, indeed. In order that you may go out standing into the daylight of your sun father, we have passed

you on your road," thus they said. "Haiyi! Yes, indeed. Now that you have passed us on our road here where we cannot see one another, where we just trample on one another, where we just urinate on one another, where we just befoul one another, where we just follow one another around, far be it from me to speak against it. But rather let it be as my younger brother, the priest of the west shall say. When he says, 'Let it be thus,' that way it shall be. So now, you two call him." Thus said the priest of the north and they went and stood close against the west side.<sup>97</sup> . . . .

"Well, perhaps by means of the thoughts of someone somewhere it may be that we shall go out standing into the daylight of our sun father." Thus he said. The two thought. "Come, let us go over there to talk with eagle priest." They went. They came to where eagle was staying. "You have come." "Yes." "Sit down." They sat down. "Speak!" "We want you." "Where?" "Near by, to where our fathers, *kā-eto-we*, *teu-eto-we*, stay quietly, we summon you." "Haiyi!" So they went. They came to where *kā-eto-we* stayed. "Well, even now when you summoned me, I have passed you on your roads. Surely there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. So now if you let me know that I shall always remember it," thus he said. "Yes, indeed, it is so. Our fathers, *kā-eto-we*, *teu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, all the society priests shall go out standing into the daylight of their sun father. You will look for their road." "Very well," he said, "I am going," he said. He went around. Coming back to his starting place he went a little farther out. Coming back to his starting place again he went still farther out. Coming back to his starting place he went way far out. Coming back to his starting place, nothing was visible. He came. To where *kā-eto-we* stayed he came. After he sat down they questioned him. "Now you went yonder looking for the road going out. What did you see in the world?" "Nothing was visible." "Haiyi!" "Very well, I am going now." So he went.

When he had gone the two thought. "Come, let us summon our grandson, *coḡāpiso*,"<sup>97a</sup> thus they said. They went. They came to where *coḡāpiso* stayed. "Our grandson, how have you lived these days?" "Where I live happily you have passed me on my road. I think perhaps there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. So now when you let me know that, I shall always remember it," thus he said. "Yes, indeed, it is so. Our fathers, *kā-eto-we*, *teu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, all the society priests are about to come out standing into the daylight of their sun father. We summon you that you may be the one to look for their road." "Indeed?" Thus he said. They went. When they got there, they questioned

<sup>97</sup> The foregoing paragraph repeated for the six directions as indicated in text.

<sup>97a</sup> An unidentified bird.

them where they were sitting. "Even now you have summoned me. Surely there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. So now when you let me know that, I shall always remember it." "Yes, indeed, it is so. When our fathers, our mothers, *ĕä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, the society priests, go forth standing into the daylight of their sun father, you will look for their road." Thus the two said. He went out to the south. He went around. Coming back to the same place, nothing was visible. A second time he went, farther out. Coming back to the same place, nothing was visible. A third time still farther out he went. Nothing was visible. A fourth time he went, way far, but nothing was visible. When he came to where *ĕä-eto-we* were staying, the two questioned him. "Now, our grandson, way off yonder you have gone to see the world. What did you see in the world?" Thus the two asked him. "Well, nothing was visible." "Well indeed?" the two said. "Very well, I am going now." Saying this, he went.

When *coĕäpiso* had gone the two thought. "Come, let us go and talk to our grandson chicken hawk." Thus they said. They went. They reached where chicken hawk stayed. "You have come." "Yes." "Sit down." "How have you lived these days?" "Happily. Well now, speak. I think there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. So now, when you let me know it, I shall always remember that." "Yes, indeed, it is so. When our fathers, *ĕä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, the society priests, go out standing into the sunlight of their sun father, you will look for their road." So they went. When they got there they sat down. There he questioned them. "Yes, even now you summoned me. Perhaps there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. When you let me know that, I shall always remember it." Thus he said. "Yes, indeed, it is so. When our fathers, *ĕä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, the society priests, go out standing into the daylight of their sun father, you will look for their road." "Is that so?" Saying this, he went out. He went to the south. He went where *coĕäpiso* had been. Coming back to his starting place, nothing was visible. A second time he went, farther out. He came back to his starting place, nothing was visible. He went a third time, along the shore of the encircling ocean. A fourth time farther out he went. He came back to his starting place. Nothing was visible. To where *ĕä-eto-we* stayed he came. "Nothing is visible." "Haiyi!" "Yes, so I am going." "Well, go." So he went.

Then the two thought. "Come on, let us summon our grandson," thus they said. They went. They came to where humming bird was staying. "You have come?" "Yes, how have you lived these days?" "Where I live happily these days you have passed me on my road. Sit down." When they had sat down: "Well, now,

speak. I think there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. So now if you let me know that, I shall always remember it." "Yes, indeed, it is so. When our fathers, *ḡä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, the society priests, go out standing into the daylight of their sun father, you shall be the one to look for their road; for that we have summoned you." "Is that so?" Saying this, they went. When they got there, he questioned them. "Well, even now you summoned me. Surely there is something to say. It will not be too long a talk. So now when you let me know that I shall always remember it." Thus he said. "Yes, indeed, it is so. When our fathers, *ḡä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, the society priests, go out into the daylight of their sun father, that you shall be the one to look for their road, for that we have summoned you." Thus the two said. He went out toward the south. He went on. Coming back to his starting place, nothing was visible. Farther out he went. Coming back to the same place, nothing was visible. Then for the third time he went. Coming back to the same place, nothing was visible. For the fourth time he went close along the edge of the sky. Coming back to the same place, nothing was visible. He came. Coming where *ḡä-eto-we* were staying, "Nothing is visible." "Hayi!" "Yes. Well, I am going now." "Very well, go." He went.

The two said, "What had we better do now? That many different kinds of feathered creatures, the ones who go about without ever touching the ground, have failed." Thus the two said. "Come, let us talk with our grandson, locust. Perhaps that one will have a strong spirit because he is like water."<sup>98</sup> Thus they said. They went. Their grandson, locust, they met. "You have come." "Yes, we have come." "Sit down. How have you lived these days?" "Happily." "Well, even now you have passed me on my road. Surely there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. So now when you let me know that, that I shall always remember." Thus he said. "Yes, indeed, it is so. In order that our fathers, *ḡä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, the society priests, may go out standing into the daylight of their sun father, we have come to you." "Is that so?" Saying this, they went. When they arrived they sat down. Where they were sitting, he questioned them. "Well, just now you came to me. Surely there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. So now if you let me know that, that I shall always remember." "Yes, indeed. In order that our fathers, *ḡä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, the society priests, may go out standing into the daylight of their sun father, we have summoned you." "Indeed?" Saying this, locust rose right up. He goes up. He went through into another world. And again

<sup>98</sup> That is, like water, he can go through anything solid.



he goes right up. He went through into another world. And again he goes right up. Again he went through into another world. He goes right up. When he had just gone a little way his strength gave out, he came back to where ƙä-eto-we were staying and said, "Three times I went through and the fourth time my strength gave out." "Hayi! Indeed?" Saying this, he went.

When he had gone the two thought. "Come, let us speak with our grandson, Reed Youth. For perhaps that one with his strong point will be all right." Saying this, they went. They came to where Reed Youth stayed. "You have come?" "Yes; how have you lived these days." "Where I stay happily you have passed me on my road. Sit down." Thus he said. They sat down. Then he questioned them. "Yes. Well, even now you have passed me on my road. I think there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. When you let me know that, that I shall always remember." Thus he said. "Yes, indeed, in order that our fathers, ƙä-eto-we, teu-eto-we, mu-eto-we, le-eto-we, the society priests, may go out standing into the daylight of their sun father, we have come to you." "Hayi! Is that so?" Having spoken thus, they went. When they arrived they sat down. There he questioned them. "Yes, even now that you have summoned me I have passed you on your roads. Surely there is something to say; it will not be too long a talk. When you let me know that, that I shall always remember." "Yes, indeed, it is so. In order that our fathers, ƙä-eto-we, teu-eto-we, mu-eto-we, le-eto-we, the society priests, may go forth standing into the daylight of their sun father, we have summoned you." Thus they said. "Hayi! Is that so?" Saying this, he went out. Where Locust had gone out he went out. The first time he passed through, the second time he passed through, the third time he passed through. Having passed through the fourth time and come forth standing into the daylight of his sun father, he went back in. Coming back in he came to where ƙ'ä-eto-we were staying. "You have come?" Thus they said. "Yes," he said. "Far off to see what road there may be you have gone. How may it be there now?" Thus they said. "Yes, indeed, it is so. There it is as you wanted it. As you wished of me, I went forth standing into the daylight of my sun father now." Thus he said. "Halihi! Thank you!" "Now I am going." "Go." Saying this, he went.

After he had gone they were sitting around. Now as they were sitting around, there the two set up a pine tree for a ladder. They stayed there. For four days they stayed there. Four days, they say, but it was four years. There all the different society priests sang their song sequences for one another. The ones sitting in the first row listened carefully. Those sitting next on the second row heard all but a little. Those sitting on the third row heard here and there.



Those sitting last on the fourth row heard just a little bit now and then. It was thus because of the rustling of the dry weeds.

When their days there were at an end, gathering together their sacred things they arose. "Now what shall be the name of this place?" "Well, here it shall be sulphur-smell-inside-world; and furthermore, it shall be raw-dust world." Thus they said. "Very well. Perhaps if we call it thus it will be all right." Saying this, they came forth.

After they had come forth, setting down their sacred things in a row at another place, they stayed there quietly. There the two set up a spruce tree as a ladder. When the ladder was up they stayed there for four days. And there again the society priests sang their song sequences for one another. Those sitting on the first row listened carefully. Those sitting there on the second row heard all but a little. Those sitting there on the third row heard here and there. Those sitting last distinguished a single word now and then. It was thus because of the rustling of some plants. When their days there were at an end, gathering together their sacred things there they arose. "Now what shall it be called here?" "Well, here it shall be called soot-inside-world, because we still can not recognize one another." "Yes, perhaps if it is called thus it will be all right." Saying this to one another, they arose.

Passing through to another place, and putting down their sacred things in a row, they stayed there quietly. There the two set up a piñon tree as a ladder. When the piñon tree was put up, there all the society priests and all the priests went through their song sequences for one another. Those sitting in front listened carefully. Those sitting on the second row heard all but a little. Those sitting behind on the third row heard here and there. Those sitting on the fourth row distinguished only a single word now and then. This was because of the rustling of the weeds.

When their days there were at an end, gathering together their sacred things they arose. Having arisen, "Now what shall it be called here?" "Well, here it shall be fog-inside-world, because here just a little bit is visible." "Very well, perhaps if it is called thus it will be all right." Saying this, rising, they came forth.

Passing through to another place, there the two set down their sacred things in a row, and there they sat down. Having sat down, the two set up a cottonwood tree as a ladder. Then all the society priests and all the priests went through their song sequences for one another. Those sitting first heard everything clearly. Those sitting on the second row heard all but a little. Those sitting on the third row heard here and there. Those sitting last on the fourth row distinguished a single word now and then. It was thus because of the rustling of some plants.

When their days there were at an end, after they had been there, when their four days were passed, gathering together their sacred possessions, they arose. When they arose, "Now what shall it be called here?" "Well, here it shall be wing-inner-world, because we see our sun father's wings." Thus they said. They came forth.

Into the daylight of their sun father they came forth standing. Just at early dawn they came forth. After they had come forth there they set down their sacred possessions in a row. The two said, "Now after a little while when your sun father comes forth standing to his sacred place you will see him face to face. Do not close your eyes." Thus he said to them. After a little while the sun came out. When he came out they looked at him. From their eyes the tears rolled down. After they had looked at him, in a little while their eyes became strong. "Alas!" Thus they said. They were covered all over with slime. With slimy tails and slimy horns, with webbed fingers, they saw one another. "Oh dear! is this what we look like?" Thus they said.

Then they could not tell which was which of their sacred possessions. Meanwhile, near by an old man of the Dogwood clan lived alone. Spider said to him, "Put on water. When it gets hot, wash your hair." "Why?" "Our father, our mothers, ƙä-eto-we, teu-eto-we, mu-eto-we, le'-eto-we, all the society priests, into the daylight of their sun father have come forth standing. They can not tell which is which. You will make this plain to them." Thus she said. "Indeed? Impossible. From afar no one can see them. Where they stay quietly no one can recognize them." Thus he said. "Do not say that. Nevertheless it will be all right. You will not be alone. Now we shall go." Thus she said. When the water was warm he washed his hair.

Meanwhile, while he was washing his hair, the two said, "Come let us go to meet our father, the old man of the Dogwood clan. I think he knows in his thoughts; because among our fathers, ƙä-eto-we, teu-eto-we, mu-eto-we, le-eto-we, we can not tell which is which." Thus they said. They went. They got there. As they were climbing up, "Now indeed! They are coming." Thus Spider said to him. She climbed up his body from his toe. She clung behind his ear. The two entered. "You have come," thus he said. "Yes. Our father, how have you lived these days?" "As I live happily you pass me on my road. Sit down." They sat down. "Well, now, speak. I think some word that is not too long, your word will be. Now, if you let me know that, remembering it, I shall live." "Indeed it is so. Our fathers, ƙä-eto-we, teu-eto-we, mu-eto-we, le-eto-we, all the society priests, into the daylight of their sun father have risen and come out. It is not plain which is which. Therefore we have passed you on your road." "Haiyi, is that so? Impossible! From

afar no one can see them. Where they stay quietly no one can recognize them." Thus he said. "Yes, but we have chosen you." Thus the two said. They went. When they came there, "My fathers, my mothers, how have you lived these days?" "Happily, our father, our child. Be seated." Thus they said. He sat down. Then he questioned them. "Yes, now indeed, since you have sent for me, I have passed you on your road. I think some word that is not too long your word will be. Now if you let me know that, remembering it, I shall always live."

Thus he said. "Indeed, it is so. Even though our fathers, our mothers, *kä-eto-we*, *teu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, have come out standing into the daylight of their sun father, it is not plain which of these is which. Therefore we have sent for you." Thus they said. "Haiyi. Well, let me try." "Impossible. From afar no one can see them. Where they stay quietly no one can tell which is which." "Well, let me try." Thus he said. Where they lay in a row he stood beside them. Spider said to him, "Here, the one that lies here at the end is *k'ä-eto-we* and these next ones touching it are *teu-eto-we*, and this next one is *le-eto-we*, and these next ones touching it are *mu-eto-we*." Thus she said. He said, "Now this is *kä-eto-we*, and these all touching it are *teu-eto-we*, and this one is *le-eto-we*, and all these touching it are *mu-eto-we*." Thus he said. "Halih! Thank you. How shall be the cycle of the months for them?" Thus he said: "This one Branches-broken-down. This one No-snow-on-the-road. This one Little-sand-storms. This one Great-sand-storms. This the Month-without-a-name. This one Turn-about. This one Branches-broken-down. This one No-snow-on-the-road. This one Little-sand-storms. This one Great-sand-storms. This the Month-without-a-name. This one Turn-about. Thus shall be all the cycle of the months." "Halih! Thank you. Our father, you shall not be poor. Even though you have no sacred possessions toward which your thoughts bend, whenever Itiwana is revealed to us, because of your thought, the ceremonies of all these shall come around in order. You shall not be a slave." This they said. They gave him the sun. "This shall be your sacred possession." Thus they said. When this had happened thus they lived.

Four days—four days they say, but it was four years—there they stayed. When their days were at an end, the earth rumbled. The two said, "Who was left behind?" "I do not know, but it seems we are all here." Thus they said. Again the earth rumbled. "Well, does it not seem that some one is still left behind?" Thus, the two said. They went. Coming to the place where they had come out, there they stood. To the mischief-maker and the Mexicans they said, "Haiyi! Are you still left behind?" "Yes." "Now what are you still good for?" Thus they said. "Well, it is this way. Even

though *ĕä-eto-we* have issued forth into the daylight, the people do not live on the living waters of good corn; on wild grasses only they live. Whenever you come to the middle you will do well to have me. When the people are many and the land is all used up, it will not be well. Because this is so I have come out." Thus he said. "Haiyi! Is that so? So that's what you are. Now what are you good for?" Thus they said. "Indeed, it is so. When you come to the middle, it will be well to have my seeds. Because *ĕä-eto-we* do not live on the good seeds of the corn, but on wild grasses only. Mine are the seeds of the corn and all the clans of beans." Thus he said. The two took him with them. They came to where *ĕä-eto-we* were staying. They sat down. Then they questioned him. "Now let us see what you are good for." "Well, this is my seed of the yellow corn." Thus he said. He showed an ear of yellow corn. "Now give me one of your people." Thus he said. They gave him a baby. When they gave him the baby it seems he did something to her. She became sick. After a short time she died. When she had died he said, "Now bury her." They dug a hole and buried her. After four days he said to the two, "Come now. Go and see her." The two went to where they had come out. When they got there the little one was playing in the dirt. When they came, she laughed. She was happy. They saw her and went back. They came to where the people were staying. "Listen! Perhaps it will be all right for you to come. She is still alive. She has not really died." "Well, thus it shall always be." Thus he said.

Gathering together all their sacred possessions, they came hither. To the place called since the first beginning, Moss Spring, they came. There they set down their sacred possessions in a row. There they stayed. Four days they say, but it was four years. There the two washed them. They took from all of them their slimy tails, their slimy horns. "Now, behold! Thus you will be sweet." There they stayed.

When their days were at an end they came hither. Gathering together all their sacred possessions, seeking Itiwana, yonder their roads went. To the place called since the first beginning Massed-cloud Spring, they came. There they set down their sacred possessions in a row. There they stayed quietly. Four days they stayed. Four days they say, but it was four years. There they stayed. There they counted up the days. For *ĕä-eto-we*, four nights and four days. With fine rain caressing the earth, they passed their days. The days were made for *ĭe-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*. For four days and four nights it snowed. When their days were at an end there they stayed.

When their days were at an end they arose. Gathering together all their sacred possessions, hither their roads went. To the place

called since the first beginning Mist Spring their road came. There they sat down quietly. Setting out their sacred possessions in a row, they sat down quietly. There they counted up the days for one another. They watched the world for one another's waters. For *ĕä-eto-we*, four days and four nights, with heavy rain caressing the earth they passed their days. When their days were at an end the days were made for *le-eto-we* and *mu-eto-we*. Four days and four nights with falling snow the world was filled. When their days were at an end, there they stayed.

When all their days were passed, gathering together all their sacred possessions, hither their road went. To Standing-wood Spring they came. There they sat down quietly. Setting out their sacred possessions in a row, they stayed quietly. There they watched one another's days. For *ĕä-eto-we*, four days and four nights with fine rain caressing the earth, they passed their days. When all their days were at an end, the days were made for *le-eto-we* and *mu-eto-we*. For four days and four nights, with falling snow, the world was filled. When all their days were at an end, there they stayed.

When all their days were passed, gathering together their sacred possessions, and arising, hither they came. To the place called since the first beginning Upuilima they came. When they came there, setting down their sacred possessions in a row, they stayed quietly. There they strove to outdo one another. There they planted all their seeds. There they watched one another's days for rain. For *ĕä-eto-we*, four days with heavy rain caressing the earth. There their corn matured. It was not palatable, it was bitter. Then the two said, "Now by whose will will our corn become fit to eat?" Thus they said. They summoned raven. He came and pecked at their corn, and it became good to eat. "It is fortunate that you have come." With this then, they lived.

When their days were at an end they arose. Gathering together their sacred possessions, they came hither. To the place called since the first beginning, Cornstalk-place they came. There they set down their sacred possessions in a row. There they stayed four days. Four days they say, but it was four years. There they planted all their seeds. There they watched one another's days for rain. During *ĕä-eto-we*'s four days and four nights, heavy rain fell. During *le-eto-we*'s and *mu-eto-we*'s four days and four nights, the world was filled with falling snow. Their days were at an end. Their corn matured. When it was mature it was hard. Then the two said, "By whose will will our corn become soft? Well, owl." Thus they said. They summoned owl. Owl came. When he came he pecked at their corn and it became soft.

Then, when they were about to arise, the two said, "Come, let us go talk to the corn priest." Thus they said. They went. They



came to where the corn priest stayed. "How have you lived these days?" "As we are living happily you have passed us on our road. Sit down." They sat down. There they questioned one another. "Well, speak. I think some word that is not too long, your word will be. Now, if you let me know that, remembering it, I shall always live." "Indeed, it is so. To-morrow, when we arise, we shall set out to seek Itiwana. Nowhere have we found the middle. Our children, our women, are tired. They are crying. Therefore we have come to you. To-morrow your two children will look ahead. Perhaps if they find the middle when our fathers, our mothers, *kä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, all the society priests, come to rest, there our children will rest themselves. Because we have failed to find the middle." "Haiyi! Is that so? With plain words you have passed us on our road. Very well, then, thus it shall be." Thus he said. The two went.

Next morning when they were about to set out they put down a split ear of corn and eggs. They made the corn priest stand up. They said, "Now, my children, some of you will go yonder to the south. You will take these." Thus he said (indicating) the tip of the ear and the macaw egg. And then the ones that were to come this way took the base of the ear and the raven egg. Those that were to go to the south took the tip of the ear and the macaw egg. "Now, my children, yonder to the south you will go. If at any time you come to Itiwana, then some time we shall meet one another." Thus they said. They came hither.

They came to the place that was to be Katcina village. The girl got tired. Her brother said, "Wait, sit down for a while. Let me climb up and look about to see what kind of a place we are going to." Thus he said. His sister sat down. Her brother climbed the hill. When he had climbed up, he stood looking this way. "Eha! Maybe the place where we are going lies in this direction. Maybe it is this kind of a place." Thus he said and came down. Meanwhile his sister had scooped out the sand. She rested against the side of the hill. As she lay sleeping the wind came and raised her apron of grass. It blew up and she lay with her vulva exposed. As he came down he saw her. He desired her. He lay down upon his sister and copulated with her. His sister awoke. "Oh, dear, oh, dear," she was about to say (but she said,) "*Watsela, watsela*." Her brother said, "Ah!" He sat up. With his foot he drew a line. It became a stream of water. The two went about talking. The brother talked like *Koyemci*. His sister talked like *Komakatsik*. The people came.

"Oh alas, alas! Our children have become different beings." Thus they said. The brother speaking: "Now it will be all right for you to cross here." Thus he said. They came and went in. They entered the river. Some of their children turned into water snakes.



Some of them turned into turtles. Some of them turned into frogs. Some of them turned into lizards(?). They bit their mothers. Their mothers cried out and dropped them. They fell into the river. Only the old people reached the other side. They sat down on the bank. They were half of the people. The two said, "Now wait. Rest here." Thus they said. Some of them sat down to rest. The two said (to the others), "Now you go in. Your children will turn into some kind of dangerous animals and will bite you. But even though you cry out, do not let them go. If, when you come out on the other side, your children do not again become the kind of creatures they are now, then you will throw them into the water." Thus they said to them. They entered the water. Their children became different creatures and bit them. Even though they cried out, they crossed over. Then their children once more became the kind of creatures they had been. "Alas! Perhaps had we done that it would have been all right." Now all had crossed over.

There setting down their sacred possessions in a row, they stayed quietly. They stayed there quietly for four days. Thus they say but they stayed for four years. There each night they lived gaily with loud singing. When all their time was passed, the two said, "Come, let us go and talk to Ne'we'kwe." Thus they said. They went to where the Ne'we'kwe were staying. They came there. "How have you passed these days?" "Happily. You have come? Be seated." They sat down. Then they questioned them. "Now speak. I think some word that is not too long your word will be. If you let me know that, remembering it I shall always live." "Indeed it is so. To-morrow we shall arise. Our fathers, our mothers, Kā-eto-we, teu-eto-we, mu-eto-we, le-eto-we, all the society priests, are going to seek the middle. But nowhere have we come to the middle. Our children and our women are tired. They are crying now. Therefore we have passed you on your road. To-morrow you will look ahead. If perhaps somewhere you come to Itiwana there our children will rest." Thus they said. "Alas! but we are just foolish people. If we make some mistake it will not be right." Thus he said. "Well, that is of no importance. It can't be helped. We have chosen you." Thus they said. "Well indeed?" "Yes. Now we are going." "Go ahead." The two went out.

They came (to where the people were staying). "Come, let us go and speak to our children." Thus they said. They went. They entered the lake. It was full of katecinas. "Now stand still a moment. Our two fathers have come." Thus they said. The katecinas suddenly stopped dancing. When they stopped dancing they said to the two, "Now our two fathers, now indeed you have passed us on our road. I think some word that is not too long your word will be. If you will let us know that we shall always remember

it." Thus he said. "Indeed it is so. To-morrow we shall arise. Therefore we have come to speak to you." "Well indeed? May you go happily. You will tell our parents, 'Do not worry.' We have not perished. In order to remain thus forever we stay here. To Itiwana but one day's travel remains. Therefore we stay near by. When our world grows old and the waters are exhausted and the seeds are exhausted, none of you will go back to the place of your first beginning. Whenever the waters are exhausted and the seeds are exhausted you will send us prayer sticks. Yonder at the place of our first beginning with them we shall bend over to speak to them. Thus there will not fail to be waters. Therefore we shall stay quietly near by." Thus they said to them. "Well indeed?" "Yes. You will tell my father, my mother, 'Do not worry.' We have not perished." Thus they said. They sent strong words to their parents. "Now we are going. Our children, may you always live happily." "Even thus may you also go." Thus they said to the two. They went out. They arrived. They told them. "Now our children, here your children have stopped. 'They have perished,' you have said. But no. The male children have become youths, and the females have become maidens. They are happy. They live joyously. They have sent you strong words. 'Do not worry,' they said." "Haiyi! Perhaps it is so."

They stayed overnight. Next morning they arose. Gathering together all their sacred possessions, they came hither. They came to Hanlipiñka. Meanwhile the two Ne'we-kwe looked ahead. They came to Rock-in-the-river. There two girls were washing a woolen dress. They killed them. After they had killed them they scalped them. Then someone found them out. When they were found out, because they were raw people, they wrapped themselves in mist. There to where Kā-eto-we were staying they came. "Alack, alas! We have done wrong!" Thus they said. Then they set the days for the enemy. There they watched one another's days for rain. Kā-eto-we's four days and four nights passed with the falling of heavy rain. There where a waterfall issued from a cave the foam arose. There the two Ahaiyute appeared. They came to where Kā-eto-we were staying. Meanwhile, from the fourth innerworld, Unasinte,<sup>99</sup> Uhepololo,<sup>1</sup> Kailuhtsawañi, Hattuñka, Oloma, Catunka, came out to sit down in the daylight. There they gave them the comatowe song cycle.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, right there, Coyote was going about hunting. He gave them their pottery drum. They sang comatowe.

After this had happened, the two said, "Now, my younger brother, Itiwana is less than one day distant. We shall gather together our

<sup>99</sup> Whirlwind.

<sup>1</sup> "Wool rolled up."

<sup>2</sup> "Spiral," a song sequence and dance occurring as the last rite of the scalp dance. Comatowe is also sung at the winter solstice.

children, all the beast priests, and the winged creatures, this night." They went. They came yonder to Comkākwe. There they gathered together all the beasts, mountain lion, bear, wolf, wild cat, badger, coyote, fox, squirrel; eagle, buzzard, cōkapiso, chicken hawk, bald-headed eagle, raven, owl. All these they gathered together. Now squirrel was among the winged creatures, and owl was among the beasts. "Now my children, you will contest together for your sun father's daylight. Whichever side has the ball, when the sun rises, they shall win their sun father's daylight." Thus the two said. "Indeed?" They went there. They threw up the ball. It fell on the side of the beasts. They hid it. After they had hidden it, the birds came one by one but they could not take it. Each time they paid four straws. They could not take it.

At this time it was early dawn. Meanwhile Squirrel was lying by the fireplace. Thus they came one by one but they could not take it. Eagle said, "Let that one lying there by the fireplace go." They came to him and said, "Are you asleep?" "No. I am not asleep." "Oh dear! Now you go!" Thus they said. "Oh no, I don't want to go," he said. He came back. "The lazy one does not wish to." Thus they said. Someone else went. Again they could not take it. Now it was growing light. "Let that one lying by the fireplace go." Thus they said. Again Buzzard went. "Alas, my boy, you go." "Oh, no, I don't feel like it." Thus he said. Again he went back. "He does not want to," he said. Again some one else went. Again they did not take it. Now it was growing light. Spider said to him, "Next time they come agree to go." Thus she said. Then again they said, "Let that one lying by the fireplace go." Thus they said; and again someone went. When he came there he said, "Alas, my boy, you go." "All right, I shall go." Thus he said and arose. As he arose Spider said to him, "Take that stick." He took up a stick, so short. Taking it, he went. Now the sun was about to rise. They came there. Spider said to him, "Hit those two sitting on the farther side." Thus she said. Bang! He knocked them down. He laid them down. Then, mountain lion, who was standing right there, said, "Hurry up, go after it. See whether you can take it." Thus he said. Spider said to him, "Say to him, 'Oh, no, I don't want to take it.' So she said." "Oh, no, I don't want to take it. Perhaps there is nothing inside. How should I take it? There is nothing in there." "That is right. There is nothing in there. All my children are gathered together. One of them is holding it. If you touch the right one, you will take it." "All right." Now Spider is speaking: "No one who is sitting here has it. That one who goes about dancing, he is holding it." Thus she said. He went. He hit Owl on the hand. The white ball came out. He went. He took up the hollow sticks and took them away with him. Now the

birds hid the ball. Spider came down. Over all the sticks she spun her web. She fastened the ball with her web. Now the animals came one by one. Whenever they touched a stick, she pulled (the ball) away. Each time they paid ten straws. The sun rose. After sunrise, he was sitting high in the sky. Then the two came. They said, "Now, all my children, you have won your sun father's daylight, and you, beasts, have lost your sun father's daylight. All day you will sleep. After sunset, at night, you will go about hunting. But you, owl, you have not stayed among the winged creatures. Therefore you have lost your sun father's daylight. You have made a mistake. If by daylight, you go about hunting, the one who has his home above will find you out. He will come down on you. He will scrape off the dirt from his earth mother and put it upon you. Then thinking, 'Let it be here,' you will come to the end of your life. This kind of creature you shall be." Thus they said. They stayed there overnight. The animals all scattered.

The two went. They came to where *ĕä-eto-we* were staying. Then they arose. Gathering together all their sacred possessions, they arose. *Le-eto-we* said, "Now, my younger brothers, hither to the north I shall take my road. Whenever I think that *Itiwana* has been revealed to you, then I shall come to you." Thus he said, and went to the north. Now some woman, seeing them, said, "Oh dear! Whither are these going?" Thus she said:

*Naiye heni aiye*  
*Naiye heni aiye.*

In white stripes of hail they went.

Meanwhile *ĕä-eto-we* came hither. They came to House Mountain. When they came there they would not let them pass through. They fought together. A giant went back and forth before them. Thus they fought together. Thus evening came. In the evening they came back to *Hanlipinka*. Next day they went again. In heavy rain they fought together. In the evening they went back again. Next morning they went again for the third time. Again they fought together. The giant went back and forth in front. Even though she had arrows sticking in her body she did not die. At sunset they went back again. Next morning they went. They came there, and they fought together. Still they would not surrender. The giant went back and forth in front. Although she was wounded with arrows, she would not surrender. *Ahaiyute* said, "Alas, why is it that these people will not let us pass? Wherever may her heart be, that one that goes back and forth? Where her heart should be we have struck her, yet she does not surrender. It seems we can not overcome her. So finally go up to where your father stays. Without doubt he knows." Thus he said. His younger brother climbed up to where the sun was.

It was nearly noon when he arrived. "You have come?" "Yes, I have come." "Very well, speak. I think some word that is not too long your word will be. So if you let me know that, I shall always remember it." Thus he said. "Indeed, it is so. Our fathers, our mothers, *ḡä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, all the society priests, have issued forth into the daylight. Here they go about seeking Itiwana. These people will not let them pass. Where does she have her heart, that one who goes back and forth before them? In vain have we struck her where her heart should be. Even though the arrows stick in her body, she does not surrender." "Haiyi! For nothing are you men! She does not have her heart in her body. In vain have you struck her there. Her heart is in her rattle." Thus he said. "This is for you and this is for your elder brother." Thus he said, and gave him two turquoise rabbit sticks. "Now, when you let these go with my wisdom I shall take back my weapons." "Haiyi! Is that so? Very well, I am going now." "Go ahead. May you go happily." Thus he said. He came down. His elder brother said to him, "Now, what did he tell you?" "Indeed, it is so. In vain do we shoot at her body. Not there is her heart; but in her rattle is her heart. With these shall we destroy her." Thus he said, and gave his brother one of the rabbit sticks. When he had given his brother the rabbit stick, "Now go ahead, you." Thus he said. The younger brother went about to the right. He threw it and missed. Whiz! The rabbit stick went up to the sun. As the rabbit stick came up the sun took it. "Now go ahead, you try." Thus he said. The elder brother went around to the left. He threw it. As he threw it, zip! His rabbit stick struck his rattle. Tu---n! They ran away. As they started to run away, their giant died. Then they all ran away. The others ran after them. They came to a village. They went into the houses. "This is my house;" "This is my house;" and "This is mine." Thus they said. They went shooting arrows into the roof. Wherever they first came, they went in. An old woman and a little boy this big and a little girl were inside.

In the center of their room was standing a jar of urine. They stuffed their nostrils with *ḡanaite* flowers and with cotton wool. Then they thrust their noses into the jar. The people could see them. "Oh, dear! These are ghosts!" Thus they said. Then the two said to them, "Do not harm them, for I think they know something. So even though it is dangerous they are still alive." Thus they said. The two entered. As they came in they questioned them. "And now do you know something? Therefore, even though it is dangerous, you have not perished." "Well, we have a sacred object." "Indeed! Very well, take them. We shall go. Your fathers, your mothers, *ḡä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, you will pass

on their roads. If your days are the same as theirs you will not be slaves. It does not matter that he is only a little boy. Even so, he will be our father. It does not matter that she is a little girl, she will be our mother." Thus he said. Taking their sacred object they went. They came to where *ḡä-eto-we* were staying. There they said to them, "Now make your days." "Oh, no! We shall not be first. When all your days are at an end, then we shall add on our days." Thus they said. Then they worked for *ḡä-eto-we*. *ḡä-eto-we*'s days were made. Four days and four nights, with fine rain falling, were the days of *ḡä-eto-we*. When their days were at an end, the two children and their grandmother worked. Their days were made. Four days and four nights, with heavy rain falling, were their days. Then they removed the evil smell. They made flowing canyons. Then they said, "Halihi! Thank you! Just the same is your ceremony. What may your clan be?" "Well, we are of the Yellow Corn clan." Thus they said. "Haiyi! Even though your *etore* is of the Yellow Corn clan, because of your bad smell, you have become black. Therefore you shall be the Black Corn clan." Thus they said to them.

Then they arose. Gathering together all their sacred possessions, they came hither, to the place called, since the first beginning, Halona-Itiwana, their road came. There they saw the Navaho helper, little red bug. "Here! Wait! All this time we have been searching in vain for Itiwana. Nowhere have we seen anything like this." Thus they said. They summoned their grandchild, water bug. He came. "How have you lived these many days?" "Where we have been living happily you have passed us on our road. Be seated." Thus they said. He sat down. Then he questioned them. "Now, indeed, even now, you have sent for me. I think some word that is not too long your word will be. So now, if you will let me know that, I shall always remember it." "Indeed, it is so. Our fathers, our mothers, *ḡä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, all the society priests, having issued forth into the daylight, go about seeking the middle. You will look for the middle for them. This is well. Because of your thoughts, at your heart, our fathers, *ḡä-eto-we*, *tcu-eto-we*, *mu-eto-we*, *le-eto-we*, will sit down quietly. Following after those, toward whom our thoughts bend, we shall pass our days." Thus they said. He sat down facing the east. To the left he stretched out his arm. To the right he stretched out his arm, but it was a little bent. He sat down facing the north. He stretched out his arms on both sides. They were just the same. Both arms touched the horizon. "Come, let us cross over to the north. For on this side my right arm is a little bent." Thus he said. They crossed (the river). They rested. He sat



down. To all directions he stretched out his arms. Everywhere it was the same. "Right here is the middle." Thus he said. There his fathers, his mothers, ƙä-eto-we, tcu-eto-we, mu-eto-we, le-eto-we, all the society priests, the society pekwins, the society bow priests, and all their children came to rest.

Thus it happened long ago.



## KOMOSONA AN PĒNAN'E

ino'te fo'wa yā'la lu'wala yā'tap a'wunan a'wehkwi hic ha'pōkā  
 ha'p'onan le'ep i'yantehkunacna'kā. kopleā'tap hon e'lutea te'kān-a-  
 a'wots a'te'ona kes em'a i'htohnaiye a'woḡ a'te'ona kes e'm'a  
 i'htohnaiye kwa hon e'lutea a'natan te'akona yu'hetam're.  
 5 le'tikwap a'wan pe'kwin le'skwanan kwac yu'hetam're le'kwap  
 e'la kwa yu'hetam're hai'yi te'kaia' ton a'wotsi a'kā la'lik  
 hon to'pin'te hon te'i'mi'kānapkā. i'mat le'kon a'wan te'likinan  
 i'tiula'kān'a a'kā la'lik ho''na'wan te'ap'kuna. i'tinan la'kikā.  
 le'kwap au'hito le'tikwanan te'likina' ya'kānapkā. te'likinan  
 10 ya'kānan ha'tin kiai'kwin te'likinan a'kānapkā. a'wan te'likinan  
 te'teip i'skon i'yantse'manapkā. si teu'watikāp i'tiwan'akwi  
 te'kohanan yam a'tateu yam a'tsita yam tea'we a'wan te'wanan  
 pi'la'kān'a le'anakāp kok'wa'ciwan'i le'stikwanan ma'a'kā lu'kā  
 hon tate i'la'pa le'anakan kā'klo ci'wan'i a'ntecema'tinapkā.  
 15 yam a'tateu ha'ponakwin iyap i'skon te'likinan a'kā ya'tena-  
 šumekānakāp a'teakā—.

te'lakwai'ikā. li'tekwakā šan'ona yā'teu i'mups'is'kon i'yantece-  
 man i'wokwi'kā. kā'klo ci'wan'i le'skwanan kople'a i'tiwan'akwi  
 te'kohanan a'tateu a'tsita tea'we ho' a'wona-e'latekān'a le'kwap  
 20 an a'nana mo'lanhako a'ci'wan'i i'setonan ka' a'wa'kā. teim  
 te'kohatip e'leho' ya'to kwai'ip fo'wa yā'lakwin a'wi'kā. To'wa  
 yā'lakwin a'wi'nan a'wulohkā—. ho'ltiko' kē'kwekwin a'ye'makā.  
 i'skon a'ho' anha'pōp i'skon pe'yekā. ko'leho' te'atun'ona lak'ap  
 a'witen te'wana hom tea'w a'te i'yan'a. fo''na'wan a'tei te'wanan  
 25 pi'la'un'a. le'kwap i'skon a'peyekā a'ho' le'stikwanan ma'ho'nkwa.  
 i'skon ko'leho' teatun'ona i'yanhetocnan a'wa'kā. a'wanap a'ho'  
 a'teakā—.

a'witen te'wap ko'kwarte i'kā. a'wan kākwe'koa a'te a'wan  
 te'wanan pi'la'kā. lak'ap a'witen te'wana' hon a'wi'yan'a. ha'i  
 30 te'wanan yā'ton'e ton kwa'ho' ye'lekenap'kātāp a'witen te'wanan  
 yā'tonan hon a'wi'yan'a. te'linan ko'kci fo''na'wan te'wanan  
 te'kān'a le'kwanan s'a'te a'kā.

a'witenakāna'na yā'to kwai'ip o'kanan i'towacenapkā. su'nhap  
 a'te i'kā he'ci'kānakā a'tei pen-a'lukā. ya'ton kwa'ton s'a'te  
 35 a'kā. a'tei koko ya'niktohap s'a'wikā. o'ti-a'walukā. i'te'tei-  
 kānapkā ta ha'm're a'wikā. ta u'hson o'ti-a'walukā. ta ham'

## THE TALK OF THE KATCINA CHIEF

Long ago, when the village stood on the top of Corn Mountain, those whose roads go ahead all met together. When they had gathered together they questioned one another: "How shall we enjoy ourselves? Now the men are greatly increasing in number and the women are greatly increasing in number. It is not yet clear with what pleasures we shall pass our time." (5) Thus they said to one another. Their pekwin said, "Is it not clear?" Thus he said. "No, it is not clear." "Indeed, in vain you are men! Yonder once we had our first beginning. Perhaps there we shall set down prayer sticks for them because there our children stay quietly." Thus he said. "Hear! hear!" they said. They made prayer sticks. (10) When they had finished their prayer sticks, to Whispering Spring they sent their prayer sticks. When their prayer sticks arrived there, there they (the divine ones) thought it over among themselves. "Now which of you will count up the days at Itiwana for our daylight fathers, our mothers, our children?" Thus they said. The priests of the katecinas said: "Well, this one, because he is our father." Thus they said. They sent for kã'klo priest. (15) When he came to where his fathers were gathered together they laid hold of him fast with their prayer stick. They waited.

It was spring. At the new moon of the month of little sand storms (March) there, desiring one another, they sat down together in council. Kã'klo priest said, "How shall I come to our daylight fathers, our mothers, our children, at Itiwana?" Thus he said. His grandfathers, Molanhakto,<sup>3</sup> priests, set him on their backs. They came hither. (20) Just at dawn, shortly before sunrise, they came to Corn Mountain. At Corn Mountain they went about in the streets. Then somewhere they climbed up to a house. There where the people were gathered together he spoke. How it would be (he told them). "This day and four more days, and then my two children will come. They will count the days for you." (25) Thus he said. The people spoke. They said, "Well, is that so?" After he had gone the people waited.

After four days the two katecinas came.<sup>4</sup> At all their houses they counted the days for them. "Four days from this day we shall come. On the third (30) day you will have made everything ready and then on the fourth day we shall come. May you all pass a good night." Saying this, the two went.

Four times the sun rose and the women folks cooked. In the evening the two came. "Make haste!" they went about saying. The sun went in. (35) They went. Then meeting them the others came. They went about, dancing. They finished. Then others came.

<sup>3</sup> The Koyemci, esoteric name.

<sup>4</sup> The announcers who come four days before ko'upteonaawe.

a'wĩkã. ƒa u'hson a'wa'nap ƒa ham. a'wĩkã. u'hson a'wa'nihap  
i'te'teĩkã. s'a'wa'kã.

le'snahol a'witelã ko'wihol ƒe'wap teu'watikol a'cep ko'wihol  
40 ƒe'wap ƒa a'wĩkã. ƒa a'wa'nap ƒa teu'watikol a'cep le'snahol  
a'witelan ho' i'yona te'tei a'witela.

le'snahol a'teap et lu'walona e'lute a'teapte kwa e'lam'e.  
lu'kniaƒon'te le'stikwanan si hom tea'we kwa hi'nik le'nate  
hon a'witelap e'leeukwa. le'tikwana ho'na ƒon el a'wuna-  
45 ƒana. kwa hon le' a'wina'ma le'tikwanan yam'co'yan'e yam  
u'line a'te a'nimuna'wap a'ho'i a'tei u'napkã a'tei u'napap ƒon  
e'le a'tei u'napana a'kã ƒon a'tei a'nteliana a'ho' a'ya'ƒãna'wa.  
ƒon a'kã yo'tipap tomt hon a'winan ƒo'na'wa lu'e'hkwi'ƒãna.  
le'natap honkwat e'lek'ãna. a'kãp to'na ho'i yo'nate'tei hon  
50 a'witelap kwa e'lam'e. le'iyanaknan i'sƒon a'ya'ƒãnapkã  
pa'tein u'line a'ho' a'ya'ap lu'walan o'tipkã. mo'ƒana'wap  
lu'walan i'ƒetsana kwa teuhol a'cena'ma. lesnahol a'teaiye.  
le'sna'kona yo'tipap kwa teuhol a'cena'ma a'teakã—.

te'htsitip ko'upteconaƒãp ƒe'lap o'ti-a'walup teuwa ma'ki yam  
55 a'ktsik i'li te'maiyaiye. o'tipkã. Ya'lakwai'ikã.

ko'wihol ƒe'wap te'kwanan a'ƒsan i'ƒocena'wap ƒo'pa tsa'wak  
i'snoƒonhol a'nap a'ƒsana i'ƒocena'wap a'ktsik le'skwanan i'sno  
tsa'wak anan te'cukhok ƒelap ko'ƒwe'le te'akã. kwa ho'nkwa  
ko'ƒw a'witelena'ma le'kwap a'ƒsan i'hatianan yam ƒã'kwin  
60 a'te'tei'nan yam a'ƒacina'we ya'tinan honkwa kwa kokw  
a'witelena'ma le'tikwap teu'wap le'skwa ƒaiyu'ani le'skwe'a.  
le'tikwap te'loƒãnapa! kwa le'sna te'am'e a'wantehacan'a le'awa-  
naknan a'wan a'tatcu i'yatina'wap ƒe'na' te'tei.

u'pa'wa'kona kokw i'kwana kwahol wo'w a'ƒani a'ho' a'ya'a.  
65 ye'leƒãp a'wĩkã. te'eun a'walukã. lu'walan ƒem'la kwa'hol  
a'wana'me. i'natikã ta'hteic an a'ƒacina'we lakhol a'witen ƒe'li'ta  
ƒo'teipã i'ƒoloye. tomt i'toƒena'wa. kwa hol yu'he'tamap ko'lu-  
wala'kwin ƒenan a'ƒãkã. ko'luwala'kwin ƒenan te'tcip i'sƒon  
lu'walemakã. sai'yahi'aƒap te'mtemci ƒo'hana ko'yemci ko'ko  
70 ƒe'm'la ƒãl a'wa'kã. te'euna a'walukã. ki'witsiwa'kona ƒe'nan

Then those went about, dancing. Then others came. When those had gone still others came. When those were about to go they made an end of it. They went.

Thus they came in groups. After a short time someone died. Then after a few (40) days they came again. Again after they had gone someone died. Thus whenever they came, they took someone with them when they went.

Thus they lived. And although the people of the village enjoyed themselves, yet it was not right. Then these (the katcinas) said, "Now, my children, I think it should not be thus. If we keep on coming it will not be right." Thus they said. "You will look at us well. We do not always (45) look like this." Thus they said. Then the two set down their face mask and their helmet mask. The people looked at them. As they looked at them—"You will look at them well so that you can copy them. You will make them and give them life. When you dance with them we shall come and stand before you. If we do thus perhaps it will be all right, because if we take someone with us when we (50) come it is not right." Thus they said to one another. Then they made them. When they brought to life the chin mask and the helmet mask, the people of the village danced in them. They made them right, and the people of the village were happy. No one died. Thus they live. When they danced thus no one died. Thus they lived.

In the winter they had ko'uptconawa. At night they went about, dancing. Some young woman (55) was watching the dance with her little boy. They danced. It was all over.

A few days later the children were playing outdoors. A young man went by where the children were playing. The little boy said, "See that young man going by there? The other night he was a katcina maiden. Perhaps the masked gods do not really come." Thus he said. The children heard him. When they came to their houses, (60) they told their elders. "Perhaps the masked gods do not really come." Thus they said. "Who said so?" "Kai'yuni says so." Thus they said. "Keep quiet! Don't do that. They will punish you." Thus they said to them. Their fathers told one another. They talked only of that.

In the kivas they worked on their masks. They made some dangerous monsters. (65) When they were ready they came. They went around searching. In all the village they could not find him. Meanwhile his parents were hiding him way back in the dust in the fourth inner room. They just brought him food. When they did not see him they sent word to the village of the katcinas. When their message came to the village of the katcinas they arose. The



- kwa'telġāna'wan i'te'tcap kwa hoł teu'wa. an ġākwin a'te'tciġā.  
 an ġākwin a'te'tcinan pe'na kwa-toġāna'wap kwa teu'wa. ho'lo-  
 mackon a'ġā. ko'yemci a'pani'nan kwa yu'he'tame. le''tikwe'a.  
 le''tikwap sai'yahi'a a'witen te'an i'lapateci tsi'nan'e i'luwaġā. ham  
 75 a'tei ĩe'wankwin ĩu'na ye'la'up ham a'tei su'nhakwin ĩu'na ye'la'up  
 te'ponulapġā. i'mteġānan buix! le''tikwap a'wek i'helotiġā kwi-  
 liġānan te'ponulapġā i'mteġānan buix! le''tikwap an ġā'kwen  
 o'koġā. ha'ġānan te'ponu'lapġā. i'mteġānan buix! le''tikwap  
 an ġā'kwen e'lehoł i'tehlakun o'koġā. a'witenakānan te'pon-  
 80 ulapġā. i'mteġānan buix! le''tikwap an ġā'kwen o'koġā i'tehlā-  
 kun o'kop la'khok<sup>u</sup> a'witen te'li'tan po'ule ko'yemci le'stikwanan  
 la'k'we ġihe po'ule! le''tikwanan a'nakwai'ġānapġā. ko'kw'  
 a'witelna ya'ktocnapġā. i'tenap te'mtemci ko'hana i'ġānan  
 a'lu'ya hu' hu' te'mtemci'. hu'. na'na hanat ya'kto halasap s'on  
 85 a'wa'nuwa. ko'yemci le'anaġāp te'mtemci i'ġāne'u i'ġānan  
 a'lu'ya hie ġāġhol tenala'ap e'lakwin te'tcinan haġāmpinan  
 ya'tenan hu'ke' a'ptsikā! wic a'ptsinan i'teh-ġe'atoġā. la'nip  
 a'hnan ĩa i'teh-ġe'atoġā. la'nip a'hnan ĩa i'teh-ġe'atoġā. la'nip  
 ĩa i'teh-ġe'atoġap la'nip ko'yemci tikwa'waġā. ko'luwala'kwin  
 90 a'te'tcinan u'kwatoġā.

ta'hteic ĩo'wa yā'lan ġaiyu'ani an lu'nin mo'lam'e pałoġā. le''na  
 te'atip ko'tiġān i'tehyaġā a'ġā hoł teu'wa ko'wi tsam la'na ko'pu-  
 ana'ġā lu'ġā penan ko'mosona yam teaw a'wampeye'a. hoł teu'wa  
 ĩo'miyacnan pe'nap a'ntehacan'a. a'ġā lu'ġā pe'na i'panaiye.  
 95 yai'yuyana fon a'teġān'a.

le'n i'no'te te'atikā.

sayalia and white temtemci and the koyemci and (70) all the kateinas came hither. They went about searching. They called into all the kivas. When they had been to all of them and found no one there they came to his house. They called in. "He's not here. He has gone far away." The koyemci came down. "We can't find him," they said. When they had said this the sayalia stood on four cross marks (on the roof). Two of them (75) stood facing the east, the other two stood facing the west. They turned around. When they had made a complete circuit they called, "Bu—ix!" The earth shook. The second time they turned about. When they had made a complete circuit, "Bu—ix!" they said. The walls of the house cracked. They turned around the third time. When they had made a complete circuit, "Bu—ix!" they said. (80) The house cracked nearly to the ground. The fourth time they turned around. When they had made a complete circuit, "Bu—ix!" they said. The walls cracked all the way down to the ground; there in the fourth room he was sitting. The koyemci said, "Look in there, our little friend is sitting within!" Thus they said. They pulled him out. The kateinas came. They struck him. When they were finished the white temtemci walked around angrily. "Hoo—tem-tem-ci tem-tem-ci hoo—!" "Grandfather hurry! Hit him hard! (85) We want to go!" Thus said the koyemci. Temtemci was angry. He was running around angrily. A long time afterwards he came to where the boy was standing. He seized his forelock. HuKwe! He cut him. He cut his head off at the neck and threw it up. It fell. He picked it up and again threw it up. It fell. He picked it up and again threw it up. It fell. Again he threw it up. It fell. Then the koyemci used it as a kick stick. They came to the village of the kateinas. (90) Near by on an ant hill they set it down. Then they went in.

Meanwhile at Corn Mountain they buried Kaiyu'ani's headless body. By doing thus they made the Kateina society valuable. Therefore, to any little boy who is initiated into the Kateina society the kateina chief tells this story. Whoever forgets and talks of this will be punished. Therefore these words are not to be told. (95) You will be mindful of it.

This happened long ago.



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ZUÑI RITUAL POETRY

By RUTH L. BUNZEL

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\* The items marked with an asterisk are presented in text with interlinear and free translation; the others text and free translation only.





## ZUÑI RITUAL POETRY

By RUTH L. BUNZEL

### INTRODUCTION

#### THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF PRAYER

Spoken prayer in Zuñi is called *fewusu pena'we*, "prayer talk." This includes personal prayers, all the set prayers of rituals, chants, the origin myth in its ritual forms, the "talk" of komosono and other set speeches. It is also used for urgent requests. (*fewusu peye'a*—"he speaks prayers, i. e., begs, implores.")

Prayer is never the spontaneous outpouring of the overburdened soul; it is more nearly a repetition of magical formulae. A good deal has already been said (p. 493) about the rôle of prayer in the ritual. The prayers constitute the very heart of a ceremony. Like fetishes, they are sacred and powerful in themselves. Their possession is a source of power; their loss or impairment a great danger. Zuñis will describe esoteric ceremonies fully and vividly, but there are two things which they are equally reluctant to do—to exhibit sacred objects or to repeat the words of a prayer. There is much less reticence about songs, except for a few special, secret songs. Prayer frequently forms part of set rituals. Then whether publicly declaimed or muttered so as to be inaudible to profane ears, the efficacy of the prayer depends in no small measure on its correct rendition. The prayers for individual use, such as accompany offerings of prayer meal, food, or prayer sticks, requests for medical service, etc., are also fixed in form and content, although they are individually varied in degree of elaboration. "Some men who are smart talk a long time, but some are just like babies." There are certain other occasions on which men can display their skill in handling the poetic medium—when they are visited in their houses by the *katchinas*; when they are called upon to take part in the games of the *Koyemci*; when they are appointed to office; or otherwise signaled out for honor or blessing by the supernaturals. In such cases one must improvise quickly and handle correctly the ritual vocabulary, rhythms, characteristic long periods, and, above all, speak without any hesitation or fumbling and for as long as possible. There is no time limit, no admonitions to be brief and to the point.

The set prayers must be formally learned—they are not just picked up. The most formal instruction is that connected with the transmission of the prayers of the Ca'lako. Each kiva has a Ca'lako wo'le, who, among his other duties, keeps the prayers. Immediately after the winter solstice the Ca'lako appointees come to him to be taught the necessary prayers. The wo'le meets with them for the four nights following each planting of prayer sticks, and as often besides as may be necessary. The Saiyataca party, whose ritual is the most elaborate, meets every night. Most of this time is given to the "long talk," the litany that is declaimed in the house of the host on the night of their final ceremonies. There are many other prayers that accompany all their activities—prayers for the making and planting of prayer sticks, for getting their mask from the people who keep it and returning it, for various stages in dressing and in their progress toward the village, for the dedication of the house, for blessing the food, for thanking the singers and the hosts, for going away. However, the "long talk" and the "morning talk" are chanted aloud in unison and must be letter perfect. The method of instruction is for the wo'le to intone the prayer, the pupils joining in as they can. One-half of the chant is taken each night. The phrasology of the prayers is so stereotyped that the principal difficulty in learning a long prayer is to keep the sequence. For this purpose certain cult groups have special mnemonic devices. The Kāklo "talk" recorded in text by Mrs. Stevenson is such a record. It is an outline naming in order the various personages called and the places visited, it being assumed that the performer can fill in the outline from his knowledge of the poetic forms. It takes the men appointed to impersonate the gods all of the year to learn their prayers. As the time for the ceremony approaches great concern is felt, and sometimes the ceremony is postponed because the men are not ready. On the night after the ceremony the men go once again to the wo'le and give the prayer back. They recite it for him. At the close he inhales, and they do not, and so he takes from them the spirit of the prayer.

The instruction in prayers that are not publicly performed is less formal. Boys learn the a, b, c's of religious participation, including elementary prayers, from their fathers. After initiation into a medicine society a man goes at once to his ceremonial father to learn to make the prayer sticks of the society, and at the same time learn prayers for the making and offering of prayer sticks. He makes some payment to his father for this information—a shirt or a headband or a few pieces of turquoise. Women do not make their own prayer sticks, but they go similarly to their "fathers" to learn the required prayers. So every additional bit of knowledge is acquired. As more esoteric information is sought, the expense for instruction increases

greatly. A certain old man in one of the priesthoods knew a particular prayer and the order of events in a rarely performed ceremony. He refused to teach these things to anyone. When he was very old and his death was expected his colleagues wished to learn this prayer from him. He was finally persuaded to teach them for a consideration. The woman member of the priesthood contributed a woman's shawl, the men things of greater value, to his fee. He taught the prayer but withheld the other information, and finally died without communicating it. Sometimes a man who is apt and curious and wealthy may collect prayers, the way men in other societies accumulate oil paintings or other works of art, and eventually turn them to profit. The cost of most information is not so excessive that a poor man can not, with the practice of a little thrift, acquire whatever he wishes to know.<sup>1</sup> He can, if he wishes, and if he has friends, learn the prayers of the Ne'we'kwe without actually joining their society. His ceremonial affiliations restrict his right to use these prayers, but many men go to expense to learn prayers they have no intention of using. The Saiyataca texts recorded in the following pages and many others were given me by a man who had never impersonated Saiyataca and never expected to. They were verified after the informant's death by the Saiyataca wo'le, who wondered how and why the informant had learned them. I myself heard the actual chant twice after recording the text and know it to be correct.

#### ZUÑI POETIC STYLE

As might be expected, prayers are highly formalized in content and mode of expression. Nearly all prayers are requests accompanying offerings. They have three sections, which always appear in the same order: A statement of the occasion, a description of the offering, and the request. In long and important prayers the statement of the occasion is a synoptic review of ritual acts leading up to the present moment of a ceremony. Thus, Saiyataca's chant begins with a description of the winter solstice ceremony when the appointment was made and follows the Saiyataca party through all the minor ceremonies of the year, even enumerating the various shrines at which prayer sticks were offered. The prayers over novices at their initiation ceremony begin with a formal description of their illness and cure. In prayers which do not mark the culmination of long ceremonies the statement of the occasion may be no more than a statement of the time of day or the season of the year, and some veiled allusion to the special deities who are being invoked.

<sup>1</sup> In Zuñi a "poor man" is one who has no special knowledge or position in the ceremonial system. A "valuable" man has knowledge and prestige. "Knowledge" (anikwanan'e) is the word for supernatural power.

There is always a formal request for all the regular blessings—long life, old age, rain, seeds, fecundity, riches, power, and “strong spirit.” This formal request closes the prayer. Any special request, such as those for summer storms and winter snows, safety in war, rescue from disease, precede this. Requests that are strictly personal never figure in prayer. One prays always for “all good fortune,” never for special and particular benefit. The only exceptions are in the case of prayers in sickness and the prayer of a widower to his dead wife with the request that she should not pursue him.

Zuñi prayers are distinctly matter of fact. They deal with external events and conditions rather than inner states. Outside of the request, their content is limited to two fields: Natural phenomena, such as sunrise, sunset, dawn, night, the change of seasons, the phases of the moon, rainstorms, snowfall, the growth of corn; and ritual acts, especially the making of prayer sticks, setting up of altars, and transfer of authority. Rituals of a more intimate and personal character, such as fasting and abstinence, are never mentioned. In their prayers Zuñis do not humble themselves before the supernatural; they bargain with it.

There are regular stereotyped phrases for all things commonly alluded to in prayer. The sun always “comes out standing to his sacred place,” “night priests draw their dark curtain,” the corn plants “stretch out their hands to all directions calling for rain,” the meal painting on an altar is always “our house of massed clouds,” prayer sticks are “clothed in our grandfather, turkey’s, robe of cloud.” Events are always described in terms of these stereotypes, which are often highly imaginative and poetic.<sup>2</sup> These fixed metaphors are the outstanding feature of Zuñi poetic style. There are not very many of them; they are used over and over again, the same imagery appearing repeatedly in one prayer. A prayer recorded by Cushing more than 50 years ago contains all of the same stereotypes and no turns of expression different from those in use to-day. A comparison of Cushing’s texts<sup>3</sup> with mine shows a rigidity of style in oral tradition.

The sentence structure is that of continued narrative in the hands of a particularly able story-teller. Zuñi is a language that is very sensitive to skillful handling. Oratory is a recognized art, and prayer is one of the occasions on which oratory is used. The best prayers run to long periods—the longer the better, since clarity of expression is not necessary, nor particularly desirable.

Zuñi, like Latin, is a highly inflected language and can handle effectively involved sentences that can not be managed intelligibly in

<sup>2</sup> Some of the most striking passages have been quoted. (See pp. 483-486.)

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately Cushing has published only short texts which do not do justice to Zuñi style. One long text which he recorded is to be published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* with a parallel modern version.

English. These features, which are difficult enough of translation in prose, are emphasized in the poetry. The long period is a characteristic feature. The typical Zuñi word order is subject, object, verb; the verb always holding the final position. The usual method of expressing temporal or causal subordination is by means of participial or gerundive clauses, fully inflected, preceding the principal proposition. These participial clauses are impossible in English. In the translation it has been necessary, therefore, to break up the original sentences. Thereby an important and effective stylistic feature is unavoidably lost. But the reader should think of the Zuñi sentences rolling on like the periods of a Ciceronian oration to their final close.

Another difficulty of translation, which will be alluded to frequently in the following pages, is the impossibility of translating the word plays with which the texts abound. To quote one example: The root *lea-* means, in its intransitive inflection, to wear or hold in the hand; in its transitive inflection, to clothe or to give into the hand. There the sentence *li-ho' fo' telikinán a-lea'u* means both, "I here hand you these prayer sticks," or "I clothe you with these prayer sticks." Folk tales and religious beliefs utilize this double entendre. It is believed, for instance, that when people neglect to plant prayer sticks to the gods their clothing wears out. The passage where the word *cipololon'e* is used with the double meaning of "smoke" and "mist" is a striking example. The suppliant offers smoke of the sacred cigarette to the rain makers. They are conceived as taking the cigarette and smoking in turn. They "send forth their smoky breath," i. e., mist or fog.

Word play is used with still greater subtlety in the description of the prayer-stick offering. Many Zuñi roots are neutral; i. e., can be inflected to form both nouns and verbs.<sup>4</sup> *ikwi-* is to tie something about something else; *ikwin'e*, literally a tying about, is the usual word for belt. To say, therefore, "I tie the cotton about it," is precisely the same as to say "I belt him with a cotton belt." So the whole image of the making of the prayer stick or the dressing of an idol is built up linguistically. It is very difficult to tell how much is word play, how much metaphor, and how much is actual personification. The Zuñi finds these ambiguities intriguing.

This leads us to the third form of word play, the deliberate use of ambiguity, both verbal and grammatical. There are passages where subject and object are deliberately confounded, although there are excellent means for avoiding such ambiguity. These sentences are perfectly grammatical and can be correctly interpreted in two ways.

<sup>4</sup> This is not, strictly speaking, true in precisely these terms. As a matter of fact these stems are probably verbal, but a complete demonstration of their character would take us into linguistic subtleties beyond the scope of this paper.



The use of obsolete or special words has occasioned some difficulty. The expression *ḡacima ṭapela* for ladder is one case. *Ṭapela*, the Zuñis say, is an "old word" for ladder. *Ṭapelan'e*, however, was a load of wood tied up as it used to be in the days when wood was brought on foot. Wood is no longer brought in this way, but the word, fixed in metaphor, has survived. There are a number of similar examples. In such cases the old translation has been retained.

It has been impossible, of course, to render the original rhythm. One characteristic feature, however, has been retained, namely, its irregularity, the unsymmetrical alternation of long and short lines. Cushing, in his commendable desire to render Zuñi verse into vivid and intelligible English verse, committed the inexcusable blunder of reducing the Zuñi line to regular short-line rhymed English stanzas. If one were to choose a familiar English verse form it should be the line of Milton or, better still, the free verse of the King James version of the psalms. I have tried to retain the sense in the original of the fluidity and variety of the verse form. In reading the translations one must be mindful of Zuñi methods of declamation. The short lines are declaimed slowly and with marked emphasis, the long lines are spoken rapidly, unaccented syllables are slurred or elided, and the word accents pile up on each other. The two types of line are like the booming of the surf and the rushing of the brook.

Zuñi poetry has no feminine endings.<sup>5</sup> The heavy accent with noticeable lengthening on the final syllable can not be transferred to English. The translation therefore suffers greatly from loss of sonority and vigor. In the original every line is like the declaration of a creed—an effect which no translation can adequately render. It is interesting to note that although the natural cadence of Zuñi is trochaic, the poetic rhythm is predominantly iambic. The principal word accent in Zuñi is invariably on the first syllable, with a secondary accent, in words of four or more syllables, on the penult. The final syllable is always unaccented, yet the important poetic stress is always on the final syllable of the line, which gives the verse a curious syncopated quality, very difficult of reproduction. The final syllable is usually distinguished by prolongation and a high falling tone.

<sup>5</sup> Every line ends in a vowel. Most Zuñi words terminate in vowels, but words ending in consonants—for example, the participles in -nan and -ap take special forms -na or -nana and -ap'a when occurring finally; -a is the most usual vocalic ending, but there is no true rhyming.

## I. PRAYERS TO THE ANCIENTS

### AN OFFERING OF FOOD TO THE ANCESTORS

The offering of food to the dead forms an important part of Zuni household ritual. Cushing states that a bit of food is offered in the fire at each meal by all partaking, and that no child is weaned until he is able to make this offering with a suitable prayer. At the present time the practice is by no means universal. It is made, with very little ceremony, by priests and the female heads of their houses. The female heads of houses holding ceremonial objects make offerings to these objects before serving food. Each appointee to ceremonial office makes offerings at nightfall in the river, about a mile west of Zuni. The food thus offered is carried by the river to the supernaturals at the village of the masked gods. Offerings of food are conspicuous at any ceremonial meal, and each man holding ceremonial office receives a package to be offered later in the river. With offerings in the house no prayer is spoken—at most only a few words are mumbled: "Eat; may our roads be fulfilled," or "May we be blessed with life." With outdoor offerings, long prayers are spoken. Offerings, whether of food, corn meal, or prayer sticks, are never made specifically to one's own ancestors, but to *the* ancestors.

After the crops are harvested in fall ghosts' day or grandmothers' day is announced by the sakisti (sacristan of the ancient mission church).<sup>2</sup> On this day large quantities of food are prepared, only products of that year's harvest being used, a lamb of that spring's lambing, bread made of new wheat and corn, and anything else that has been raised. The melons are gone by that time, but some are always saved for the grandmothers. Before eating the evening meal women make their offerings in the fire, a few ears of corn, a dish of lamb stew, a loaf of bread, a roll of paper bread. After dark the men take even greater quantities to the river. The following prayer is used, probably, with this special offering.

This day my children,

For their fathers,

Their ancestors,

lu'kã yã'tone

hom tea'we

yam a'tateu

yam a'lacina·we

<sup>2</sup> In 1927 it fell on November 9. For the probable Catholic origin of the feast in All Souls' Day, see Parsons All Souls' Day at Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna; *Journal of American Folk Lore* 30:485.

- 5 For you who have attained the far-off place of waters,<sup>3</sup>  
This day  
My children  
Have prepared food for your rite.
- 10 Now our sun father  
Has gone in to sit down at his sacred place.<sup>4</sup>  
Taking the food my children have prepared at their fireplaces  
(I have come out.)
- 15 Those who hold our roads,<sup>5</sup>  
The night priests,<sup>6</sup>  
Coming out rising to their sacred place  
Will pass us on our roads.
- 20 This night  
I add to your hearts.  
With your supernatural wisdom  
You will add to your hearts.  
Let none of you be missing
- 25 But all add to your hearts.  
Thus on all sides you will talk together.  
From where you stay quietly  
Your little wind-blown clouds,  
Your fine wisps of cloud,
- 30 Your massed clouds you will send forth to sit down with us;  
With your fine rain caressing the earth,  
With all your waters  
You will pass to us on our roads.  
With your great pile of waters,
- 35 With your fine rain caressing the earth,  
With your heavy rain caressing the earth,  
You will pass to us on our roads.  
My fathers,  
Add to your hearts.
- 40 Your waters,  
Your seeds,  
Your long life,<sup>7</sup>  
Your old age  
You will grant to us.
- 5 le'hok<sup>u</sup> k̄ā'eima te'wa o'k̄āna'kowa  
lu'k̄ā yā'ton'e  
hom tea'we  
fo'na'wan hai'to  
i'ton ya'k̄ānapk̄ā.  
10 ho'na'wan yā'tok̄ā ta'tcu  
yam te'facinakwi  
i'mina kwa'tok̄āpa  
hom tea'we  
yam a'klinawa i'to ya'k̄ānapk̄owa  
i'teana  
15 hon a'wona'wi'lona  
te'liaka a'ciwani  
yam te'facinakwi  
i'luwakna kwai'ina  
ho'n a'wona-elatenawa.  
20 lu'k̄ā te'linan'e  
to'na ho' a'wike-na telia'u.  
yam a'nikwanan a'k̄ā  
i'ke'na i'teliana.  
et teu'hol i'metam'e  
25 i'ken i'teliana.  
le'si te'kwi fon ya'cu tela'k̄āna  
  
yam ti'nan la'k̄i'kowa  
yam pi'teinan'e  
su'lahaian'e  
30 yam a'weluyan yana imuna kwai'i  
k̄āna  
yam k̄ā'tsana liton-telakwi  
  
yam k̄ā'eimak̄ā  
ho'na fon a'wona-e'latena:  
yam k̄ā'eima pu'ekwine  
35 yam k̄ā'sana liton-telakwi  
  
yam k̄ā'lana liton-telakwi  
  
ho'na fon a'wona-elatenawa  
hom a'tateu  
i'ken i'teliana  
40 yam k̄ā'eima  
yam fo'wacana  
yam o'naya'nakā  
yam la'cia'ka  
fo ya'nikteiana'wa

<sup>3</sup> That is, the dead.<sup>4</sup> The sun has two resting places: One above, to which he "comes out standing" at sunrise; one below the world, to which he "goes in to sit down" at sunset.<sup>5</sup> A'wona'wi'lona—used of any supernaturals who influence human affairs. This is not a special deity, as Mrs. Stevenson believes.<sup>6</sup> That is the night itself, anthropomorphically envisaged.<sup>7</sup> Onaya'nakā—literally "road fulfilling."

|                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 45 Therefore I have added to your<br>hearts.<br>To the end, my fathers,<br>My children:<br>You will protect us.<br>All my ladder descending children <sup>8</sup> | 45 a'k'ä to'na ho' a'wike'na teliakä.<br><br>te'wuna' hom a'tateu<br>hom tca'we<br>ho'na fon a'te'yan'a<br>le'wi le'tsilon ßa'ni'nan hom tca'we |
| 50 Will finish their roads;<br>They will grow old.<br>You will bless us with life.                                                                                | 50 te'mla a'wona-ya''ana<br>a'tacin-a<br>ho'na fon tekohanan ya'nik-<br>teia'nawa.                                                              |

## THE PREPARATION OF PRAYER STICKS AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE

Twice during the winter solstice ceremony each adult male makes prayer sticks. The first time he makes for himself offerings to the sun, and to the ancestors. For the grown women of the family he makes offerings for the moon and the ancestors; children offer to the ancestors. If he is a member of a society he makes the special offering appropriate to his rank in the society. These solstice offerings are quite different from monthly society offerings.

The offerings of each family are deposited in an excavation in the family field, generally the cornfield, despite the fact that these are at greater distances from the village. After the offerings are made everyone is supposed to abstain from animal food, in addition to the usual requirement of sexual continence. Abstinence from meat is required because of the offering to the sun, which employs only downy feathers, which are especially potent and carry with them the pledge of abstinence. Among the younger people only those who belong to societies fast from meat. The others would consider it wrong to do so. "While we were away at school we ate meat, and it is a bad thing to break one's custom."

On the fourth day each initiated male offers to the kateinas, and each male society member offers to the beast gods. These offerings are made in the cornfield or in the fields to the east of the village. That night, after dark, special offerings are made in the corrals for the increase of horses, cattle, and sheep, for clothing and ornaments, and for medicine. Each man uses a different kind of stick and guards this secret knowledge jealously.

There are prayers to be said at each stage of the process of prayer-stick making. Prayers are always offered to the trees before cutting the sticks. Corn meal is offered to the "lucky" tree. This is not cut, but another is taken. The rest of the prayers are generally

<sup>8</sup> That is, human, the inhabitants of Zūñi.

omitted until the stick is finished. Then the following brief prayer is spoken over it before it is set aside until the time comes to plant it:

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| This many are the days<br>Since our moon mother<br>Yonder in the west <sup>9</sup><br>Appeared, still small;<br>When but a short space yet re-<br>mained<br>Till she was fully grown,<br>Then out daylight father, <sup>10</sup><br>Pekwin of the Dogwood clan,<br>For his sun father | le'si te'wanan'e<br>hon ya'onakã tsit i'laḡona<br>li'wan ḡaliciankwin ta''na<br>ko'wi ḡsana ye'tsaḡana<br>5 ho'i ya'kãtun te'kwi<br>ko'w a'nte'we'tcikwi                                                |
| 10 Told off the days.<br>This many days we have waited.<br>We have come to the appointed<br>time.<br>My children,                                                                                                                                                                     | hon te'kohanan tate i'laḡ a'te'ona<br>pi'teik a'nota ḡe'kwin ci'wan'i<br>yam yã'toḡã ta'teu<br>10 an te'wanan pi''lana<br>le'si te'wanan'e<br>hon te'wanan a'teakã<br>hai'tokwin te'teikã<br>hom tea'we |
| 15 All my children,<br>Will make plume wands.<br>My child,<br>My father, <sup>11</sup> sun,                                                                                                                                                                                           | 15 te'mla hom tea'we<br>te'liḡina'we a'ya'ḡana'wa<br>hom tea'le<br>hom ta'teu<br>yã'toḡã                                                                                                                |
| 20 My mother, moon,<br>All my children will clothe you<br>with prayer plumes. <sup>12</sup><br>When you have arrayed yourselves<br>in these,<br>With your waters,                                                                                                                     | 20 hom tsi'ta ya'onan'e<br>hom tea'we<br>te'mla te'liḡina'we to'na le'ana'wa<br>ton i'leana                                                                                                             |
| 25 Your seeds<br>You will bless all my children.<br>All your good fortune<br>You will grant to them all.<br>To this end, my father,                                                                                                                                                   | yam ḡã'eima<br>25 yam to'wacanan'e<br>hom tea'we te'mla to' ya'nhaitena<br>yam kwa'hoi te'mla ha'lowilin'e<br>te'mla to' ya'nhaitena<br>te'wuna' hom ta'teu                                             |
| 30 My mother:<br>May I finish my road;<br>May I grow old;<br>May you bless me with life.                                                                                                                                                                                              | 30 hom tsi'ta<br>ho' o'na ya'tu<br>ha'citu<br>hom te'kohanan a'nikteiatu.                                                                                                                               |

#### AN OFFERING OF PRAYER STICKS AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE

|                                                                                                               |                                                                   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| This many are the days<br>Since at the new year<br>For those who are our fathers,<br>ḡã'eto'we, <sup>13</sup> | le'si te'wanan'e<br>i'tiwan'a<br>hon a'tate i'laḡona<br>ḡã'eto'we |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|

<sup>9</sup> The new moon, first appearing at sunset in the west.

<sup>10</sup> Our human father. Father is a courtesy term applied to all supernaturals, all men who hold high office.

<sup>11</sup> "My father, my child," the most intimate form of address, used only in relations of implying intense affection. "My father, my child," and "my mother, my child," are sometimes used as great endearments between husband and wife.

<sup>12</sup> A common play upon words a'tea'u means either to give into one's hand or to clothe one. Likewise i'tea'u (reflexive) means either to take in one's hand or to clothe oneself.

<sup>13</sup> Literally "the water object in the dish," the rain-bringing fetish of the priests. (M. C. Stevenson, 23d Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethnology, p. 163.)

|    |                                                                                                                                                                                 |    |                                                                                                                                   |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5  | Teu'eto'we, <sup>14</sup><br>The days <sup>15</sup> were made.<br>From all the wooded places<br>Breaking off the young straight<br>shoots<br>Of the male willow, female willow, | 5  | teu-e'to-we<br>a'wan te'wanan yo'kä<br>le'wi takwil-pö'ti<br>pi'lotsi pi'lokä<br>a'käwukwi'na                                     |
| 10 | In our hands we held them fast.<br>With them we gave our plume wands<br>human form.<br>With the striped cloud wing<br>The one who is our father,<br>Male turkey,                | 10 | yam a'sin a'kä<br>a'wiyatena-tsu'mekäna<br>te'likina a'ho' a'ya'käna<br>yam nan i'laḡ a'te'ona<br>ton ots an la'pihaiyan la'tan'e |
| 15 | We gave our plume wands human<br>form. <sup>16</sup><br>With the flesh of our mother,<br>Cotton woman,<br>Even a poorly made cotton thread,                                     | 15 | a'kä te'likina a'ho' a'ya'käna<br>yam tsit i'laḡ a'te'ona<br>pi'tsem o'kä<br>an ci''nan'e<br>ko'ti pi'lenapte                     |
| 20 | With this four times encircling the<br>plume wands,<br>And tying it about their bodies,<br>We finished our plume wands.<br>Having finished our plume wands                      | 20 | ak' a'witela'ma<br>te'likina pa'nulapna i'kwiyan'te''-<br>teina<br>te'likina a'ya'käkä.<br>te'likina a'ya'käna<br>yam a'tateu     |
| 25 | And offering our fathers their plume<br>wands<br>We make their days. <sup>17</sup><br>Anxiously awaiting their days.<br>We have passed the days.<br>After a little while        | 25 | te'likinan a'leana<br><br>a'wan te'wanan yo''aḡa<br>a'wan te'wanan a'ntsume'na<br>hon te'wanan a'teaiye.<br>ko'wi te'la'aḡa       |
| 30 | Your massed clouds,<br>Your rains,<br>We shall desire.<br>We have given you plume wands.<br>That with your waters,                                                              | 30 | a'wehuya-we<br>li'to-we<br>a'ntecemana-wa.<br>to'na te'likinan a'leakä.<br>yam kä'cima                                            |
| 35 | Your seeds,<br>Your riches, <sup>18</sup><br>Your long life,<br>Your old age,<br>You may bless us—                                                                              | 35 | yam to'wacanan'e<br>yam u'tena-we<br>yam o'naya'nakä<br>yam la'ciakä<br>hom ton a'nikteiana'                                      |
| 40 | For this I have given you plume<br>wands.<br>To this end, my fathers,<br>May our roads reach to dawn lake; <sup>19</sup><br>May our roads be fulfilled;<br>May we grow old;     | 40 | a'kä to'na te'likinan ho' a'leakä.<br><br>te'wunn' hom a'tateu<br>te'lualan kälakwi te'tcina<br>hon a'wona-ya'tu<br>hon a'lacitu  |

<sup>14</sup> The other half of the priestly fetish. This is the corn fetish.<sup>15</sup> The retreat of the priests.<sup>16</sup> Fashioned like human beings. The stick is the body, the feathers, the robes, the cotton cord is the belt, the paint is the flesh. This is the order of processes in the making of prayer sticks.<sup>17</sup> "To make days" is to observe the taboo period.<sup>18</sup> Clothing and ornaments, which constitute personal property, hence wealth.<sup>19</sup> The water that lies on the easternmost rim of the world. This is where the sun comes out, and stands, therefore, as the symbol of fulfillment.



- |                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 45 To where the road of our sun father<br>goes<br>May our roads reach;<br>May our roads be fulfilled;<br>May we grow old;<br>50 May we be blessed with life. | 45 yam yā'toḡa ta'teu<br>an o'nan'e<br>o'nealan te''teina<br>hon a'wona ya'ʼtu<br>hon a'ʼacitu<br>50 hon te'ʼEḡohanān ya'niktcia'tu. |
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## A MONTHLY OFFERING OF PRAYER STICKS

At each full moon (in some societies at the new moon) each member of a society offers prayer sticks. In addition to special offerings prescribed by the society there are two to four short black sticks for the ancestors and, for males, one similar black stick, with the addition of a duck feather, for the katchinas. The sticks are buried in the corn-field or at Red Earth, a point on the river bank east of the town. The prayer sticks are deposited with the following prayer, which was secured from one of the headmen of the Wood Society.

This many are the days  
 Since our moon mother,  
 Yonder in the west  
 Appeared still small.  
 When she became fully grown  
 Seeking yonder along the river courses  
 The ones who are our fathers,  
 Male willow,  
 Female willow,  
 Four times cutting the straight young  
     shoots,  
 To my house  
 I brought my road.  
 This day,  
 With my warm human hands  
 I took hold of them.  
 I gave my plume wands human form.  
 With the striped cloud tail  
 Of the one who is my grandfather,  
 The male turkey,  
 With eagle's thin cloud tail,  
 With the striped cloud wings  
 And massed cloud tails  
 Of all the birds of summer,  
 With these four times I gave my plume  
     wands human form.  
 With the flesh of the one who is my  
     mother,  
 Cotton woman,  
 Even a poorly made cotton thread,  
 Four times encircling them and tying  
     it about their bodies,  
 I gave the plume wands human form.  
 With the flesh of the one who is our  
     mother,

Black paint woman,  
 Four times covering them with flesh,  
 I gave my plume wands human form.

In a short time the plume wands were  
 ready.

Taking the plume wands,  
 I made my road go forth.  
 Yonder with prayers  
 We took our road.  
 Thinking, "Let it be here,"

Our earth mother  
 We passed upon her road.  
 Our fathers,  
 There on your earth mother,  
 There where you are waiting your  
     plume wands  
 We have passed you on your roads.  
 There where you are all gathered to-  
     gether in beauty  
 Now that you are to receive your plume  
     wands,  
 You are gathered together.

This day I give you plume wands.  
 By means of your supernatural wisdom  
 You will clothe yourself with the plume  
     wands.

Wherever you abide permanently,  
 At the place of the first beginning,  
 Touching one another with your plume  
     wands,

You will bend down to talk together.  
 From where you abide permanently,  
 Your little wind-blown cloud,

Your thin wisps of cloud,  
 Your hanging stripes of cloud,  
 Your massed up clouds, replete with  
   living waters,  
 You will send forth to stay with us.  
 They will come out standing on all  
   sides.  
 With your fine rain caressing the earth,  
 With your weapons, the lightning,  
 With your rumbling thunder,  
 Your great crashes of thunder,  
 With your fine rain caressing the earth,  
 Your heavy rain caressing the earth,  
 With your great pile of waters here at  
   Itiwana,<sup>20</sup>  
 With these you will pass us on our  
   roads.

In order that you may come to us thus  
 I have given you plume wands.

My fathers,  
 When you have taken your plume  
   wands,  
 With your waters,  
 Your seeds,  
 Your riches,  
 Your power,  
 Your strong spirit,  
 Will all your good fortune whereof you  
   are possessed,  
 Me you will bless.

Corn meal is then sprinkled on the prayer sticks with the following  
 prayer:

This day, my fathers,  
 I have given you plume wands.  
 The source of our water of life.  
 The source of our flesh,  
 Flesh of the white corn  
 Prayer meal  
 I give to you.  
 Taking your plume wand,  
 Your prayer meal,

With your waters,  
 Your seeds,  
 Your riches,  
 Your long life,  
 Your old age,  
 With all your good fortune  
 You will bless us.  
 This is all.

#### MONTHLY OFFERING OF PRAYER STICKS

le'si fe'wanane

this much time

hon ya'onakā tsit i'laḡona

we moon mother the one we have

li'wan ḡālician'kwin ta''na

hither to the west direction

ko'wi ṡsa'na ye'tsaḡāna

a little small becoming visible

ho'i ya'ḡāḡa te'a'ana

person finished when she was

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'wi ḡā'piyalana'na tapanā

yonder all river along following

hom a'tatcu i'laḡona

we fathers the ones we have

pi'lotsi pi'lokā

male willow female willow

a'wi tela'ma

four times

<sup>20</sup> The Middle, the ceremonial name for Zuñi.

a'kewulki'nakna

breaking off the young shoots

yam hecoŋakwi

our house to

hon o'neŋ i'k̄ānapk̄ā

we road made come

lu'k̄ā yā'ton'e

this day

yam a's'in k̄ālnak̄ā

my hand warm with

ho' a'wiyaŋek̄ā

I took hold of them

te'likina a'ho' a'ya'k̄āk̄ā

prayer sticks persons (I) finished

yam na'nili te'ona

our grandfather the one who is

ton ots an la'pihaiyan la'tan'e

turkey male his hanging cloud wing

k̄āk̄āl an su'lahaiyan la'tan'e

eagle his cirrus cloud wing

la'ihok<sup>u</sup> o'lo'k̄aiak̄ā wo'we

yonder summer birds

a'wan lapihaiyan la'tan'e

their hanging cloud wing

a'weluyan k̄āten'e

cumulus cloud tail

a'k̄ā a'witela'ma

with them four times

te'likina a'ho' a'ya'k̄āk̄ā

prayer sticks persons (I) finished

yam tsit i'lapa te'ona

our mother having the one who is

pi'tsem o'k̄ā an ci''nan'e

cotton woman her flesh

ko''ti pi''lenapte

rough cotton cord even though it is

a'witela'ma

four times

pa'nulap i'kwiyan-te''ŋeina

winding around tying it reaching around

te'likina a'ho' a'ya'k̄āk̄ā

prayer sticks persons (I) finished

yam tsit i'lapa ''te''ona

our mother having the ones

ha'kwin o'k̄' an ci''nane

black paint woman her flesh

a'witela'ma ci'n i'yante'ŋeina

four times flesh reaching all over

te'likina a'ho' a'ya'k̄āna

prayer sticks persons finishing

we'tsim te'la'a'pa

after a little while

yam te'likinan e'lete'a'kã

my prayer stick (I) made ready

te'likinan i'leana

prayer stick taking

o'nea'an kwai'i'kãna

road making go out

le'hok<sup>u</sup> te'wus a'kã

yonder prayers with

hon o'nea' a'kãnapkã

we road made go

ho' li'la le''hatina

somewhere here thinking

yam a'witelin tsi'tana

our earth mother at

hon o'na-e'latena

we on her road passing

ho''na'wan a'tatcu

our fathers

yam a'witelin tsi'tana

our earth mother

tom te'likinan co'kya'kwi

your prayer stick waiting where

to'na hon a'wona-e'latenapkã

you we on your roads passed

ton te'mla ha'pona ko'kei

you all gathered beautifully

yam te'likinan i'leanaptun te'a

your prayer stick about to take where

te'mla ton ha'ponaiye

all you are gathered

lu'kã yã'ton'e

this day

to'na hon te'likina a'lea'u.

to you we prayer sticks give

yam a'nikwananak'ã

your knowledge with

te'likinan i'lea'u.

prayer stick take

ho' yam ti'nan-la'kikwi

somewhere your staying quietly place

yam tci'mi'kãnapkã te'kwi

your first beginning place

te'likinan a'kã

prayer stick with

to ya'cuwa telakuna

you speaking' will bend over

yam ti'nan la'ki'kowa

your staying quietly wherever

- yam pi'tcinan'e  
 your wind cloud  
 yam su'lahaiyan'e  
 your cirrus cloud  
 yam la'pilai'yan'e  
 your black striped cloud  
 yam a'weluyan k̄ä'kwi ya'na'a  
 your cumulus cloud with living water replete  
 i'muna kwa'i k̄än'a.  
 sitting down will make come forth  
 le'si te'kwin i'luwakna kwai'ina  
 on all sides standing coming out  
 yam k̄ätsana hiton-telakuna  
 your fine drops rain bending down  
 yam sa'wanik̄ä  
 your weapon  
 wi'lolonan'e  
 lightning  
 ku'lulunan'e  
 thunder  
 yam la'tsatsa ti'nana  
 your crashes of thunder  
 yam k̄ä'tsana hi'ton-telakwi  
 your fine drops rain bending down  
 yam k̄ä'łana hi'ton-telakwi  
 your large drops rain bending down  
 li'ła i'tiwanakwi  
 here I tiwana at  
 yam k̄ä'cima puckwai'ina  
 your waters the larger portion  
 a'k'a ho'na ton a'wona-e'latena'.  
 with this us you on our roads will pass.  
 a'wona-e'latenaptunak̄ä  
 On our roads in order that you may pass  
 to'na ho' te'likinan a'leak̄ä  
 to you I prayer sticks have given  
 hom a'tateu  
 my fathers  
 yam te'likinan i'leana  
 your prayer stick taking,  
 yam k̄ä'cima  
 your waters,  
 yam to'wacanan'e  
 your seeds,  
 yam u'tenan'e  
 your clothing,  
 yam sa'wanik̄ä  
 your weapon,  
 yam tse'makwin tsu'me  
 your mind, strong

yam kwa'hoi te'mla te'ni ha'lowilin'e  
 your something all every bit good luck

hom ŋo a'niktciana.  
 to me you will grant.

ḡā'wai'anaḡa te'wusu  
 Prayer meal with prayer.

lu'kā yä'tone  
 This day

hom a'tatcu  
 my fathers

te'likinan ŋo'na ho' a'leakā.  
 prayer stick to you I gave

yam a'k-ä a'ḡä'ḡona  
 your with it that which waters you

yam a'k-ä a'ci'nona  
 your with it that which is (your) flesh.

ḡowa ḡohana  
 corn white

ha'lawo'tinan'e  
 prayer meal

ŋo'na ho' ha'lawo'tinan a'leä'u.  
 to you I prayer meal give.

te'likinan'e.  
 prayer stick.

halawo'tinan'e  
 Prayer meal

i'leana  
 taking

yam ḡä'cima  
 your waters,

yam ŋo'wacanan'e  
 your seeds,

u'tenan'e  
 clothing,

o'naya'nakä  
 long life,

ḡa'ciaḡä  
 old age,

yam kwa'hoi te'mla te'ni ha'lowilin'e  
 your something all every bit good luck

ḡon ho'n a'niktcian'a.  
 you to us will give.

le'wi.  
 That is all.



PRAYERS TO DEAD WIFE, WITH OFFERINGS OF PRAYER MEAL AND  
PRAYER STICKS

When a man's wife dies for four days he observes the most stringent taboos. He remains continent; he abstains from eating meat, grease, and salt. He sits alone, away from the fire, and must not be touched. He should not speak or be spoken to. Each morning at dawn he drinks an emetic and goes out on the eastern road to offer black corn meal to the dead spouse. He holds the black meal in the left hand, passes it four times over his head, and throws it away as rite of exorcism. Then, using the right hand, he scatters white meal, and prays. These taboos are the same as those offered by a warrior who has taken a scalp, and are directed to the same ends, the removal of contamination and the propitiation of the ghost. The ghost, who is lonely, will try to visit her husband in dreams. To prevent this he uses black corn meal, "to make the road dark" or "to forget."

After the four days he plants prayer sticks and resumes normal life. For 12 months he should remain continent, lest the dead wife become jealous. During this period he is "dangerous." At the end of this period he has intercourse with a stranger to whom he gives a gift, the instrument for removing the contamination. She throws this away. Next day both plant prayer sticks. If he desires to shorten the period, he gets some man with esoteric knowledge to make him especially potent prayer sticks—two or four sets—planted at intervals of four days, which are offered to the dead wife with the following prayer. These same rites are observed also by a widow and a warrior who has taken a scalp.

This is the only example which has come to my knowledge of any offering made to an individual, and even in this the ancestors are included. This prayer is also used with offerings of prayer sticks to the dead, on the fourth day after death, the day in which the spirit is believed to reach the land of the dead.<sup>21</sup>

|                                |                          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| My fathers,                    | hom a'tateu              |
| Our sun father,                | ho'na'wan ya'tokā ta'teu |
| Our mothers,                   | ho'na'wan a'tsita        |
| Dawn                           | te'luwaiaqā              |
| 5 As you arise and come out to | 5 ho! yam te'laci'nakwi  |
| your sacred place,             | i'luwakna kwai'ina       |
| I pass you on your road.       | ho' to'n o'na-e'latena   |
| The source of our flesh,       | yam a'kā ci'na ya'na     |
| White corn,                    | to'wa ko'hana            |

<sup>21</sup> Two versions follow, one dictated by a man, the other taken from the autobiography of a woman, in the account of the death of her first husband.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>10 Prayer meal,<br/>Shell,<br/>Pollen,<br/>I offer to you.<br/>Our sun father,<br/>15 To you I offer prayer meal.<br/>To you we offer it.<br/>To you we offer pollen.<br/>According to the words of my prayer<br/>Even so may it be.<br/>20 There shall be no deviation.<br/>Sincerely<br/>From my heart I send forth my<br/>prayers.<br/>To you prayer meal,<br/>Shell I offer.<br/>25 Pollen I offer.<br/>According to the words of my prayer</p> <p>Even so may it be.<br/>Now this day,<br/>My ancestors,<br/>You have attained the far-off place<br/>of waters.<sup>22</sup><br/>This day,<br/>5 Carrying plume wands,<br/>Plume wands which I have pre-<br/>pared for your use.<br/>I pass you on your roads.<br/>I offer you plume wands.<br/>10 When you have taken my plume<br/>wands,<br/>All your good fortune whereof you<br/>are possessed<br/>You will grant to me.<br/>And furthermore<br/>You, my mother,<sup>23</sup><br/>15 Verily, in the daylight<br/>With thoughts embracing,<br/>We passed our days<br/>Now you have attained the far-off<br/>place of waters.<br/>I give you plume wands,</p> | <p>10 ha'lawo'tinan'e<br/>lo''o<br/>o'nean'e<br/>fo'na ho' a'lea'u<br/>ho'na'wa ya'toka tate i'laßona<br/>15 fo'na lo ha'lawo'tinan a'lea'u<br/>fo'na hon a'lea'u.<br/>fo'na ho' o'nean a'lea'u<br/>ho'no ho' te'wusu pe'yena'kowa<br/>i'snoko te'kän'a.<br/>20 kwa a'wela'kowa kwa te'amekän'a<br/>hi'yawoluena<br/>yam i'ke'na ho' tewusu pe'nan<br/>kwai''i'käna<br/>fo'na ha'lawo'tinan'e<br/>lo''o a'lea'u<br/>25 o'nean a'lea'u<br/>ho'no'kona ho' te'wusu ho' peyena'.<br/>kowa<br/>i'snokon te'kän'a.<br/>ma' lu'ka ya'ton'e<br/>hom a'facina'we<br/>le'hok' fon kääcima le''wok'a-<br/>napkä.<br/>lu'kä ya'ton'e<br/>5 fo'na'wan hai'to<br/>yam te'likinan ye'lete'u'kowa<br/>te'likinan i'leana<br/>fo'na lo a'wona-e'laten'a.<br/>fo'n te'likinan a'lea'upa<br/>10 ho'na'wan te'likinan i'leana</p> <p>yam kwaho' te'ni ha'lowilin i'laß<br/>a'te'ona<br/>hom fon a'nhaitena-wa.<br/>le'stikleapa<br/>tom ho' tsi'ti'li<br/>15 e'pac te'kohanana<br/>i'tsemak-te'hakwi<br/>hon te'wanan te'akä.<br/>le'hok' fo' kääcima te''wokä.<br/>fo'man hai'to</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

<sup>22</sup> The dead, whose abiding place is a lake.

<sup>23</sup> A term of endearment used for one's wife or child in moments of great tenderness. Often "my mother, my child."

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|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Plume wands which I have prepared for your use.<br/>         Drawing your plume wands to you,<br/>         And sharing my plume wands,</p> <p>Indeed, under no conditions shall<br/>         you take anyone away.<sup>24</sup></p> <p>Among all the corn priests' ladder<br/>         descending children,<br/>         All the little boys,<br/>         The little girls,</p> <p>30 And those whose roads go ahead,<br/>         Was one, perhaps even a valuable<br/>         man,<br/>         Who, his heart becoming angry be-<br/>         cause of something,<br/>         Injured you with his power.<sup>25</sup></p> <p>35 That one only you will think to<br/>         drag down.</p> <p>All of your good fortune whatsoever</p> <p>May you grant to us.</p> <p>40 Preserving us along a safe road,<br/>         May our roads be fulfilled.</p> | <p>20 lo yam te'likinan e'lete'u'kowa<br/>         ūom ho' te'likinan a'nhaitepa<br/>         te'likinan a'nulana<br/>         ho'man te'likinan a'k' i'yanhai-<br/>         tena<br/>         ilte'lekwantē</p> <p>25 teu'waiyatik ho'ŋi<br/>         ūo a'hawaḡāna'm'ana<br/>         le' ūo'wa ei'wan an ūe'tsilon ḡa'ni-<br/>         nan tea'we<br/>         ko'w a'ktsik la'na<br/>         ko'wi ḡātsik la'na</p> <p>30 a'won-e'kwinte<br/>         hoŋ teu'wa ūe'yak' ho'ŋi te'an'te</p> <p>kwa'tikoŋ a'ḡā<br/>         i'ḡe'n i'samatina<br/>         yam sa'wanik' a'ḡā<br/>         ūom a'naŋsuma' kona</p> <p>35 lu'ḡākon te'tei<br/>         a'na'-u'ŋanaḡā<br/>         ūom tse'makwi te'ḡān'a<br/>         yam kwahoŋ te'mla ūe'ni ha'lowi-<br/>         lin'e</p> <p>ho''na ūo' ya'nhaitena<br/>         40 o'neala ūo'kei 'kona<br/>         hon a'te''ya<br/>         ūon a'wona-ya'ḡānaptu.</p> |
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<sup>24</sup> The dead are lonely without the living and try to draw them away. The wife longs for her living husband, the mother for her children. Therefore these individuals stand in grave danger of death.

<sup>25</sup> The sorcerer whose ill will caused the fatal illness.

## II. PRAYERS TO THE SUN

### PRAYER AT SUNRISE

|                                     |                                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Now this day,                       | lu'kã yã'ton'e                   |
| My sun father,                      | hom yã'tokã ta'teu               |
| Now that you have come out stand-   | yam te'lacinakwi                 |
| ing to your sacred place,           | to' ye'lana kwai'iĩkãpa          |
| 5 That from which we draw the water | 5 yam k'ã''kwi-ya'na te''ona     |
| of life,                            |                                  |
| Prayer meal,                        | ha'la wo'tinan'e                 |
| Here I give to you.                 | li'ta tom ho' le'a'uþa           |
| Your long life,                     | yam o'naya'nakã                  |
| Your old age,                       | yam la'ciaqã                     |
| 10 Your waters,                     | 10 yam kã'cima                   |
| Your seeds,                         | yam to'waconan'e                 |
| Your riches,                        | yam u'tenan'e                    |
| Your power,                         | yam sa'wanikã                    |
| Your strong spirit,                 | yam tse''makwin tsu'me           |
| 15 All these to me may you grant.   | 15 te'm'la hom to' a'nikteian-a. |

### PRESENTING AN INFANT TO THE SUN

On the eighth day of life an infant's head is washed by his "aunts"—that is, women of his father's clan, his most important ceremonial relatives. Corn meal is placed in his hand and he is taken outdoors, facing the east, at the moment of sunrise. Corn meal is sprinkled to the rising sun with the following prayer, spoken by the paternal grandmother:

|                                      |                                    |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Now this is the day.                 | kɛsi te'wanan'e                    |
| Our child,                           | ho''na'wan te'apʔunan'e            |
| Into the daylight                    | te'kohanankwi                      |
| You will go out standing.            | to' ye'lana kwai'iĩkãna            |
| 5 Preparing for your day,            | 5 tom te'wanan yo''aþa             |
| We have passed our days.             | hon te'wanan a''teakã              |
| When all your days were at an end,   | tom le'na te'wanan i''te'teaþa     |
| When eight days were past,           | ha'elekã te'wakã te'a'ana          |
| Our sun father                       | hon yã'tokã tate i'laþona          |
| 10 Went in to sit down at his sacred | 10 yam te'lacinakwi i'muna kwa'to- |
| place.                               | kãpa                               |
| And our night fathers                | ho'na te'liakã a''tate i'laþona    |
| Having come out standing to their    | yam te'lacinakwi                   |
| sacred place,                        | i'luwakna kwai'iĩkãna              |
| Passing a blessed night              | te'ʔinan kɔ'kei                    |
| 15 We came to day.                   | 15 hon a''wantewakã                |
| Now this day                         | lu'kã yã'ton'e                     |
| Our fathers,                         | ho''na'wan a''tateu                |
| Dawn priests,                        | te'luwaiakã a'ciwan'i              |
| Have come out standing to their      | yam te'lacinakwi                   |
| sacred place.                        |                                    |

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
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| <p>Our sun father<br/>         Having come out standing to his<br/>         sacred place,<br/>         Our child,<br/>         25 It is your day.<br/>         This day,<br/>         The flesh of the white corn,<br/>         Prayer meal,<br/>         To our sun father<br/>         30 This prayer meal we offer.<br/>         May your road be fulfilled<br/>         Reaching to the road of your sun<br/>         father,<br/>         When your road is fulfilled<br/>         35 In your thoughts (may we live)<br/>         May we be the ones whom your<br/>         thoughts will embrace,<br/>         For this, on this day<br/>         To our sun father.<br/>         40 We offer prayer meal.<br/>         To this end:<br/>         May you help us all to finish our<br/>         roads.</p> | <p>20 i'luwakna kwai''iḡāḡa<br/>         ho''na yā'tokā ta'teu<br/>         yam te'lacinakwi<br/>         ye.'lana kwai''iḡāḡa<br/>         ho''na-wan te'apḡunan-e<br/>         25 ūm te'wanan te'aḡā.<br/>         lu'ḡā yā'ton'e<br/>         ū'wa ūo'han an ei''nan-e<br/>         ha'lawo'tinan'e<br/>         yam yā'tokā ta'teu<br/>         30 hon ha'lawo'tinan le'ana'wa-<br/>         yam yātokā ta'teu<br/>         o'neala te'tcina<br/>         ūo' o'na-ya'ana<br/>         ūo' o'na ya''aḡa<br/>         35 ūm tse''makwin a'ḡā<br/>         to'ma'nan tse''makwin-te'lakwi<br/>         yam hon a'teatun'on aḡā<br/>         lu'ḡā yā'ton'e<br/>         yam yā'tokā ta'teu<br/>         40 yam ha'lawo'tinan le'ana<br/>         te'wuna' ho''na ūo'temlate a'wona-<br/>         ya'ḡāna.</p> |
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#### THE PEKWIN SETS THE DATE FOR THE SUMMER SOLSTICE

Before the summer solstice the pekwin makes daily observations of the sunset from a shrine east of the village. When the sun sets behind a certain point in the mesa he begins to count days with offerings of prayer sticks. There are six such offerings according to Mrs. Stevenson.<sup>1</sup> At dawn of the morning following the last offering he announces from the highest housetop in Zuñi that the summer solstice will take place after eight days.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Now that those who hold our roads,<br/>         Dawn ancients,<br/>         Youths,<br/>         Matrons,<br/>         5 Maidens,<br/>         Over their sacred place,<br/>         Have raised their curtain.<br/>         Here, on the corn priests' housetop<br/>         I stand up.<br/>         10 My fathers,<br/>         My sun father,<br/>         We have made your days.<br/>         Divine ones,<br/>         Remember your days.</p> | <p>hon a'wona'wi'lona<br/>         ūe'luwaiḡa a'laci<br/>         a'tsawaki<br/>         a'maḡi<br/>         5 e'waetokḡi<br/>         yam te'lacinakwi<br/>         a'lani ḡe'atokā te'kwi<br/>         li'la ūo'wa ci'wani<br/>         an te'ala ho' ye'la'u.<br/>         10 hom a'tateu<br/>         hom yā'tokā ta'teu<br/>         ūo'man te'wanan yo'aḡa<br/>         ḡā'pin a'ho'i<br/>         yam te'wanan ai'yu'ya'naḡa</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 148.

|    |                                                                                                                                                               |    |                                                                                                                                            |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 15 | When this many days, eight days,<br>are past,<br>On the ninth day.<br>All together<br>We shall reach your appointed time.<br>This many days anxiously waiting | 15 | le'si te'wana ha''eleka te'wanan'e<br>te'nalekã yã'ton'e<br>ke'si te'mlamo<br>to'na'wan hai'tokwin te'teina<br>le'si te'wanan a'nësume'na  |
| 20 | You shall pass the days.<br>I think it is this many days, eight<br>days,<br>And then on the ninth day.<br>You will grant that all of us finish<br>our roads.  | 20 | ton te'wanan a'tek'an'a<br>hi'ntcol le'si te'wanan ha'elekã<br>te'wanan'e<br>tenaleka yã'ton'e<br>te'mla ho'na ton a'wona-ya'kã-<br>na'wa. |

## PRAYER OF THE FIRE KEEPER AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE

The keeper of the New Year fire is appointed by the priests on the ninth day following the pekwin's announcement of the solstice. This is the day on which all people cut prayer sticks. During the day he collects wood from houses in the village and in the evening builds the New Year fire in he'iwa kiva. On this evening the images of the gods of war are taken to the kiva for their all-night ceremony. The fire keeper must be a man of the Badger clan or a child of that clan. He is called tsu'pal-i'lona (the one who has the blood pudding; the fire is his tsu'palon'e, or blood pudding). During the ensuing ten days he must observe continence and eat no meat or other animal food. He sleeps and eats at his own house, but returns to the kiva to tend the fire, which must be kept burning throughout the period. He visits every house in the village to get wood for his fire.

At sundown on the ninth day of the second period <sup>2</sup> he comes to the kiva. Here pekwin has made a meal painting and set up an altar. When all the priests have arrived pekwin goes to summon the impersonators of Pa'utiwa and the four Sa'yalia. They come unmasked, their masks having been taken to the kiva earlier in the day.

At sunset Ci'tsuka and Kwe'lele, gods from the east, enter the village from the east. They dance for a few minutes on the roof of the kiva and then go in. After brief prayers they go to the house of the Great Fire Society to eat. The masks belong to this society, and the impersonators must be chosen from the Great God order of the society.

Late at night they are again summoned to the kiva. Here are the priests, the impersonators of Pa'utiwa and the Sa'yalia, men of the Dogwood and Sun clans who dress Pa'utiwa, and singers from He'iwa kiva. With Ci'tsuka and Kwe'lele go the headmen of the Great Fire Society and a group of singers from that society. The two choirs sing alternately and Kwe'lele and Ci'tsuka dance. The fire keeper sits all night beside the fireplace, within a circle of meal across which he must not step.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 535.



At the first sign of dawn Pa'utiwa dresses. When he is ready the chief of the Great Fire Society kindles fire with the ancient drill which Kwe'lele carries. As soon as the fire appears Kwe'lele lights his torch. The fire keeper takes a brand from his fire and, accompanied by Kwe'lele with his torch, pekwin, Ko'mosona, Pa'utiwa, and the four Sa'yalia, goes out to the east. At a point well beyond the last house they pause. The fire keeper lays down his brand, and Kwe'lele extinguishes his torch. All pray and sprinkle meal. Then the party returns to the kiva.

This is the sign to the village that the fire taboo is ended, and immediately everyone hastens to take out their fire and sweepings. When they return to the kiva the fire keeper and pekwin pray. Then the people go to their houses to take out the fire from their hearths. They return immediately, and the masked gods dance until daylight. At this time anyone may enter the kiva to receive the blessings of the gods.

The following prayer is spoken by the fire keeper when he returns from the east in the morning. It was dictated by a member of the Great Fire Society.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>This many are the days<br/>Since the sun, who is our father,<br/>Stood yonder beside his left hand<br/>sacred place.<sup>3</sup></p>                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                | <p>ma' lesi te'wanan'e<br/>hon ya'tokā tate i'laḡ a'te'ona<br/>li'wan yam we'ciḡanem te'laci-<br/>nakwi</p> |
| <p>5 Then our fathers<br/>Having prepared plume wands for<br/>the rite of their ancestors,<br/>And having breathed their prayers<br/>upon the plume wands,<br/>With their sacred cigarette,<br/>Their prayer meal</p>                                           | <p>5 yam a'lacinawe<br/>a'wan hai'to te'liḡinan ye'lete-<br/>'una<br/>te'liḡinan te'wus a'nulakna</p>                                                                                          | <p>ḡā'cima po'n'e<br/>ha'lawa-tinan a'ḡā</p>                                                                |
| <p>10 My fathers<br/>Laid hold of me.<br/>When the sun who is our father<br/>Had yet a little space to go<br/>To go in to sit down at his sacred<br/>place,<br/>Our two fathers,</p>                                                                            | <p>10 hom a'tatcu<br/>hom ya'tena-tsumeḡāna-waḡa<br/>hon ya'tokā tate i'laḡ a'te'ona<br/>yam te'la cinakwi<br/>i'muna kwa'tokātunte'kwi</p>                                                    | <p>15 ko'w a'n'e'wetcikwi<br/>hon a'teia tate i'laḡa</p>                                                    |
| <p>16 The ones who hold the high places,<sup>4</sup><br/>Once more assuming human form.<br/>With their sacred possessions,<br/>With their house chiefs,<br/>Their pekwins,<br/>Their bow priests,<br/>With all of these,<br/>They made their roads come in,</p> | <p>te'alan i'lon a'tei<br/>a'tei tei'm'on ho'i-ya'ḡāna<br/>yam e'leteli'we<br/>20 yam ḡā'kwa-mosi<br/>yam pe'kwi'we<br/>yam a'pi'la'ci'wan'i<br/>i'te'teinici<br/>a'te o'nealan kwa'toḡāna</p> | <p>te'alan i'lon a'tei<br/>a'tei tei'm'on ho'i-ya'ḡāna<br/>yam e'leteli'we</p>                              |

<sup>3</sup> i. e. the north, therefore the winter solstice.

<sup>4</sup> The War Gods whose shrines are on mountain tops.

- 25 And sat down quietly.  
Then the one who is my daylight  
father  
Laid hold of me.  
Presenting me yonder to all the  
directions,  
30 He seated me,  
Giving me the world.  
After a blessed night  
We came to day.  
Next day  
35 Saying, "Let it be now,"  
Our two fathers  
Yonder passed their elder brothers  
on their roads.<sup>5</sup>  
As they counted up the days for us  
40 Eagerly awaiting their days  
We passed the days.  
When all of their days were past,  
Then our two fathers,  
Ķā'wulia Pa'utiwa  
45 We passed at their middle day.  
Yesterday  
When our sun father  
Had yet a little space to go  
To go in to sit down at his sacred  
place,  
Yonder our fathers of all directions,  
Water bringing birds,<sup>6</sup>  
Ķekwin, priest,  
From where he stays quietly  
55 Making his road come forth,  
Making his road come hither,  
Thinking, "Let it be here,"  
Fashioned his fathers massed cloud  
house,<sup>7</sup>  
60 Spread out their mist blanket,  
Sent forth their life-giving road,  
  
Prepared their spring.  
  
Then our two fathers,  
Ķā'wulia  
65 Pa'utiwa  
To his house chiefs,  
His Ķekwins,  
To his bow priests,  
To all of these,

- 25 a'te i'mila'Ķukā.  
ho' Ķe'Kohanan tate i'li te''ona  
  
ho'ma ya'Ķekā  
la'hok<sup>6</sup> le'si te'kwi  
hom e'lulatenā  
30 hom a'nim'la'Ķuna  
hom 'u'lo'n u'tsiṗṗā  
Ķe'linan Ķo'kei  
hon a'wan Ķe'wakā  
Ķe'wa yā'on'e  
35 hoĶ kā'Ķi kesi' le'anaĶāṗa  
hon a'teia tate i'laṗ a'te''ona  
le'hok<sup>6</sup> a'teia a'papa  
a'wona-e'latena  
a'te ho'na'wan Ķe'wan pi'lufā  
40 a'teia Ķe'wanan a'nīsume'na  
hon Ķe'wanan a'teakā te'a'ana  
lo'kwa le' Ķe'wakā te'a'ana  
hon a'teia tate i'laṗ a'te''ona  
Ķā'wulia pa'utiwa  
45 hon a'teia i'tiwanan e'latenapkā  
Ķe'cukwa yā'tone  
ho'n yā'tokā tate i'lap a'te''ona  
yam Ķe'lačinakwi  
i'muna kwa'toḡatun te'kwi  
50 ko'w a'nīe'wetciwī  
la'hok<sup>6</sup> le'si te'kwi  
hon a'tate i'laṗona  
Ķā'eima wo'we Ṗe'kwin a'ciwan'i  
yam ti'nan la'Ķi'kona  
55 o'neala kwai'ikāna  
o'neai i'Ķāna  
hoĶ li'la le''hatina  
yam a'tatcu  
a'wan a'weluyan Ķā'kwen  
ya'Ķāna  
60 a'wan ci'pololon Ṗe'wuna  
a'wan o'naya'nakā o'nealan  
a'Ķāna  
a'wan ka'nakwenan ye'lete'u-  
napkā te'kwi  
hon a'teia tate i'laṗ a'te''ona  
Ķā'wulia  
65 pa'utiwa  
yam Ķā'kwa-mo'si  
yam Ṗe'kwiwe  
yam a'pi'la'ci'wan'i  
i'te'teinici

<sup>5</sup> The idols are taken to the mountain shrines.

<sup>6</sup> The birds who sing before the rain. They are believed to be messengers of the supernaturals, sent to announce the rain. Hence Ķekwin, the speaker of the priests and announcer of ceremonies, is called figuratively "water birds."

<sup>7</sup> The meal painting on the altar.

- 70 Made his road come in.  
They sat down quietly.  
Yonder toward the east,  
To our two fathers  
White masked god,<sup>8</sup>  
75 Black masked god,<sup>9</sup>  
To where they were made ready  
The prayers reached;  
Carrying their waters,  
Carrying their seeds,  
80 Making their road come hither,  
Going along one road,  
They sat down quietly.  
After a blessed night,  
With our children we came to day.  
85 When the ones who are our fathers,  
Dawn old men,  
Dawn youths,  
Dawn boys,  
Dawn old women,  
90 Dawn matrons,  
Dawn maidens,  
Dawn girls,  
Had risen standing to their sacred  
place,  
95 Saying, "Let it be now,"  
Four times  
Drawing up our grandmother,<sup>10</sup>  
And making her arise,  
Making her go ahead  
100 Yonder toward the east  
With prayers  
We made our roads go forth.  
How the world will be,  
How the days will be,  
105 We desired to know.  
Perhaps if we are lucky  
Our earth mother  
Will wrap herself in a fourfold robe  
Of white meal,  
110 Full of frost flowers;  
A floor of ice will spread over the  
world,  
The forests,  
Because of the cold will lean to one  
side,  
115 Their arms will break beneath the  
weight of snow.  
When the days are thus  
The flesh of our earth mother  
Will crack with cold.  
Then in the spring when she is  
replete with living waters
- 70 o'neala kwa'to'kăna  
i'tinan i'lakikăpa  
li'wan te'luwankwin ta'na  
hon a'tate i'la'pa  
ko'ko ko'hana  
75 ko'ko kwi'n'e  
kes hol a'wan ya'nici  
te'wusu pe'nan i'tiula'kăpa  
yam kă'eima le'a'pa  
yam to'wacanan le'a'pa  
80 o'neal i'kăna  
to'pint o'neal a'năpa  
i'tinan-la'kikna  
te'linan ko'kei  
hon tea'wilăp a'wanfewa'kă  
85 hon a'tate i'la'păna  
te'luwai ak' a'wio'ts a'laci  
te'luwaiak' a'tsawaki  
te'luwaiak' a'waktsiki  
te'luwaiak' a'wok' a'laci  
90 te'luwaiak' a'maki  
te'luwaiak' e'wacto'ki  
te'luwaiak' a'kătsiki  
yam te'lacinakwi  
i'luwakna ke'atokapa  
95 hol kă'ki ke'si le'ana'kăpa  
yam hot i'li te'ona  
a'witela'ma  
a'na'e'lama'kăna  
an o'neal e'kwikona  
100 le'hok' te'luwankwin ta'na  
te'wus a'kă  
hon o'neal a'kăna'pa  
ho'ko'n u'lo'nan te'atun'ona  
holko'n te'wanan te'atun'ona  
105 a'ntecemana  
ho'nkwe't hon a'halowila'pa  
hon a'witelin tsit i'lap a'te'ona  
a'wite i'ya'to  
o'pana kohana  
110 tse'nak-u'tea-po'fi  
ko'wi lem pe u'lo'na  
  
fa'kwit-po'fi  
yam i'tsumanan akă  
ko'wi luwal o'nana  
115 ko'w a'wasi-ya'mteona  
  
hol te'wanan te'a'pa  
hon a'witelin tsit i'lap a'te'ona  
ko'wi ei'nan o'koclena  
kă'kwi-ya'na te'lakwai'kăna

<sup>8</sup> Citsukă.<sup>9</sup> Kwelele.<sup>10</sup> The fire.

120 Our mothers,  
All different kinds of corn  
In their earth mother  
We shall lay to rest.  
With their earth mother's living  
waters

125 They will be made into new beings;  
Into their sun father's daylight

They will come out standing;  
Yonder to all directions

130 They will stretch out their hands  
calling for rain.

Then with their fresh waters  
(The rain makers) will pass us on  
our roads.

Clasping their young ones in their  
arms

They will rear their children.

135 Gathering them into our houses,

Following these toward whom our  
thoughts bend,

With our thoughts following them,

140 Thus we shall always live.

That this may be  
Eagerly we have awaited your day.  
Now that all their days are at an  
end,

145 Eagerly waiting until another day  
shall come,

We shall pass our days.

Indeed it is so.

Far off someone will be my father,

The divine one,

150 He of the Badger clan.

Asking for his life-giving breath

His breath of old age,

His breath of waters,

His breath of seeds,

155 His breath of fecundity,

His breath of all good fortune,

Asking for his breath.

And into my warm body

Drawing his breath,

160 I shall add to your breath.

Do not despise the breath of your  
fathers,

But into your bodies

Draw his breath.

120 yam a-'tsita  
to'wa temlanana  
yam a-'witelin tsit'tana  
hon ti'nan kwatoḡāna'wa  
yam a-'witelin tsit an ḡā'kwin aḡa

125 tei'm'on ho''i-ya-'ḡāna  
yam yā'toḡā ta'teu  
an te'ḡohanankwi  
i'luwakna kwai''ina  
la'ihok' le'si te'kwi

130 ḡa-'cima ce'man a's ta'ḡāna-waḡa  
yam ḡā'cima teim'on aḡā  
ho'n a-'wona-e'latena-waḡa

te'apḡunan i-'ḡeckuna

tea'lona ya-'ḡāna-waḡa

135 yam he'coḡakwi  
a-'wana-u'lana  
a-'tapana  
tse''mak-te'lakwi  
tse''mak yā'lu

140 hon te'wanan te'atun'ona'ḡā  
a'ntsume'na  
hon te'wanan a-'teakā te'kwi  
ḡes a'wan te'wanan i-'te'teikwi

lak' to'pa te'watun te'kwi

145 a'ntsume'na  
hon te'wanan a-'teḡāna.  
no'mil'te  
ho'lomackona teu'waiya ho' tate  
i'liḡāna  
ḡā'pin ho''i

150 to'nac a'notan i'li te''ona  
an o'naya'naḡā pi''nan'e  
an la'ciaḡā pi''nan'e  
an ḡā'cima pi''nan'e  
an to'wacōnan pi''nan'e

155 an te'apḡunan pi''nan'e  
an kwa'hol te'mla pi''nan i'li  
te''ona

pi''nan ai'neemana  
yam tehuḡ ḡā'lnakwi  
pi''nan a'na'-kwa'toḡāna

160 to''na-wan an pi''nan te'liana-waḡa  
ci yam a-'tateu  
a-'wan pi''nan ya'teicunam'e  
yam ce'lnakwi  
pi''nan a'na'kwatoḡāna

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>165 That yonder to where the life-giv-<br/>               ing road of your sun father<br/>               comes out<br/>         Your roads may reach;<br/>         That you may finish your roads;<br/>         For this I add to your breath.</p> <p>170 To this end, my fathers,<br/>         My children,<br/>         May all of you be blessed with light.</p> | <p>165 hol yam yä'tokä ta'teu<br/>               an o'naya'naḡä o'neala<br/>               kwai'inakwi<br/>               o'neala te'tcina<br/>               yam i'yona-ya'ḡünaptun'on a'ḡä<br/>               to'na'wan lo pi'nan te'liana'we. <sup>11</sup></p> <p>170 te'wuna' hom a'tatcu<br/>               hom tea'we<br/>               a'nsamo to'n fe'kohanan<br/>               ya'niktciat'u.</p> |
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<sup>11</sup> Plural verb with singular subject, due possibly to rhythmic requirements. The correct form would be telia'u. Byron does this, too, and Blake.

### III. PRAYERS TO THE UWANAMMI

Four days after the summer solstice the priesthoods begin their series of retreats to pray for rain. Each set in turn goes in at the house where their sacred bundle is kept. The four chief priesthoods associated with the four cardinal points go in for eight days each. They are followed by the pekwin, who goes in for four days. He is followed by the bow priest, who observes a 4-day retreat, although he does not stay in his house. After these the minor priesthoods, "the darkness people," follow in fixed order. They go in for four days each. The last come out about the first week in September, which is near the end of the rainy season.

Retreats always start in the evening, generally after sunset, and nights only are counted. They end at sunrise on the fourth or eighth morning following. The day before the retreat begins is spent by the priests in making prayer sticks. These are tied together in the afternoon, and shortly before sunset the chief priest accompanied by an associate leaves to plant them in a distant spring. They return late at night. They go immediately into the inner room set aside for their retreat, where the other members have already assembled. The chief priest sets up his altar—a meal painting, one or more feather-wrapped corn fetishes, pots of black paint that have been brought from the underworld, stone knives, thunder stones, and finally the sacred bundle itself.

The first of the two prayers below is said with the offering of corn meal when gathering willow sticks, the second on setting the sacred bundle on the altar. They were dictated by a former member of the priesthood of the water serpent, and have been verified by a priest of the priesthood of the south.

#### PRAYER OF A PRIEST ON GOING INTO RETREAT

This day  
Desiring the waters of our fathers,  
The ones who first had being,<sup>1</sup>  
In our house  
Having prepared prayer meal,  
Shells,  
Corn pollen,  
Hither with prayers  
We made our road come forth.  
This way we directed our roads.  
Yonder on all sides our fathers,  
Priests of the mossy mountains,

All those whose sacred places are round  
about,  
Creatures of the open spaces  
You of the wooded places,  
We have passed you on your roads.  
This day  
Prayer meal,  
Shell,  
Corn pollen  
We offer to you, my fathers.  
Offering these to you,  
Four times we offer them to you.

<sup>1</sup> The priestly bundles.



You of the forest,  
 You of the brush,  
 All you who in divine wisdom,  
 Stand here quietly,  
 Carrying your waters  
 You will go before  
 Thus to Itiwana  
 Our roads will go.  
 The water filled rooms of your daylight  
     children  
 Your road will enter.  
 Sitting down quietly,  
 After a blessed night  
 With us, your children,  
 You will come to day.  
 To-morrow  
 When he who holds our roads,  
 Our sun father,  
 Coming out to stand at his sacred place  
 Passes our roads,  
 Then we shall pass one another on our  
     roads.  
 The divine ones  
 From wherever they abide perma-  
     nently  
 Will make their roads come forth.  
 They will come.  
 And where they sit down quietly  
 All of us shall pass one another on our  
     roads.  
 For our fathers,  
 Our mothers,  
 Those who first had being,  
 And also for our fathers,  
 Rain maker priests,  
 Rain maker pekwins,  
 Rain maker bow priests  
 For their rite  
 We shall give our plume wands human  
     form.  
 We have given our plume wands human  
     form,  
 With the massed cloud wing  
 Of the one who is our grandfather,  
 The male turkey,  
 With eagle's thin cloud wings,  
 And with the striped cloud wings  
 And massed cloud tails  
 Of all the birds of summer;

And with the flesh of the one who is our  
     mother  
 Cotton woman,  
 Even a rough cotton thread,  
 A soiled cotton thread  
 With this four times encircling our plume  
     wands  
 And tying it about their bodies,  
 We have given our plume wands hu-  
     man form.  
 Then also with the flesh of our mother,  
 Black paint woman,  
 Covering them with flesh,  
 We have prepared our plume wands.  
 When our plume wands were ready,  
 Saying, "Let it be now."  
 Taking our plume wands,  
 Our plume wands which had been fin-  
     ished,  
 Rising, we came out of our house.  
 With prayers we made our roads come  
     forth.  
 At the place called since the first begin-  
     ning  
 Rock wedge,<sup>2</sup>  
 Where our fathers,  
 Rain maker priests,  
 In their rain-filled inner rooms<sup>3</sup>  
 Were all gathered together in beauty  
 To receive their plume wands,  
 There we passed them, on their roads,  
 Passing them on their roads  
 There we gave our fathers plume  
     wands,  
 Our fathers,  
 By means of their divine wisdom  
 Laid hold of their plume wands.  
 On all sides  
 They will talk together, touching one  
     another with the plume wands,<sup>4</sup>  
 Yonder at the north encircling ocean  
 You will hold discourse together touch-  
     ing each other with them.  
 And then also  
 Yonder at the west encircling ocean,  
 You will hold discourse together,  
 Touching one another with them,  
 And then also yonder toward the  
     south,

<sup>2</sup> A shrine in the mountains southwest of Zuñi, used by the priests and by personators of the masked gods.

<sup>3</sup> Inside the spring. Springs are the homes of the rain makers.

<sup>4</sup> The prayer sticks constitute the means of communication.

You will hold discourse together,  
 Touching one another with them;  
 Then also yonder toward the east,  
 You will hold discourse together, touch-  
 ing one another with them.  
 Then also above  
 You will hold discourse together, touch-  
 ing one another with them;  
 And then also in the fourth womb,<sup>5</sup>  
 You will hold discourse together,  
 touching one another with them.  
 You will encircle the world with your  
 discourses.  
 My fathers,  
 Grasping your plume wands,  
 You will see your plume wands.  
 You will see whether they have been  
 finished with precious paint,<sup>6</sup>  
 Or else are unfinished.  
 With your spittle,  
 With your flesh,  
 With your divine wisdom,  
 They will be made over afresh into  
 human beings;  
 They will be strong.  
 From wherever you abide permanently  
 You will make your roads come forth.  
 Your little wind blown clouds,  
 Your thin wisps of clouds,  
 Your great masses of clouds  
 Replete with living waters,  
 You will send forth to stay with us.  
 Your fine rain caressing the earth,  
 Your heavy rain caressing the earth,  
 Here at Itiwana,  
 The abiding place of our fathers,  
 Our mothers,  
 The ones who first had being,  
 With your great pile of waters  
 You will come together.  
 When you have come together  
 Our mothers,  
 Our children,  
 All the different kinds of corn,  
 Nourishing themselves with their fa-  
 ther's waters  
 Tenderly will bring forth their young.  
 Clasp their children <sup>7</sup>  
 All will finish their roads.

Then our children,  
 Our ladder-descending children,  
 Will gather you in.  
 Into all their houses.  
 You will make your roads enter.  
 To stay there quietly.  
 Then also tenderly  
 Their young will multiply  
 Multiplying our young,  
 Those toward whom our thoughts are  
 bent,  
 You will live.  
 You will not think to hurry to some  
 other place.<sup>8</sup>  
 Indeed, this shall not be.  
 But always in their houses  
 You will remain at rest.  
 In order that our children's thoughts  
 may be bent to this,  
 For this you are our father,  
 You are our mother;  
 For this you who first had being,  
 Perpetuating your rite of the first  
 beginning  
 Sit here quietly.  
 Holding all your country,  
 Holding all your people,  
 You sit here quietly.  
 Even as you sit here quietly,  
 Even as you listen to us,  
 We pray to you.  
 With your words,  
 Divine ones,  
 With your words  
 You hold all your people.  
 Do not let any one fall from your  
 grasp <sup>9</sup>  
 When he has gone but a little ways!  
 In order that this may not be,  
 Our father,  
 Our mother,  
 The one who first had being,  
 Even as you listen to us  
 We pray to you.  
 Our father,  
 Our mother,  
 The one who first had being,  
 Keeping your days,  
 Your days that have already been made,

<sup>5</sup> The fourth underground world, the place of origin of the people.

<sup>6</sup> Paint which has been brought from the underworld. It is the property of the priests. A tiny bit added to ordinary black paint makes the prayer stick "finished" (telikinan ya'na) as distinct from the "unfinished" or "worthless" prayer stick (telikinan cimato).

<sup>7</sup> The young ears, wrapped in their leaves.

<sup>8</sup> When the spirit of the corn leaves the country the ears in the storerooms shrivel up and waste away.

<sup>9</sup> That is, die before he reaches the full number of his days.

We pass our days.  
 Whenever your days are at an end,  
 Then we shall fulfill our thoughts.  
 Our mother,  
 The one who first had being,  
 To wherever you abide permanently,  
 To your fourth inner room,  
 You will make your road go in.  
 Then again, holding your country,  
 Holding your people,  
 You will sit down quietly for us,  
 Therefore as children to one another  
 We shall always remain.  
 My child,  
 My mother,  
 According to my words,  
 Even so may it be.  
 Do not let go of your people;  
 Let not your thoughts be thus.  
 Let no difficulty befall any of our day-  
   light children,  
 Our ladder descending children,  
 When they have gone but a little ways  
   on their road!

That this may not be  
 I commission<sup>10</sup> you with my prayers.  
 Because of my words  
 You will sit down quietly.  
 This many are the days,  
 And when your days are at an end,  
 You will sit down quietly.  
 Although we say we have fulfilled your  
   thoughts  
 No! we have not yet fulfilled your  
   thoughts.  
 Our office never lapses.  
 When we come to another day,<sup>11</sup>  
 Then again eagerly awaiting your rite  
 We shall pass our days,  
 For the winter eagerly waiting  
 We shall pass our days.  
 This is all.  
 Thus with plain words,  
 My father,  
 My mother,  
 My child,  
 Thus you sit down quietly.<sup>12</sup>

CI'WANI A'NI  
 Priest his

lu'kä yä'ton'e  
   This day  
 hon a'tate i'laḡona  
   we fathers the ones (we) have  
 tci'miḡānapkowa  
   the ones that first had being  
 a'wan ḡä'cim a'ntecemana  
   their waters desiring  
 yam he'coḡan'e  
   our house  
 ha'lawo'tinan'e  
   prayer meal  
 lo''o o'nea ye'lete'una  
   shell pollen having prepared  
 ḡä'lhok<sup>11</sup> te'wus a'kü  
   hither prayer with  
 hon o'neala kwai''iḡāna  
   we roads making come forth  
 ḡä'lhok<sup>11</sup> o'neal a'ḡäḡä.  
   hither roads made go.

<sup>10</sup> Literally, "I set you up outside the door," used of appointing an object or person to any ceremonial or civil office.

<sup>11</sup> The next period of retreat. The rite is handed down in a self-perpetuating group through the generations.

<sup>12</sup> The last part of the prayer refers to the bundle on the altar rather than the prayer stick offering.

lo'kwa le'wi tea ho''nan a'tatcu  
Yonder all places our fathers

a'wico yä'la a'ciwan'i  
moss mountain priests

le' te'acin u'lapnapkowa  
all sacred place the ones that are around.

te'wuli a'te'ona  
open space the ones who are.

ia'kwil-pö'ti  
forests

io''na hon a'wona-e'latekä  
you we on your roads passed

lu'kä yä'ton'e  
this day

ha'lawo-tinan'e  
prayer meal

lo''o  
shell

o'nea'we  
pollen

hom a'tatcu  
my fathers

io''na hon a'lea'u.  
to you we give.

io''na hon a'leana  
to you we having given

a'witela'ma hon io'n a'leakä.  
four times we to you gave.

le'wi ia'kwil-pö'ti  
all forests

la'kwil-pö'ti  
brush

yam a'nikwanan a'kä  
their knowledge with

yam lu'wa-la'ki'kowa  
their staying quietly where it is

yam kä'cim i'leana  
their waters holding

ion o'neal e'kuna-wapa  
you road leading

la'lik i'tiwanakwi  
nearby Itiwana to

hon o'neala te''tcikän'a  
we roads shall make reach

te'kohanan yam tca'we  
daylight your children

a'wan kä'cim te'li'tokwi  
their water inner room in

ion o'neal kwa'tokäna  
you road will make go in

ʔon i'ʔinan-la'kiḱāna  
 you will sit down quietly  
 ʔe'linan ko'kei  
 night good  
 ho'na tcawi'laḱa ʔon a'wanʔe'wan'a  
 us children having you will come to day  
 ʔe'wan yā'ton'e  
 to-morrow  
 ho'n a'wona'wi'lona  
 us the one who holds (our) roads  
 ho'nawan yā'toḱā ta'teu  
 our sun father  
 yam ʔe'lačinakwi ye'lana kwai'iḱāna  
 his ancient place standing coming out  
 ho'n a'wona-e'lateḱa  
 us on (our) roads passing  
 hqn i'yona-e'latena'waḱa  
 we one another on (our) roads passing.  
 ḱā'pin a'ho'i  
 raw persons  
 hol yam ʔi'nan la'ḱikona  
 where their staying quietly (where it is)  
 o'neala kwai'iḱāna  
 road making come forth  
 o'neal i'ḱāna  
 road making come  
 i'ʔinan la'ḱikā te'kwi  
 they sat down quietly when  
 te'mla hon i'yona-e'latena  
 all we one another meeting  
 yam a'tateu  
 our fathers,  
 yam a'tsita  
 our mothers,  
 tei'miḱānapkowa  
 the ones that first had being,  
 le'stiklea yam a'tateu  
 furthermore our fathers,  
 u'wanam a'ciwan'i  
 rain-maker priests,  
 u'wanam ḱe'kwi'we  
 rain-maker pekwins,  
 u'wanam a'ḱi'la'ci'wan'i  
 rain-maker bow priests,  
 a'wan hai'to  
 their rite  
 hon te'likina a'ho'-a'yaḱāna'wa.  
 we prayer sticks into human beings fashioned.  
 hon te'likinan a'ho'-a'yaḱāna  
 we prayer stick into human beings fashioning

yam        nan            i'li te'ona  
 our       grandfather       the one who is  
 ton       ots       an       a'wehuyan       la'tan'e  
 turkey   male   his       cumulus cloud       wing,  
 ƙä'ƙäl       an       su'lahaiyan       la'tan'e  
              eagle   his       cirrus cloud       wing,  
 la'lhok<sup>u</sup>       o'lo'iƙaiaƙä       wo'we  
              yonder       summer       birds  
 a'wan       la'pihanan       la'tan'e  
              their       rain cloud       wing,  
 a'wehuyan       ƙä'ten'e  
              cumulus cloud       tail.  
 yamtsit       i'laƆa       te'ona  
              our       mother       the one who is  
 pi'tsem       ok'       an       ci''nan       ko'ti       pi'lenapte  
              cotton       woman,       her       flesh       rough       cord, even  
 pi''le       ci'ƙänapte  
              cord       dark, even  
 ak'       a'wit'ela'ma  
              with it       four times  
 te'likina       pa'nulapna       i'kwiyante'tcina  
              prayer stick       encircling       belting all around.  
 hon       te'likina       a'ho'-a'ya'ƙänapƙä  
              we       prayer stick       into human beings fashioned  
 tem       ta       yam       tsit       i'lap'a       te'ona  
              and       also       our       mother       having       the one who is  
 ha'ƙwin       o'ƙa  
              black paint       woman.  
 an       ci''nan       a'ƙä  
              her       flesh       with  
 ma'c       i'yante'tcina.  
              flesh       reaching all over.  
 hon       te'likinan       ye'lete'unapƙä.  
              we       prayer stick       made ready.  
 te'likinan       ye'lete'una.  
              prayer stick       making ready  
 ƙä'ƙi       ƙe'si       le''anaƙäƆa  
              whenever       now       this saying  
 yam       te'likinan       ya'ƙäkowa  
              our       prayer stick       which we had finished  
 te'likinan       i'leana  
              prayer stick       taking  
 yam       he'cofanan       ye'lana       kwai''iƙäna  
              our       house       standing       coming out  
 le'hok<sup>u</sup>       ƙe'wus a'ƙä  
              yonder       prayers with  
 hon       o'neaf       kwai''iƙäna  
              we       road       making come forth



ḡä'ḡä teimiḡäḡä

wherever ther first beginning

a'lapatsi le'anaḡäna

rock wedge called

ho''na'wan a'tatcu

our fathers

u'wanam a'ciwan'i

rain-maker priests

yam te'likinan i'leanaptun te'a

their prayer stick where they were to take them

yam ḡä'cima te'li'tona

their water inner room (in)

te'm'la ha'pona ḡo'kcikwi

all gathered together beautifully where

hon a'wona-e'latenapḡä.

we on their roads passed them.

hon a'wona-e'latena

we on their roads passing them

i'sḡon yam a'tatcu

there (to) our fathers

hon te'likinan a'leanapḡä

we prayer sticks gave to them

ho''na'wan a'tatcu

our fathers

yam a'nikwanan a'ḡä

their knowledge with

yam te'likinan ya'tena i'leana

their prayer stick grasping taking

le'si te'kwi

to all directions

te'likinan a'ḡä

prayer stick with

ḡon ya'cuwa te'lakuna'wa.

you talking together will touch.

li'wan pi'cle ḡä'tuḡ-u'lapnakwi

yonder north ocean where it surrounds

ḡon a'ḡä ya'cuwa te'lakuna'wa.

you with it talking together will touch.

tem ta le'stiklea

and also furthermore

li'wan ḡäliciankwin ta''na ḡä'tuḡ-u'lapnakwi

yonder to the west direction ocean surrounding at

ḡon a'ḡä ya'cuwa te'lakuna

you with it talking together will touch

temta li'wan a'lahoankwin ta''na

and also yonder to the south direction

ḡon a'ḡä ya'cuwa te'lakuna

you with it talking together will bend down

tem ta li'wan te'luwankwin ta''na

and also yonder to the east direction

ŋon a'kã ya'cuwa ŋe'lakuna'wa.

you with it talking together will bend down.

tem ta iyamakwin ta'na

and also above direction

ŋon a'kã ya'cuwa ŋe'lakuna'wa.

you with it talking together will bend over.

tem ta a'witen ŋe'hulikwi

and also fourth womb in

tem ta ŋon a'kã ya'cuwa ŋe'lakuna'wa.

and also you with it talking together will bend over.

ya'cu i'tulo'kãna'wa.

talking you will send around.

hom a'tateu

my fathers

yam ŋon te'likina ya'ten'a'

your you prayer stick grasping

yam ŋon te'likinan u'nati'kãna'wa

your you prayer stick will see

ho'lontapt a'ya'kãna

whether finished

ŋa''icat kwa a'ya'namepa

or else not finished

yam pi'kãn'e

your spittle

yam ci''nan'e

your flesh

yam a'nikwanan a'kã

your knowledge with

tei'm'on a'ho'-a'ya'kãnakã

new into human beings having fashioned them

isu'mekãna.

they will be strong.

ho! yam ŋi'nan la'ki'kowa

wherever your staying quietly where it is

ŋon o'neala kwai''ik'ãna

you roads making come forth

yam pi''teinan'e

your wind cloud

yam su'lahaiyan'e

your cirrus cloud

yam a'weluyan'e

your cumulus cloud

kã''kwi ya'na

living water filled with

i'muna kwai''ik'ãna

sitting down making come forth

yam kã'tsana hi'ton-ŋe'lakuna

your small drops rain touching (the earth)

yam kã'lana hi'ton-ŋe'lakuna

your large drops rain touching (the earth)

i'tiwanakwi.

at Itiwana.

yam a'tateu

Your fathers,

yam a'tsita

your mothers,

tei'mikānapkowa

the ones that first had being,

fi'nan-la'kikwi

sitting quietly where

yam k̄ä'cima pu'ekwe'na

your waters, the greater pile

ion a'k' i'yona-e'latena-wa.

you with it, will pass each other on your roads.

e'latena-wapa

having passed

ho''na-wan a'tsita

our mothers

ho''na-wan tea'we

our children

io'wa te'm'lanana

corn all kinds

yam a'tateu

their fathers

a'wan k̄ä'cima i'k̄ä'kuna

their waters drinking in

e'letokna i'teapkuḡāna-wa

carefully will bring forth young

ko'wi tea'l i'ḡeekuna

somewhat child clasping in (their) arms

te'm'la a'wona-ya''ana

all their roads will become finished

ho''na-wan tea'we

our children

le'tsilon pa'ni-nan ho''na-wan tea'we

ladder descending our children

io''na a'wana'-u'ḡana

you drawing toward them

ion a'wan he'coṭakwi

you their houses to

o'neala kwatoḡān'a

roads will make enter

i'ḡinan la'ḡikna

sitting down quietly

tem ta e'letokna

and also carefully

ḡe'apḡunan ci'wuna a'teaḡa

young multiplying when they are

i'skon tse''mak ḡe'ḡakwi

that thoughts bending toward

te'ap̄kuna ci'wuna  
young multiplying

ton a'teap̄a  
you being thus

kwa holte'kwi tse''mak i'k̄äceti'k̄äna  
not somewhere thoughts to hurry away

ton a'team'e'k̄äna  
you shall (not) be

a'wan he'cofa'kowa  
their houses where they are

ton yu''lak' a'teap̄a  
you resting being

ho''na'wan tea'we  
our children

i'skon tse''mak-te'lakwi  
there thoughts bending toward

ta'teaptun'on a'k̄ä  
in order that they may be thus

tom hon tate i'lap̄a  
you we father having

tom hon tsit i'lap̄a  
you we mother having

tei'mi'k̄ä'kowa  
the one that first had being

yam ko''nhoi tci'mi'k̄ä'kowa te'lia'na  
you matters first beginning according to following

li't to' i'm-la'kiye  
here you stay quietly

le' yam u'lo'nan ya'kna  
all your world holding,

le' yam ho'i ya'kna  
all your people holding,

to' i'm-la'kiye  
you stay quietly

to' i'm-la'kinte  
you stay quietly even as

ho''na to ya'nhatiawan'te  
to us you listen even as

hon te'wus a''peye'a.  
we prayers talk.

to'man pe'naw a'k̄ä  
your words with

k̄ä'pin a'ho'i  
raw persons

to''na'wan penaw a'k̄ä  
your words with

le' yam a'ho'i yakna'pa  
all your people holding

et ko'w a'nap̄a  
let not a little having gone

tcu'waihol ya'kna pi'ya'na  
 someone holding let fall

el te'ametun'on a'kä  
 let it not be thus for this

ho'na'wan ta'tcu  
 our father,

ho'na'wan tsi'ta  
 our mother,

tcimi'kä'kowa  
 the one that first had being

ho'na fo' a'nhatiawan-te  
 to us you listening even as

hon te'wus a'peye'a  
 we prayers speak.

ho'na'wan ta'tcu  
 Our father,

ho'na'wan tsi'ta  
 our mother,

tcimi'kä'kowa  
 the one that first had being

tom te'wanan yo'kowa  
 your day which has become

hon te'wanan i'la'pa  
 we day having

hon te'wanan a'teaiye  
 we day live

hol tom te'wanan i'te'tca'pa  
 when your day when it is used up

hon a'kä tse'makwi mo'la'na  
 we with it thoughts fulfill

ho'na'wan tsi'ta  
 our mother

tcimi'kä'kowa  
 the one that first had being

hol yam i'm-la'kikwi  
 where your sitting quietly where

a'witen te'li'to  
 fourth inner room

fo' o'neala kwato'kän'a  
 you road will make enter

tem ta yam u'lo'nan ya'tena  
 and also your world grasping

yam ho'i ya'tena  
 your people grasping

to' i'mi-la'kuna  
 you will sit down quietly

hon a'kä  
 we for this

ho'n tea'wili te'wanan te'kän'a.  
 us children having time will live

hom tca''le  
my child,

hom tsi'ta  
my mother,

ho'man penana'kowa  
my words according to

i'sno'kon te'kän'a  
there will it be

e'l yam ho''i ya'kna'na  
do not your people let go

et fom tse''makwi te'am'e'kän'a.  
let not your thoughts let it not be

ho''na'wan fe'kohanana tca'we  
our daylight children

le'tsilon pa'ni'nan tca'we  
ladder descending children

e'l tcu'wantikhoi  
do not someone

e'l ko'w a'napa  
do not a little having gone

tcu'wantikhoi  
someone

kwa'tikhoi a'kä  
something because of

e'l te'nin a'cnam'etun'on a'kä  
do not difficult do not make it for this

fom ho' fe'wusu a'nu'la'u.  
you I prayer set forth.

ho'man pe'nan a'kä  
my word with

fo' i'mi-la'kun'a  
you will sit down quietly

le'si fe'wanan'e  
this many days

foms fe'wanan i'te'tci'ka te'a  
you now days come to an end when

fo i'mi-la'kun'a  
you will sit down quietly

e't hon tse''makwi mo'la'na'we hon le''tikwa'pa  
but we thoughts fulfill we saying

e'la' kwa hon tse''makwi mo'la'na'wam'e  
no! kwa we thoughts we do not fulfill

e'l kwa la'ninam'e hon a'ho'i.  
never not falling down we people.

fo'pa fe'watun te'kwi hai'to a'n'fsume'na  
another day to be when ceremony eagerly

tem ta hon fe'wanan a'te'kän'a.  
and also we time shall live

te''tsinan'e a'n'fsume'na  
winter eagerly



a'ho' te'wanan a'tekān'a  
 people time shall live

le'wi  
 all

le' pē'nan a'kā  
 this many words with

hom ta'teu  
 my father

hom tsi'ta  
 my mother

hom tea'le  
 my child

fo' les i'mi-laKu  
 you thus sit down quietly

### PRAYER OF A PRIEST DURING HIS SUMMER RETREAT

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
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| <p>This many are the days,<br/>         Since those who are our fathers,<br/>         Those who are our mothers,<br/>         The ones who first had being<br/>         5 k̄ā'etoew.<br/>         Teu'eto-we<br/>         Had kept for them their days.<br/>         This many days,<br/>         Anxiously waiting,<br/>         10 We passed our days.<br/>         When all these days were past,<br/>         Now we have come to the ap-<br/>         pointed time.<br/>         Our fathers,<br/>         Our mothers,<br/>         15 In your fourth inner room<br/>         You stay quietly.<br/>         This day we have reached the ap-<br/>         pointed time.<br/>         Our fathers,<br/>         20 Our ancestors,<br/>         Yonder, you who were priests<br/>         when you were alive,<br/>         We have reached your appointed<br/>         time.<sup>13</sup><br/>         This day<br/>         25 Your day has been made.<br/>         The one who is my father,<br/>         The one who is my mother,<br/>         Four times I shall hold you fast.</p> | <p>le'si te'wanan'e<br/>         hon a'tate i'laḡona<br/>         hon a'tsit i'laḡona<br/>         tei'mi k̄ānapkowa<br/>         5 k̄ā-e'to-we<br/>         teu-e'to-we<br/>         a' wan te'wana yo''aḡa<br/>         le'si te'wanan'e<br/>         a'n̄sume'na<br/>         10 hon te'wanan a'teak̄a.<br/>         hon te'wanan a'teak̄a te'kwī<br/>         kes le'na hai'tokwin te'teik̄a<br/> <br/>         ho''na'wan a'tateu<br/>         ho''na'wan a'tsita<br/>         15 yam a'witen te'li'tona<br/>         fon ti'nan la'k̄ik̄a<br/>         lu'k̄a yā'ton'e<br/>         hai'tokwin te'teik̄a<br/>         ho''na'wan a'tateu<br/>         20 ho''na'wan a'taci'na'we<br/>         la'lhok' fon a'ciwan'i<br/>         k̄ā'k̄ā a'ho' a'teakowa<br/>         fo'na'wan hai'tokwin te'teik̄a.<br/> <br/>         lu'k̄a yā'tone<br/>         25 fo''na'wan te'wanan yo''k̄a<br/>         yam tate-i'li te''ona<br/>         yam tsit-i'li te''ona<br/>         a'witela'na<br/>         ya'tena-i'su'mekana.</p> |
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<sup>13</sup> In the songs used during the retreat all the deceased members of the priesthood as far back as tradition goes are invoked by name—a notable exception to the taboo on the use of the names of the dead. The dead priests who abide with the rain makers are believed to be present in spirit. The sense of continuity is stronger in the priestly rituals than in other Zuñi rites.

- 30 This day  
With the flesh of the white corn,  
Prayer meal, commissioned with  
our prayer,  
This day with prayer meal
- 35 Four times we shall spread out the  
mist blanket.<sup>14</sup>  
We shall fashion the house of  
massed clouds,  
We shall fashion the life-giving  
road,  
Four times we shall fashion your  
spring.
- 40 This day,  
My father,  
My mother,  
Four times I shall set you down  
quietly.  
Four times you will sit down  
quietly.
- 45 Holding all your world,  
Holding all your people,  
Perpetuating your rite had since  
the first beginning,  
You will sit down quietly among  
us.  
When you have sat down,
- 50 At your back,  
At your feet,  
We shall sit down beside you.  
Desiring your waters,  
Keeping your days for this
- 55 We shall pass our days.  
Our fathers,  
Rain maker priests,  
Rain maker pekwins,  
From wherever you abide per-  
manently
- 60 You will make your roads come  
forth.  
To the one whom you call father,  
To the one whom you call mother,  
Four times with all your waters
- 65 To us your mother,  
Your fathers,  
You will come.  
In order that you may thus come  
to us,  
Our father,
- 30 lu'kã yã'ton'e  
ïo'wa ko'han an ci'n'an'e  
ha'lawo'tinan'e  
ïe'wusu ya'nulana  
lu'kã yã'ton'e
- 35 a'witela'ma  
ci'pololon ðe'wuna  
a'wetuya kã'kwen ya'kãna  
  
o'naya'nakã o'nealan ya'kãna  
  
a'witela'ma kã'nakwe'nan ya'-  
kãna
- 40 lu'kã yã'ton'e  
hom ta'teu  
hom tsi'ta  
a'witela'ma fom ho' a'nim-la'-  
kuna.  
a'witela'ma ïo' i'm-ila'kuna
- 45 le' yam 'u'lo'nan ya'tena  
le' yam ho'i ya'tena  
yam ko'nho' tci'mikã'kowa te'lia'-  
na  
ïo' i'mila'kuna  
  
ïo' i'mila'ku'ka  
ïo'man ma'si'a  
ïo'man sa'kwi'a  
i'miyawelana  
ïo'man kã'cim a'ntecemana  
ïo'man te'wanan i'laða
- 55 hon te'wanan a'tekãna  
ho''na'wan a'tateu  
u'wanam a'ciwan-i  
u'wanam ðe'kwi'we  
ho' yam ïi'nan la'kikowa
- 60 ïon o'neala kwai'ikãna.  
  
yam tate-i'laða  
yam tsi'te-i'laða  
yam kã'cim a'kã  
a'witela'ma
- 65 yam tsi'ta  
yam a'tateu  
ho''na ïon a'wona-e'latena'wa.  
ho''na ïon a'wona-e'latenaptun'-  
on a'kã  
ho''na'wan ta'teu

<sup>14</sup> The meal painting on the altar.

- 70 Our mother,  
Perpetuating your rite had since  
the first beginning,  
This one<sup>15</sup> sits quietly here.  
Your day is made.  
Keeping your days we pass our  
days.
- 75 Our mothers,  
The ones who first had being  
Keeping your days,  
We pass our days.  
That all our fathers,
- 80 Our mothers,  
Our children,  
That all these may be filled with  
the water of life,  
Anxiously awaiting the making of  
your days,
- 85 We have passed our days.  
Our children,  
All the different kinds of corn,  
All over their earth mother  
Stand poor at the borders of our  
land.
- 90 With their hands a little burnt,  
With their heads a little brown,  
They stand at the borders of our  
land.  
So that these may be watered  
with fresh water
- 95 We keep your days.  
That all our children  
May nourish themselves with fresh  
water  
Carefully they will rear their  
young.
- 100 And when our daylight children  
Have nourished themselves with  
fresh water  
We shall live happily  
All our days.  
This is all.
- 105 Thus speaking plain words  
I set you down quietly.
- 70 ho'nawan tsi'ta  
yam ko'nhol tei'mikā'kowa te'-  
lia'na  
li-l lu'k' i'm-ila'kukā  
to'na'wan te'wanan yo'kā  
to'na'wan te'wanan i'laḡ hon  
te'wanan a'teaiye.
- 75 ho'na'wan a'tsita  
tei'mikana'kowa'  
to'na'wan te'wanan i'laḡa  
hon te'wanan a'teaiye.  
yam le' a'tateu
- 80 yam a'tsita  
yam tea'we  
le' kā'cim a'kākunakwi  
to'na'wa te'wanan yo''kowa  
a'nsume'na
- 85 hon te'wanan a'teaiye.  
ho'na'wan tea'we  
to'wa te'mkana'wa  
yam a'witelintsi'ta' a'na'kowa  
te'wuko'liya lu'wanel-pa'toye.
- 90 ko'w a'wasi-tea'pina  
ko'w a'wotsimowa-so'sona  
lu'wanel-pa'toye.  
lu'kniaḡon kācima tei'm'ona  
a'ka'kunakwi
- 95 hon te'wanan i'laḡa.  
le'wi ho'na'wan tea'we  
kā'cima tei'm'ona  
i'kākunaptun'ona  
e'letokna te'apḡunan o'na-ya'  
kāna.
- 100 ho'na'wan te'kohanan tea'we  
ka'cima i'kākuna  
te'wanan kē' tsanici  
hon te'wanan a'tekāna.  
le'wi
- 105 le yu''he'to pe'nan kwai''ina  
tom lo' a'nim-la'ku.

## THE PEKWIN GOES INTO RETREAT

The retreat of the pekwin follows next after the priests of the four directions. He is priest of the sun, and is associated, according to Mrs. Stevenson, with the zenith. This association, however, does not seem firmly fixed.

<sup>15</sup> The sacred bundle.

The pekwin has no eton'e or priestly bundle. He has pots of black paint brought from the underworld and undoubtedly other ceremonial paraphernalia. But his altar lacks the water and seed-filled reeds which constitute the most sacred and potent possessions of the other priests. He is thought to be so pure in heart that he has no need of magic to make his prayers effective. Therefore, before going into retreat he plants his prayer sticks not at a spring, but in his cornfield. He does not bring back a jug of the sacred water of some spring to place on his altar. For the first part of his retreat "he tries himself." He sits down before an altar consisting only of his paint pots on a painting of meal. It lacks even the bowl of medicine water. As soon as the first rain falls he may mix his medicine in the fresh rain water. If no rain falls, he must continue until the end without even this frail aid to prayer. He is tested at each retreat, and it is always a point of special note whether or not his days are blessed with rain.

The following prayer is recited at the beginning of his retreat. The first part is spoken outside when he plants his prayer sticks, the latter half after he returns to his home.<sup>16</sup>

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| This many are the days,<br>Since the new year,<br>The cycle of the months of our<br>fathers,<br>The ones that first had being.<br>This many days<br>We have awaited our time.<br>It has come to summer.<br>My fathers,<br>My mothers,<br>10 The ones that first had being,<br>Your day goes on.<br>Not long ago,<br>At the middle of the year <sup>17</sup><br>I made my fathers' days. <sup>18</sup> | le'si fe'wanan'e<br>i'tiwana<br>yam a'tateu<br>tei'mi'kanapkowa<br>5 a'wan ya'teu pi'lan'e<br>le'si fe'wanan hon fe'wanan<br>a'teakä.<br>o'loi'kanakwin te'tci'kä<br>hom a'tateu<br>hom a'tsita<br>10 tci'mi'kanapkona<br>to'na'wan fe'wanan a'ne<br>lo'kwa le'tea i'tiwanakä tea<br>yam a'tateu<br>a'wan ho fe'wanan a'cana<br>15 lalhok <sup>19</sup> le'wi u'wanam'i<br>le'si fe'wanan'e<br>yam a'tateu<br>a'wan fe'wanan i'te'tci'kätea<br>20 la'hok <sup>19</sup> u'wanam'i<br>a'wan o'neala kwai'i'kowa<br>ho' o'na-ya''kanakwi<br>lon luwalan-pa'toye<br>pilo'tsi pilo'kä te'ona<br>a'witela'ma a'kewukwi'na'kowa |
| 15 This many were the days of the<br>rain makers of all directions.<br>And now that my fathers' days<br>are at an end,<br>20 Yonder, wherever the roads of the<br>rain makers come forth, <sup>19</sup><br>Where people pray to finish their<br>roads,<br>There you stand at the borders of<br>our land,<br>Male willow, female willow.<br>Four times breaking off the<br>straight young shoots,      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

<sup>16</sup> Dictated by a man formerly associated with the priesthood of the Water Serpent.

<sup>17</sup> The summer solstice. The pekwin plants several times at this time. After that he must keep count of the days and see that each priesthood goes in on schedule time.

<sup>18</sup> The retreats of the four chief priesthoods.

<sup>19</sup> At springs and along watercourses.

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| <p>25 To my house<br/>I brought my road.<br/>Sitting down quietly,<br/>Throughout a blessed night<br/>With our children <sup>20</sup> we came<br/>to day.</p> <p>30 This day, my fathers,<br/>You who here were pekwins,<br/>You who used to take care of the<br/>world,<br/>You who used to be chiefs of the<br/>downy feather,<sup>2</sup></p> <p>35 And furthermore, my sun father,<br/>My child,<br/>This day,<br/>When you came out standing to<br/>your sacred place,</p> <p>40 This day<br/>In my house<br/>For your rite<br/>I fashioned plume wands in human<br/>form.<br/>With the striped cloud wing of my<br/>father,</p> <p>45 Male turkey,<br/>With the striped cloud wing of<br/>oriole, pekwin priest,<sup>22</sup><br/>And blue jay, pekwin priest,<br/>And the wings of all the different<br/>birds of summer,<br/>With these four times<br/>I gave my plume wands human<br/>form.<br/>With the flesh of my mother,<br/>My grandmother,</p> <p>55 Yucca fiber,<br/>Cotton woman,<br/>Even a soiled cotton thread,<br/>With these I gave my plume<br/>wands human form.<br/>With the flesh of the one who is<br/>my mother,</p> | <p>25 hom hecofakwi<br/>o'neal i'fāna<br/>i'tinan la'kikna<br/>fe'linan ko'kei<br/>ho'n tea'wilap a'wanfe'wakā</p> <p>30 lu'kā yā'ton'e<br/>hom a'tateu<br/>li'ino ton pe'kwiw a'teakowa<br/>to'n u'lo'na i'laḡ a'tea'kowa<br/>ḡahaiya te'kwi ton a'mos<br/>a'teakowa</p> <p>35 le'stiklea hom yā'tokā ta'teu<br/>hom tea'le<br/>lu'kā yā'ton'e<br/>yam fe'facinakwi<br/>fo'ye'lana kwai'iḡākā te'a'ana</p> <p>40 lu'kā yā'ton'e<br/>yam he'cotan'e<br/>fo'na'wan haito<br/>ho'te'likina a'ho' a'ya'fāna<br/><br/>yam ta'teili te'ona</p> <p>45 ton o'tsi an la'pihanana la'tan'e<br/>o'notikā pe'kwin ci'wan'i<br/>an la'pihanana la'tan'e<br/>mai'ya pe'kwin ci'wan'i<br/>la'lhok<sup>a</sup> o'lo'iḡaiakā wo'we</p> <p>50 a'wa' la'tan'e tem'la<br/>a'ḡā a'witela'ma<br/>te'likina a'ho' a'ya'fākā<br/><br/>yam tsi'ta<br/>yam ho'ta</p> <p>55 ho'yalaciwi<br/>piḡsem o'ḡā<br/>a'teian ci'nan pi'le ci'kānapte<br/>a'ḡa te'likinan ho'i ya'fānapkā.<br/><br/>yam tsi't i'li te'ona</p> |
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<sup>20</sup> The willow sticks.

<sup>21</sup> Prayer sticks offered to the sun, the moon, and the rain makers are made with downy feathers of the eagle. After planting these sticks the suppliant must refrain from animal food for four days. The downy feather is considered the pekwin's because he always plants to the sun. The other priests use it when rain is urgently needed and thereafter must abstain from animal food. Prayer sticks to the ancestors, deceased members of societies or priesthoods, and the kaci'nas are made with turkey feathers. It is as guardian of the calendar that the pekwin "takes care of the world."

<sup>22</sup> The bird associated with the north. The birds of the six directions are the pekwins or heralds of the directions. The pekwin, who is the herald of the sun, is frequently referred to as, "all the birds of summer, pekwins." The feather of the blue jay is the feather of the priests which they are entitled to wear in the hair on ceremonial occasions.

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| <p>60 The one who first had being,<br/>Black paint woman,<br/>With her flesh making the flesh of<br/>my plume wands,<br/>I gave them human form,<br/>Saying, "Let it be now."</p> <p>65 Taking my plume wands,<br/>The plume wands which had been<br/>prepared,<br/>I made my road come forth.<br/>I made my road go forth.<br/>Somewhere in my water-filled<br/>fields . . .</p> <p>70 I passed my earth mother on her<br/>road.<br/>My fathers,<br/>My ancestors,<br/>You who used to be pekwins,<br/>You who used the downy feather,<br/>You who used to take charge of the<br/>world,</p> <p>75 And furthermore my child,<br/>My father,<br/>Sun,<br/>My child, my mother, moon,<br/>My fathers,</p> <p>80 Divine ones,<br/>This day<br/>I give you plume wands.<br/>Taking your plume wands,<br/>There where you abide perma-<br/>nently,</p> <p>85 Clasping them in your arms,<br/>Caressing them,<br/>With your supernatural wisdom,<br/>You will distribute them amongst<br/>you.<br/>After a little while<br/>To my house</p> <p>90 My road will reach.<br/>Making your days, I shall pass the<br/>days.</p> | <p>60 <i>tei'mikā'kowa</i><br/><i>ha'kwīn o'kā an ci'nān a'kā</i><br/><i>te'likīnan a'ci'nān ya'fāna</i></p> <p><i>ho'i ya'fānapkā te'a</i><br/><i>kā'kī kesi' le'anaḡāpa</i></p> <p>65 <i>yam te'likīnan e'lete'u'kowa</i><br/><i>te'likīnan i'leana</i></p> <p><i>ho' o'neala kwi'iḡāna</i><br/><i>o'neal a'fāna</i><br/><i>ho! yam fā'cima te'atei'nakwi</i></p> <p>70 <i>yam a'witelin tsi'ta ho' o'na-</i><br/><i>e'latekā</i><br/><i>hom a'tateu</i><br/><i>hom a'lacina'we</i><br/><i>ton pe'kwiwe a'tea'kowa</i><br/><i>fā'haiyatekwi ton u'lo'nān i'laḡ</i><br/><i>a'tea'kowa</i></p> <p>75 <i>le'stiklea hom tea''le</i><br/><i>hom ta'teu</i><br/><i>yātoḡā</i><br/><i>hom tea''le hom tsi'ta ya'onan'e</i><br/><i>hom a'taten</i></p> <p>80 <i>fā'pin a'ho'i</i><br/><i>lu'kā yā'ton'e</i><br/><i>to'na ho' te'likīnan a'lea'u</i><br/><i>te'likīnan i'leana</i><br/><i>yam i'i'nān la'ḡikwi</i></p> <p>85 <i>ton a'ḡeekuna fe'laḡuna</i></p> <p><i>yam a'nikwanan a'kā</i><br/><i>ton te'likīnan i'yanhaitena</i></p> <p><i>we'tsim te'nala'ana</i><br/><i>yam hecoḡakwi</i></p> <p>90 <i>ho' o'neala te'teiḡāna</i><br/><i>to'na'wan fe'wanan a'ena</i><br/><i>hon fe'wanan a'teḡāna.</i></p> |
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[He deposits the plume wands, then he returns to his ceremonial house, sets up his altar, which consists of dishes of sacred black paint and bowls of prayer meal. The prayer continues:]

This day, my fathers,

*luḡa yā'ton'e*  
*hom a'taetu*

<sup>25</sup> He plants in his cornfield, not at a sacred spring.



- 95 You who are my child, sun,  
You who are my mother, moon,  
This day  
I have passed you on your roads.  
This day, upon the flesh of the  
white corn,  
Prayer meal,  
Breathing my prayers  
Four times I have spread out your  
mist blanket;  
I have fashioned your cloud house;  
105 I have fashioned your road.  
Now that this is at an end  
Your days are made.  
After a little while  
From where you abide perma-  
nently  
110 You will make your road come  
forth.  
Yonder from the south,  
Where, they say, is the abiding  
place of summer,  
My fathers,  
Send forth your quick breath.<sup>24</sup>
- 115 Send forth your massed clouds to  
stay with us,  
Stretch out your watery hands,  
Let us embrace!  
To Itiwana you will come  
With all your people,  
120 Hiding behind your watery  
shield<sup>25</sup>  
With all your people;  
With your fine rain caressing the  
earth,  
With your heavy rain caressing the  
earth,  
Carrying your weapons,  
125 Your lightning,  
(Come to us!)  
Raise the sound of your thunders!  
At Itiwana  
With your great pile of waters  
130 May you pass me on my road.  
That this may be  
I have made your days.  
When your days are at an end,  
  
Meeting me with all your waters,  
May you stay with us,
- 95 ūom ho' tca'' ili yā'toḱā  
ūom ho' tsi't ili ya'onan'e  
lu'kā yā'ton'e  
hom ūon o'na-e'latekā.  
lu'kā yā'ton'e  
100 ūo'wa ūo'han an ci''nan'e  
ha'lawa'tinan'e  
ūe'wus a'nulana  
a'witela'ma ho' ci'pololon ūe'wukā  
  
ho' a'weluyan ūā'kwen ya'ūākā.  
105 ūo'na ho' o'neala ya'ūākā  
i'te'tciḱa te'a  
ūo'na'wan ūe'wanan yo''kā.  
we'tsim te'nala'ana  
hoḷ yam ūe'nan la'ūi'kowa  
  
110 ūon o'neala kwai''iūāna.  
  
li'wan a'laho'a'nkwin ta''na  
hoḷ o'lo'ik'āna'wa le'anaūānkwi  
  
hom a'tateu  
yam ūa'hai ya'nakakuna kwai''i-  
ūāna  
115 yam a'weluyan imuna kwai''iūāna  
  
yam ūā'cima asta'naḱa  
ho'n i'wiyaūen-ūsu'meūāna  
i'ti'wana'kowa  
yam ho' i'lap'a  
120 yam ūā''alan'e yai'yala'ana  
  
yam ho' i'lap'a  
yam ūā'tsana li'ton-ūe'lakwi  
  
yam ūā'lana li'ton-ūe'lakwi  
  
yam sa'wanika ūe'ana.  
125 yam wi'lolonan'e  
ku'lulunan'e  
te'hato'nan ūe'ato'u  
i'ti'wanakwi  
yam ūā'cima pu'ekwe'na  
130 ūon a'k'ā hom o'na-e'latenapfun'-  
onaḱā  
ūo'na'wan ūe'wanan yo'kā  
ūo'na'wan ūe'wanan i'te'tciḱun-  
te'kwi  
yam ūā'cim a'k'ā  
hom ūon o'na-e'latena ūon a'te-  
ḱuna.

<sup>24</sup> The sudden showers of summer, which at Zuñi always come from the southeast.<sup>25</sup> The rain makers cover themselves with clouds as a warrior with his shield.

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| <p>135 Do not cause people to speak ill of<br/>your days,<sup>26</sup><br/>But with waters caressing the<br/>earth<br/>Let your days be filled.<br/>With your waters</p> <p>140 You will pass me on my road.<br/>Those which all my ladder descend-<br/>ing children<br/>Have sown with magical rites,<br/>All the different kinds of corn,<br/>Yonder all over their earth mother,</p> <p>145 They stand poor at the borders of<br/>our land.<br/>With their hands a little burnt,<br/>With their heads brown,<br/>They stand poor at the borders of<br/>our land.<br/>That these may be nourished with<br/>fresh water,</p> <p>150 Thus run the thought of my<br/>prayer.<br/>When the time of my days is at an<br/>end,<br/>Though I say "my days are at an<br/>end,"<br/>No—it is not so.</p> <p>155 Waiting anxiously until another<br/>day comes<br/>We shall pass the days.<br/>My fathers,<br/>Now I have fulfilled your thoughts.<br/><br/>This is all.</p> | <p>135 el ton yam te'wanan ci'ŋk̄āna'wa-<br/>mek̄āna<br/>yam te'wanan'e<br/>k̄ā'cima-te'lakwi<br/>hon te'wanan a'tek̄āna.<br/>yam k̄ā'cim ak̄ā</p> <p>140 hom ton o'na-e'latena'waḡa<br/>le'le'tsilon pa'ni'nan hom tea'we</p> <p>la'lhok<sup>a</sup> a'wan i'fsumana'we<br/>to'wa te'm'łana<br/>yam a'witelin tsi'tana'kowa</p> <p>145 te'wuko'liya hu'walan-pa'łtoye</p> <p>ko'w a'wasi'we tea'pina<br/>a'wotsimo'wa so'sona<br/>te'wuko'liya luwalan pa'łtoye.</p> <p>lu'kniaḡo k̄ā'cim a'k̄ā'kunakwin</p> <p>150 li'no hom te'wusu tse'makwi'<br/>a'naiye<br/>hom te'wanan'e<br/>te'wanan i'te'teaḡa<br/>te'wanan i'te'teik̄a le'kwaḡa</p> <p>e'la</p> <p>155 topa te'watun te'kwi a'n'fsume'na</p> <p>hon te'wanan a'tek̄āna.<br/>hom a'tateu<br/>to'na'wan ho'tse'makwi'mo'la'k̄a<br/>ke'si<br/>le'wi.</p> |
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#### THE BOW PRIEST IN RETREAT IN SUMMER

On the day the pekwin comes out of retreat in summer the bow priest begins to count days. He is not a rain priest. He has no altar; he has no rain-making fetish; his sacred possessions are associated rather with war. Therefore, instead of remaining in meditation and prayer in his ceremonial house, he makes offerings at the various shrines of the gods of war on mountain tops around Zuñi. The first day he goes to the north, to Twin Mountains; the second day to the west—the place actually visited is a shrine to the south on a knoll near the road to the Salt Lake. The third day he goes to the south, Face Mountain, a shrine southeast of Zuñi; the fourth day to the east, a knoll near the Black Rock road. At each of these shrines he offers corn meal and turquoise with prayers for rain and fertility. He offers these in his capacity of priest rather than as warrior.

<sup>26</sup> The pekwin is severely criticized should it fail to rain during the days of his retreat. Criticism does not fall so heavily on other priests should they fail.

- This many days,  
Making the days of my two fathers,  
The ones who hold the high places.<sup>27</sup>
- 5 Keeping their days,  
I have lived.  
My fathers,  
Rain maker priests,  
Rain maker pekwins  
And you, far off at the fourth rim  
of the encircling ocean,
- 10 You who are our fathers, rain  
maker bow priests,  
Tsi'kahaiya,<sup>28</sup> Kā'awani,<sup>28</sup>  
From wherever you abide per-  
manently  
Send forth your misty breath;  
Your little wind blown clouds,
- 15 Your thin wisps of cloud,  
Your black streaks of cloud,  
Your masses of clouds replete with  
living waters,  
You will send forth to stay with us.  
With your fine rain caressing the  
earth,  
With your heavy rain caressing the  
earth,
- 20 With your great pile of waters here  
at Itiwana  
You will pass us on our roads.  
Desiring this, my fathers,
- I have made your days.
- 25 When you pass me on my road  
All my ladder descending children  
Will refresh themselves with your  
living waters.  
That the crowns of their heads may  
sometimes be wet with dew,  
In order that this may be  
You, my fathers, yonder on all  
sides,
- le'si te'wanan'e  
yam a'tcia tate i'li te'ona  
te'alan i'lona  
a'tcian te'wanan a'ena  
5 a'tcian te'wanan i'li ho' te'wanan  
te'aiye  
hom a'tateu  
u'wanam a'ciwan-i  
u'wanam i'pe'kwi'we.  
la'lhok<sup>29</sup> a'witen i'yalto Kā'tul  
u'lapna'kowa  
10 to'na hon a'tate i'li u'wanam  
a'pi'la'ci'wan-i  
tsi'kahaiya kā'hawan-i  
hol yam ti'nan la'ki'kowa  
yam ci'pololon'e ya'nhakuna  
kwai'i'kāna  
yam pi'tcinan'e  
15 yam su'lahaiyan'e  
yam la'pihaiyan'e  
yam a'weluyan Kā'kwi ya'na  
  
i'muna kwai'i'kāna  
yam Kā'tsan li'ton te'lakwi  
  
yam Kā'lana li'ton te'lakwi  
"  
20 i'tiwanakwi yam Kā'cima pu'e-  
kwe'n a'kā  
hom ton o'na-e'latena-wa  
lu'k' a'ntecemana  
hom a'tateu  
to'na'wan ho' te'wanan a'c'kā  
25 hom ton o'na-e'latena-wa  
le'wi hom le'tsilon pani-nan tea'we  
a'ka Kā'cima Kā'kwi'kāna  
  
ko'w a'wo'tsimowa Kā'laiya hol  
te'wanan a'teatun'ona  
  
tem ta la'lhok<sup>29</sup> le'si te'kwi hom  
a'tateu

<sup>27</sup> Or "those who guard the housetops"—the twin gods of war.

<sup>28</sup> Supernaturals associated in their dual capacity of warriors and rain makers with sudden thunderstorms. They live in springs and have long streaming hair. (Tsi'kahaiya means "quick moving hair.") A dirigible which flew over Zuñi some years ago was identified with Kā'awani, who looks "like an icicle" when he appears to mortals. Kā'awani is sometimes impersonated in mask with a tablet headdress and long flowing hair reaching to his knees. The third supernatural usually mentioned with Tsi'kahaiya and Kā'awani is Kupictaiya (cf. Keres Kupictaiya), called by Mrs. Stevenson lightning makers. There is some confusion in the minds of the Zuñi as to whether these are individuals or classes of supernaturals. The latter is more in keeping with Zuñi ideology.

- 30 You who dwell in high places,  
For this you live at sacred places  
Round about on all the mossy  
mountains.  
My fathers,  
To all your ladder descending chil-  
dren
- 35 You will grant your power.<sup>29</sup>  
In order that my children may  
have strong hearts  
It is now your day.  
From wherever you stay perma-  
nently  
Your massed clouds filled with  
living water, may you send forth.
- 40 Making your road come forth from  
where you stay permanently,  
With your rain caressing the earth,  
With your terrible lightning,  
Make your thunders resound!
- 45 At Itiwana may you pass me on  
my road.  
When you have passed me on my  
road,  
My mothers,  
My children,  
All the different kinds of corn,
- 50 Nourishing themselves with their  
fathers' waters,  
Tenderly will bring forth their  
young.  
When they have finished their  
roads,  
When they are old,
- 55 My children,  
My ladder descending children,  
Will bring in their children,  
All the different kinds of corn,  
Into their houses.  
That they may always be the ones  
toward whom our thoughts  
bend,
- 60 For this all my children carefully  
have reared their young.  
All my children  
Will make their roads come into  
their houses.  
Staying there permanently,  
Your young increasing,  
You will always remain.
- 30 te'alan i'laḡona  
le'w a'wico yā'la'kowa  
to'n te'lacin u'lapna a'teaiye  
  
hom a'tateu  
le' te'tsilon ḡa'ni'nān yam tea'we
- 35 ṭon sa'wanikā ya'nhaiteṇa'wa.  
a'ka hom tea'we sa'wanik' a'wi-  
ke'na a'teatun'on a'kā  
to'na'wan li't te'wana'we.  
hoḷ yam ti'nān la'ki'kowa  
  
a'wetuyan k̄a'kwi ya'na i'muna  
kwai'ikāna
- 40 yam ti'nān la'ki'kowa o'neala  
kwai'ikāna  
yam li'ton te'lakuna  
yam sa'wanikā wi'lolonan'e  
yam ku'lulunan'e  
te'ha'ṭonan k̄e'ato'u
- 45 i'tiwanakwi hom ṭon o'na-e'late-  
na'wa  
hom ṭon o'na-e'latena'waḡa  
  
hom a'tsita  
hom tea'we  
to'wa te'mlana'na
- 50 yam a'tateu  
a'wan k̄a'cim i'k̄a'kuna  
e'letokna te'ap̄kunan o'na ya'k̄a-  
na'wa  
a'wona' ya'ḡaḡa  
  
a'ḷacia'ḡa  
55 hom tea'we  
le'tsilon ḡa'ni'nān hom tea'we  
yam tea'we to'wa te'mlana'na  
  
yam he'coḡakwin a'wana'-u'lana  
i'skon tse'mak te'lakwi hoḷ yam  
te'wanan a'teatun'on a'kā
- 60 hom tea'we e'letokna ṭon te'ap̄ku-  
nan o'na ya'k̄anap̄kā  
le'w hom tea'we  
a'wan he'coḡa'kowa o'neala kwa'-  
toḡāna  
ṭon i'tinān la'ki'kna  
te'ap̄kunan ci'wuna ṭon te'wanan  
a'teaḡa

<sup>29</sup> Or weapons.

65 That the thoughts of my ladder  
descending children  
May bend to this,  
That this may be,  
My fathers,  
Thus runs the thought of my  
prayer.  
Thus all my children

70 May always be well provided with  
seeds.

Desiring this,  
I watch over our daylight fathers,  
The ones who here have in their  
keeping

The rites of our fathers,<sup>20</sup>  
Those who first had being,  
Our daylight fathers,  
Who perpetuate the rites which  
they hold in their keeping,  
The rites of those who first had  
being;

80 Sitting down among my daylight  
fathers

Watching over my fathers—  
That one am I.  
My fathers,  
You know me well.

85 Do not let me be a poor person.<sup>21</sup>

My fathers,  
You who hold the high places, your  
representative am I.

I have a bandoleer,<sup>22</sup>  
I have an armlet; <sup>23</sup>

90 Because of this  
I am my father's mouth.<sup>24</sup>

All my ladder descending children,  
All of them I hold in my hands,

95 May no one fall from my grasp  
After going but a little ways—

Those yonder toward the east,  
In all the villages that stand  
against the place of the rising  
sun,

65 hom le'tsilon pa'ni'nan tea'we

i'skon tse'mak-ŋe'lakwi a'teatun-  
'on a'kã

hom a'tateu

li'ino hom ŋe'wusu tse'makwi  
a'naiye

hom le'na tea'we

70 a'k' i'celte'ma to'waeonan a'n'e'la  
kãna

luk' a'ntecemana

li'ino yam a'tateu

tei'miŋanapkowa

ho'na'wan a'tateu

75 ko'lea i'mos i'laŋ a'te'ona

ŋekohanana yam a'tateu

tei'miŋanapkowa

ko'leho' i'mos i'laŋa'te'ona  
i'yantelia'na

ŋe'kohanana yam a'tateu

80 a'wan i'mawela

yam a'tateu

a'wai yu'patei ho' ho'i

hom a'tateu

hom to'n an'ai'yua'naŋa

85 el kwa'ho' te'wuko'liya ho'i  
te'am'e

yam a'tateu

te'alan i'laŋona ya'ntelia'na ho'  
a'kã ho'i.

ho' yã'tonan i'li

ho' pa'sikwin i'li

90 le'sna te'onakã

yan a'tateu

a'wan ho' a'watin'e.

le' le'tsilon pa'ni'nan yam tea'we

te'mla ho' a'yaknaiye.

95 kwa ko'w a'naŋa.

yam teu'waya el ya'kna pi'ya'na

te'ametun'on a'kã

lehok' ŋe'luwaiyankwin ta'na

lu'wala- u'la te'mla

yã'tokwai'inankwin te'tteinan

<sup>20</sup> The priests who possess sacred bundles. The bow priests are their messengers and the guardians of their secret rites.

<sup>21</sup> A person with no ceremonial prerogatives.

<sup>22</sup> A bandoleer embroidered with shells and containing hair from the scalps which he has taken since his installation as bow priest. It is a dangerous object which the warrior hangs by the door to protect the house. It is too dangerous to be brought into back rooms. Its contaminating influence must be kept especially from seeds and water.

<sup>23</sup> An arm band embroidered in shell, part of the warrior's regalia.

<sup>24</sup> The twin deities who led the people out from the underworld are called "the mouth of the sacred bundles" (ŋã'eto'we a wan a'watin'e). These individuals, while distinct from the twin gods of war, are not unrelated. See origin myth, p. 549.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>100 Even to all those villages<br/>That stand against the place of the<br/>setting sun,<br/>Even every little bug,<br/>Even every dirty little bug,<br/>Let me hold them all fast in my<br/>hands,</p> <p>105 Let none of them fall from my<br/>grasp—<br/>In order that this may be,<br/>My fathers,<br/>I ask you for life.<br/>May my children's roads all be<br/>fulfilled;<br/>May they grow old;</p> <p>110 May their roads reach all the way<br/>to dawn lake;<br/>May their roads be fulfilled;<br/>In order that your thoughts may<br/>bend to this,<br/>Your days are made.<br/>Now your days are at an end.<br/>Whatever I have wished</p> <p>115 I have spoken<br/>All our prayers which we have com-<br/>pleted for each other;<br/>Thus I have fulfilled our thoughts.<br/>Eagerly awaiting until it shall be<br/>another day,<br/>Until the winter,</p> <p>120 I shall now pass my time.<br/>My fathers,<br/>Your waters,<br/>Your seeds,<br/>Your riches,<br/>Your power,<br/>Your strong spirit,<br/>All this you will grant us;<br/>May my road be fulfilled,<br/>May I grow old,<br/>Even until I go with strong hands<br/>grasping a bent stick,<sup>35</sup><br/>Thus may I grow old.</p> | <p>100 yā'ton kwa'telenankwin te''teinan<br/>le luwala-u'la te'mla</p> <p>kwa ko'wi no'me tsa'napte<br/>nom a'nteimo'apte<br/>te'mla a'wiyaten-tsu'mekāna</p> <p>105 el kwa teu'wa ya'kna pi'ya'na<br/>te'ametun'on a'kā</p> <p>hom a'tateu<br/>to'na ho'ie'kohanan yai'neemana<br/>hom tca'we te'mla a'wona<br/>ya'an'a<br/>a'laci'an'a</p> <p>110 te'luwaiyan kiaiaki o'neala<br/>te'teikwi te'mla a'wona ya'-<br/>an'a.<br/>i'skon tse'mak-ie'lakwi yam te'-<br/>wanan teatun'onakā<br/>to'na-wan te'wanan te'a'kā<br/>to'na-wan te'wanan i-te'teikā<br/>ho'ko'n a'nteemana</p> <p>115 pe'nan kwai'ina<br/>yam hon i'yantewusu pena' ya'-<br/>kanapkowa<br/>ho' tse'makwin mo'ia'kā.<br/>to'pa te'watun te'kwi</p> <p>te''tsinan'e a'nsume'na<br/>hos te'wanan te'kan'a<br/>hom a'tateu<br/>yam kā'eima<br/>yam to'wacanan'e<br/>yam u'tenan'e</p> <p>125 yam sa'wanikā<br/>yam tse'makwin tsu'me<br/>te'mla homs ton a'nikteiana'wa.<br/>ho' o'naya'an-a<br/>ho' la'ci'an'a</p> <p>130 ia'powan le'a tsu'me ho' la'ci'an'a.</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

<sup>35</sup> That is, leaning on a cane, a common symbol for long life and old age. At the winter solstice the feather offerings of society members all contain bent prayer sticks as a prayer for old age.



# IV. PRAYERS OF THE WAR CULT

## THE BOW PRIEST MAKES PRAYER STICKS AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE

|                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| My two fathers,<br>You who dwell in high places <sup>1</sup><br>Ma'ase'wi <sup>2</sup><br>Uyuye'wi                                                                               | hom a'tate a'tei<br>te'alan i'lon a'tei<br>ma'ase'wi<br>u'yuye'wi                                                          |
| 5 For you it is the new year.<br>Since it is the new year,<br>All the beings that dwell in mossy<br>mountains,<br>The beings who dwell in shady<br>places,<br>The forest beings, | 5 to'na i'tiwanan te'tei<br>i'tiwanan te'teina<br>le'w a'wico yā'la'kowa a'te'ona<br><br>te'lula'kowa te'wa i'laḡ a'te'ona |
| 10 The brush beings,<br>Oak being<br>Willow being <sup>3</sup><br>Red willow being <sup>3</sup><br>lanilkowa being <sup>3</sup>                                                  | 10 lakwil ḡo'ti<br>a'si a'te'ona<br>i'pina a'te'ona<br>la'latu a'te'ona<br>la'nilkowa a'te'ona                             |
| 15 Cottonwood being<br>Taking the straight young shoots of<br>all these,<br>These we shall make into prayer<br>plumes.<br>For my fathers,                                        | 15 ḡo'la a'te'ona<br>te'mla a'kḡawulkwi'na<br><br>u'sona te'liḡina'we<br>a'ya'ḡana'wa.<br>yam a'tatu                       |
| 20 The divine ones,<br>I have destined these prayer plumes.<br>When my fathers<br>The divine ones<br>Take hold of their prayer plumes,                                           | 20 ḡā'pin a'ho'i.<br>te'liḡinan a'wanhai'teḡā.<br>hom a'tatu<br>ḡāpin a'ho'i<br>te'liḡinan a'yaḡena                        |
| 25 When they clothe themselves with<br>their prayer plumes,<br>Then all to my children<br>Long life,<br>Old age,<br>All good fortune whatsoever,                                 | 25 te'liḡinan i'leana<br><br>le'w hom tea'we<br>o'na ya'naḡā<br>la'ciaḡā<br>kwa'hol yam te'ni ha'lowilin'e                 |
| 30 You will grant;<br>So that I may raise corn,<br>So that I may raise beans,<br>So that I may raise wheat,<br>So that I may raise squash,                                       | 30 te'mla hom ḡon a'nhaitena'wa<br>a'k' ho'o mi'ya'un'a<br>no'ḡā'un'a<br>ḡāiya'un'a<br>ho' mo'la'un'a                      |
| 35 So that with all good fortune I may<br>be blessed.                                                                                                                            | 35 kwa'hol te'mla hom ḡon a'nik-<br>tciana'wa.                                                                             |

<sup>1</sup> The gods of war, whose shrines are on mountain tops. The phrase might also be rendered as "those who guard the housetops."

<sup>2</sup> The Kerean name for the elder of the two gods of war. His Zuñi name, which is esoteric, is Matsallema. According to Mrs. Stevenson he is the younger brother. Both this name and that of Uyuye'wi were unknown to the interpreter to whom the prayer was read, but her father, who carves the image of the younger brother, knew the names.

<sup>3</sup> The identifications are uncertain.

## PRAYERS BEFORE GOING ON A WAR PARTY

Before going on the warpath the bow priests are summoned to their ceremonial house. The chief bow priest addresses them:

|                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Now this many days<br>Because of the thoughts of the enemy                                                                                                                                             | ma' le'si te'wanan'e<br>a'winakwe<br>a'wan tse'makwin a'kã<br>te'tse'mak-ponokwi'na                                                           |
| Our thoughts have been troubled;<br>5 Our appetite has failed.<br>This very day<br>That by which they live,<br>Turquoise, <sup>4</sup><br>To my fathers I have offered<br>At all their abiding places. | 5 kã'p i'kwilin i'natina<br>yam a'teon a'kã<br>tei'mte yã'ton'e<br>yam a'tateu<br>ti'na-te'mla                                                |
| 11 Yonder into the enemy's country<br>We shall take the warpath.                                                                                                                                       | 10 ho' lo''o a'leakã.<br>lehok' i'nakwan 'ulo'nakwi<br>sa'munan a'kã<br>hon le'hol o'neal a'kãna'wa.<br>a'kãp a'winakwa'wa tse'makwin<br>a'kã |
| Because of the enemy,<br>Because of their thoughts,<br>15 We wish in vain see one another, <sup>5</sup><br>We can not see him of whom we think.                                                        | 15 i'yuna-we'iyi'na<br>hon a'ntse'man a'ni'nenawe.                                                                                            |
| Because it is thus,<br>To be avenged<br>We have made up our minds.                                                                                                                                     | le'sna te'onakã<br>a'sukãna'kã<br>ho' tse'makwi ya'kãkã                                                                                       |
| 20 My children,<br>You shall set your minds to be men.<br>You shall think to provide yourselves with good weapons.                                                                                     | 20 hom tea'we<br>ton o'tsin tse'makuna'wa<br>ton i'nasnan ko'ke a'ntse'nana'wa                                                                |
| Then, perhaps, we shall have the good fortune,<br>To get that which we wish,                                                                                                                           | ho'nkwe'k hon a'halowili                                                                                                                      |
| 25 That for which we ask—<br>Namely that with the enemies' flocks,<br>Their clothing,<br>Their precious stones,<br>Their good shell beads,                                                             | 25 hol ko'n a'ntecemana<br>pena' ya''k ona<br>a'winakw a'wan wo'we<br>a'wan u'tena-we<br>a'wan a'conawe.<br>a'wan lo' a'kok'ci                |
| 30 That with these our houses may obtain hearts,<br>For this we have sent forth our prayers.                                                                                                           | 30 a'kã ho'na'wan he'cofa i'kenap-<br>tun'onakã<br>hon pe'nan kwai'ikãnapkã                                                                   |
| Waiting anxiously until the appointed time shall come,<br>Cleansing our hearts,<br>Cleansing our thoughts,                                                                                             | hot hai'okwin te'teituntewi a'n-<br>tsume'na<br>i'ken i'kokcuna<br>tse'mak i'kokcuna                                                          |
| 35 Thus shall we live.<br>Indeed we shall not be alone.<br>Because yonder all about<br>Abide our fathers.                                                                                              | 35 hon te'wanan a'tekãna.<br>a'tic hon a'sam a'tekãna tse'na<br>a'kã la'lhok' ho'na'wan a'tateu<br>ti'na u'lapnaiye.                          |

<sup>4</sup> Turquoise, above all else, the gift to the gods of war.

<sup>5</sup> Some of our number have died.

- 40 Spreading word about among them,  
You will think to give them good  
turquoise.  
To this end, my children,  
Through all the time set aside for  
them,

Eagerly you will await their day.  
After a good night  
May you come to day.  
And to-morrow

- 50 After a good day may you come to  
evening.  
And as each day comes,  
Eagerly may you wait their day.

- 55 May your thought not be vacillat-  
ing.  
Indeed, though I call myself poor,  
Far off I shall have someone for my  
father.

- 60 For there is one who by virtue of the  
dry bow<sup>6</sup>  
Holds us all as his children.  
His representative am I.

Asking for life from him

- 65 I shall add to your breath.  
And furthermore,  
Emerging into the daylight  
Yonder on all the mossy mountains  
All about they have set their sacred  
places,<sup>7</sup>

- 70 The ones who hold the high places,  
Ahayuta yellow,<sup>8</sup>  
Blue,  
Red,  
White,

- 75 Many colored,  
The dark one,  
These were bow priests.

Holding us as their children

- 80 They abide in all their sacred places  
round about.  
To all these places  
Sending forth my prayer to them,

la'no'ko.

- 40 a'wan penan i'tulohana  
lo'o kōkei a'leatun'ona  
ton a'ntse'mana-wa  
te'wuna' hom tea'we  
le'kon hai'to

- 45 a'ntsume'na  
hon te'wanan a'te'kan'a  
te'linan kō'kei  
ton a'wanfewatu.  
te'wan yā'ton'e

- 50 yā'ton kō'kei  
ton su'nha'kana-wa  
i'skan te'wanan a'tun te'kwi  
a'ntsume'na  
ton te'wanan a'te'kan'a

- 55 el i'ke'lu'na  
to'na'wan tse'makwi tea'metu  
ta'teic te'wuko'liya lekwanante  
ho'lomacko'na  
teu'waya ho' tate i'li'kan'a  
60 pi'lan ku'sn'a'ka

ho' tea'wili te'ona  
lu'ka'ko a'ntelia'na  
yam ho'i te'ona  
te'kohanan ai'ncemana

- 65 to'na'wan ho' pi'nan te'liun'a  
le'stikleapa  
te'kohanan ya'na'ka'pa  
la'thok' a'wico yāla'kona  
te'lacin u'lap'kanapka

- 70 te'alan i'lap'ona  
a'haiyuta lu'ptsina  
hi'ana  
a'hon'a  
kohana

- 75 i'topana'na  
ci'kana  
lu'kno'ko  
pi'faciwan-i'ka'ka  
ho'na tea'wilapa

- 80 te'lacin u'lapna  
a'teaiye  
la'no'ko  
yam te'wusu pe'nan te'te'kan'a

<sup>6</sup> Pi'lan Kusna, dry bow, used metaphorically for the war chief. The supernaturals, in this case the war gods, exert power through their human representatives.

<sup>7</sup> At the time of the emergence.

<sup>8</sup> The war gods, as inhabitants of their six shrines, associated with the six directions.

I ask for their life-giving breath,  
 85 Their breath of old age,  
 Their breath of riches,  
 Their breath of waters,  
 Their breath of seeds,  
 Their breath of fecundity,  
 90 Their breath of power,  
 Their breath of strong spirit,  
 Their breath of all good fortune of  
 which they are possessed—  
 Asking for their breath,  
 95 And into my warm body drawing  
 their breath,  
 I shall add to your breath.  
 To this end, my children:  
 May you be belssed with life.

a'wan o'naya'nağa pi''nan'e  
 85 la'ciakā pi''nan'e  
 u'tenan pi''nan'e  
 ƣā'cima pi''nan'e  
 ʔo'wacōnan pi''nan'e  
 ʔe'apƣunan pi''nan'e  
 90 a'wan sa'wanikā pi''nan'e  
 tse'makwin ʔsu'me pi''nan'e  
 kwa'hoʔ te'mla pi''nan i'laβ a'te'ona  
 pi''nan yai'ncemana  
 yam te'huʔ k'ā'lnakwi  
 95 pi''nan a'liʔona  
 to'na-wan ho' pi''nan te'li'una  
 ʔe'wuna' hom tea'we  
 ʔo' ʔe'ƣohanan ya'nikteia'tu.

The date for starting is set. Any man who wishes to join the party tells the bow priests, and the destination is determined according to the size of the party. During the interval offerings are made by the bow priests at the various shrines referred to in the preceding prayer. The night before they leave all volunteers meet at the ceremonial house of the bow priests. Each man deposits prayer meal, corn pollen, and some precious material—shell, turquoise, red paint, or iridescent black paint—in each of four corn husks. These are immediately taken to four distant shrines, by the elder and younger brother bow priests, the war chief, and the society chief of the bow priesthood. On reaching the shrine the emissary says:

How are you this evening?  
 (He answers himself, speaking in the  
 person of the god:)  
 Happy. Have you come? Sit down.  
 Now, indeed, you have passed us on  
 our roads.  
 5 Indeed, words not too long your  
 words will be.  
 If you let us know what they are,  
 Always we shall remember them.  
 Is it not so?  
 THE MAN: Indeed it is so.  
 10 As you know,  
 To all your different abiding places  
 I have gone about,  
 With words of taking our road into  
 the enemy's country.  
 15 To-morrow upon that  
 The sun will arise.  
 THE GOD: Is that so?  
 That must not be.  
 We can not part with you.

— ko' ʔon su'nhaƣānapkā—  
 — ƣe'ʔsanici' ʔonc a'wia. i'ʔinaƣā  
 ma' la'ƣāmante  
 ʔona ʔo' a'wona-e'lateƣā  
 5 i'me' kwa'tik ʔe'na te'yu'laname  
 ʔe'nan te'aƣāna  
 ʔe'wuna' u'son ho'na ʔo ai'yu'-  
 ya'ƣāpa  
 u'son ai'yu'ya'na  
 hon ʔe'wanan a'ʔeƣāna hatei'—  
 — ma'i'na mi'tte  
 10 e'pac le'hok' i'naƣw an u'lo'nakwi  
 o'neal a'ƣāna'ƣā  
 ʔe'naw aƣā  
 li'no ʔon ti'na-te'mla  
 ho' a'luƣā.  
 15 ʔe'wan yā'ʔon'e  
 u'son a'ƣā yā'to kwai''ina.—  
 —haiyi'  
 kwa le'sna te'aucwa  
 ʔom hon i'tcemana'we—

- 20 THE MAN: Nevertheless there is no choice.  
 To do that very thing I have made up my mind.  
 And furthermore,  
 Thinking to bring you fine shell,  
 Prayer meal,
- 25 Corn pollen,  
 Red paint,  
 Sparkling paint,  
 Eager for this I have passed my days.
- 30 Now this day  
 We have reached the appointed time.  
 Therefore we have passed you on your road.  
 THE GOD: Is that so?  
 Nevertheless, in spite of your speaking thus,
- 35 We can not part with you.  
 We have your plume wands,  
 We have your shells,  
 We have your prayer meal.
- THE MAN: Yes, that is why I have spoken words
- 40 Of going to the enemy's country.
- Because on account of the enemy's thoughts  
 Our children have been destroyed.
- 45 Our flocks have been destroyed.  
 Because of the enemy's thoughts,  
 We wish to see our relatives,
- And thinking of them we fail in it.
- 50 THE GOD: Is that so?  
 Very well, although we cherish you,  
 You think thus.  
 Our elder brothers yonder,  
 The ones who abide in different places,
- 55 Do they also know it?  
 THE MAN: Yes, certainly.
- At all their abiding places,  
 I have bent down to speak to them.
- 20 —ma' e'te  
 ʔa tenat hoł ko'lea te'atun'ona ho'  
 tse'makwi ya'k̄ā  
 le's tikleaʔa  
 lo''o k̄o'kei  
 ha'lawo'tinan'e
- 25 o'nean'e  
 a'hokona  
 ʔsu'haʔa te''ona  
 ʔon a''leatun'ona  
 lon a'ntse'man te'wanan a'teak̄a  
 te'kwi
- 30 lu'k̄a yā'ton'e  
 kes hał'tokwin te''teik̄a  
 a'k̄a ʔo''na lon a'wona-e'latek̄a.—  
 —haiyi'  
 ma' e't ʔo le'sna ʔeyepte
- 35 ʔom hon i'tcemana'we.  
 ʔo'man lon te'likinan a'leaiye  
 ʔo'man hon lo'' a'leaiye  
 ʔo'man hon ha'la wo'tinan a'le-  
 aiye.—  
 —ma' le'sna te''onak̄a
- 40 hoł i'naḡw an u'lo'nakwi a'nak̄a  
 ho' ʔe'nan kwai''ik̄ā.  
 a'k̄āp a'winaḡw a'wan tse''mak-  
 win a'k̄a  
 ho''na'wan tea te'cukwai''ina'we
- 45 ho''na'wan wo' te'cukwai''ina'we  
 a'winaḡw a'wan tse''makwin a'k̄a  
 yam i'yanikinan'e  
 u'naḡani'ya'nan  
 hon a'ntse'man a'ni'na'we.—
- 50 —haiyi'  
 ma' i'mat tom hon i'tcemana'-  
 wapte  
 ʔo' lesna tse'ma  
 la'lhok' hon a'papa  
 ʔi'na'wan'ona
- 55 ai'yu'ya'napci—  
 —e'h  
 ma' le'haʔa  
 le' ʔi'ma-te'mla  
 ho' ya'cu wa te'łakuḡa.—

60 THE GOD: Well, the one who is my  
elder brother,  
The one who stays at Long House  
Top,

Does he know?

THE MAN: Yes, at a time when he  
knows it I pass you on your  
road.

THE GOD: The one at Echo's abid-  
ing place, does he know?

THE MAN: Yes, even when he knows,  
I have passed you on your road.

65 THE GOD: The one who stays Where  
the rainbow bends over,  
Does he know?

THE MAN: At a time when he knows,  
I have passed you on your road.

THE GOD: Those yonder, where all  
talk together,

Do they know?

THE MAN: Yes, when they already  
know,

70 I have passed you on your road.

THE GOD: Very well. Now, per-  
haps, you have taken thought for  
your good weapons?

THE MAN: Yes, I have taken  
thought.

THE GOD: Very well,

75 Our father, our child,  
You shall set your mind to be a  
man.

Truly you shall not be alone.

Perhaps all your fathers,

80 In all their different abiding places,  
Are in agreement.

THE MAN: Now this night,

My prayer meal,

My shell,

85 My corn pollen,

My sparkling paint,

My red paint,

My water roll,<sup>9</sup>

You have taken.

90 If you let me know how the world  
will be

How the days will be

That I shall always remember.

60 —ma' co' pap i'li te'ona

te'alán ta'cana i'n'ona ai'yu'ya-  
naci.—

—e'h. ai'yu'ya'nakwi tóh ho'  
o'na-e'latekã.—

—te'cimik i'm'ona ai'yu'yanaci.—

—e'h. ai'yu'ya'nakwinte tóh ho'  
o'na-e'latekã.—

65 —a'mitolan te'po'ulan te'onac

ai'yu'ya'na—

—ai'yu'ya'n'kwi

tóh ho' o'na-e'latekã.—

—la'thok<sup>9</sup> le'w an ya'cuwa i'pifo

ai'yu'ya'naβaci.

—ma' ai'yu'ya'nakwi

70 tó' lo a'wona-e'latekã.—

—ma' honkwa'ati'

ma' i'me' tó inasnan kó'kei a'ntse-  
'makã—

—ma' ho' a'ntse'makã—

—ma' ho'nkwa'ati'

75 ho'na'wan ta'teu  
ho'na'wan tca'le  
tó o'tsin tse'makuna  
a'tic tó sa'm'a te'kãnan tse'na  
i'me' le'wi tona a'tateu

80 ti'na-te'mla  
ya'nselionaye.—

—ma' lu'kã te'ñinan'e

ho'man ha'lawo'tinan'e

ho'man lo'o

85 ho'man o'nean'e

ho'man tsu'haβa

ho'man a'hoko

ho'man kã'cima βo'n'e

tón i'feana

90 hól kó'n u'lo'nan te'atun'ona

kó'n hól te'wanan te'atun'ona

hom ton yu'ya'fãna-waβa

u's ai'yu'ya'na

ho' te'wanan te'kãna.

<sup>9</sup> The cigarette.



He goes off a little way, and sitting down waits for an omen. The four messengers return at the same time to the ceremonial house and report what they have seen. Plans are made according to the divinations.

#### PRAYERS OF THE SCALP DANCE

Whenever an enemy is killed the slayer, if not already a member of the bow priesthood or one of the other two warrior societies, the Hunters (Saniaġākwe) or the Cactus Society (Kocikwe), must immediately join the bow priesthood to protect himself from the malevolence of the slain enemy. The initiation takes place in the course of the scalp dance which is held to celebrate the victory.

The purpose of the scalp dance is twofold. First, to purify the scalper from the contaminating contact with the dead and make him safe for human association and by placing him under the protection of the war gods, through membership in their cult, the bow priesthood, save him from pursuit by the ghost; the second purpose is to propitiate the dead enemy, strip him of his power for evil, and turn to good account his potentialities as a rain maker. This propitiation of the scalp is primarily the office of the scalp chief, who also retains guardianship of the scalps reposing in the scalp house.

Accompanying these important secret rites of purification and propitiation are the great public festivities. Throughout the twelve days of the ceremony unrestrained merrymaking accompanied by sexual license is indulged in by young and old of both sexes. These three strands run side by side, all culminating in the great ceremonies of the final day.

The order of events in this long and elaborate ritual has been described in the accounts by Mrs. Stevenson<sup>10</sup> and Doctor Parsons<sup>11</sup> with varying emphasis on the different aspects, according to the affiliation of the informants.

For convenience in reading the following prayers the events may be briefly summarized.

The returning war party camps overnight outside the village. At dawn four men chosen to announce their return ride toward the village uttering their war cry. They are met by the scalp chief, who inquires concerning the exploits of the war party.

During the day the scalp chief secretes the scalp at a distance from the village in a diminutive shelter of brush. The scalper and his "elder brother," the member of the bow priesthood who has "caught" the novice, take turns in watching over it. Toward evening they go through a sham conflict and take the scalp, bringing it to a place on the plain where *pekwin* has prepared an altar. Here they are met

<sup>10</sup> Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 578.

<sup>11</sup> Scalp Ceremonial at Zuñi.

by men and women appointed to take part in the coming ceremonies, the priests, the scalp chief, the bow priesthood, the Ant Society, the guardians of war bundles, and the male populace. There is ceremonial smoking by all present. Prayer sticks are planted by the scalper in a near-by ant hill, and many songs are sung and prayers offered. Finally the scalp is placed on the foot of the aunt of the scalper, who kicks it four times. Encircling the village four times, in counterclockwise circuit, the party goes in. The scalp is set upon a tall pole in the plaza amid general rejoicings, and the period of festivity is announced first by pekwin and then by the bow priest.

The scalper goes into retreat in the ceremonial house of the bow priests. For four days he eats no meat or grease or any hot food. He sits away from the fire, sleeps little, does not speak, and is untouchable. He drinks emetics and goes out each morning to pray for deliverance from the scalp. He must also observe the sexual taboos placed upon the widowed.<sup>12</sup> The woman who brought in the scalp must also observe all these taboos. The days are spent in preparation for the final ceremonies.

On the fifth day the scalp is washed by two men appointed for this purpose. Thus is the enemy received into the company of the rain makers who live in the scalp house. Meanwhile the public festivities have begun. There are public dances each day, two selected groups performing on alternate days, while at night young and old of both sexes dance about the scalp pole.

About the sixth day a man of the Deer clan and a man of the Bear clan start work on the images of the gods of war. On the twelfth night these and all their paraphernalia are taken into the house of the bow priests. Here, in an all-night ceremony, the novice is finally taken into their company to share their supernatural prerogatives, including the special protection of the gods of war.

The following day is the "great dance." The images of the gods of war, the various war bundles, and the chief priestly bundles are set up on an altar in the plaza, behind which sit all the high officials of the Zuñi hierarchy. Throughout the day various dancers take turns in dancing before this altar. Toward evening the bow priests sing the songs given them at the institution of their society by the gods of war.

After this the altar is demolished and the meal painting obliterated. The sacred bundles are returned to the houses where they are kept. The images of the gods of war are taken to their houses by members of the bow priesthood, and next day carried to appropriate shrines (not the ones that are visited during the winter solstice). Late at night the scalp is removed from the pole by the scalp chief and deposited by him in the scalp house, with special prayers for protection in his dangerous office.

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<sup>12</sup> See p. 632.

The following prayers represent but the least fragment of this complex ritual. They deal almost entirely with the office of scalp chief; that is, the propitiation of the scalp. They were dictated by an old man, a son of a former scalp chief, now deceased.

At dawn the scalp chief meets four men who announce the return of the war party: <sup>13</sup>

- |                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Now, neglecting your children,<br>Neglecting your wives,<br>Yonder into the country of the<br>enemy<br>You made your road go forth. | ma' ton yam tca'-teḡālaena<br>o'ye-teḡālaena<br>lehok <sup>a</sup> i'naḡw anu'lo'nakwi                                                            |
| 5 Perhaps one of the enemy,<br>Even one who thought himself<br>virile,<br>Under a shower of arrows,<br>A shower of war clubs,       | ton o'neal a'ḡānapkā.<br>5 i'me' i'nakwe te'ona<br>o'tsina ya'ntse'ma'ente<br>i'nakwe te'ona<br>ko'wi co'-li'tekwanel'a<br>ko'wi ḡa-li'tekwanel'a |
| 10 With bloody head,<br>One of the enemy,<br>Reached the end of his life.<br>Our fathers,<br>Beast bow priests,                     | 10 ko'wi ce'mḡaia<br>i'nakwe te'ona<br>ḡe'kohanan pa'ttoḡa<br>hon a'tate i'laḡona<br>we'ma' a'ḡi'la'ciwan'i                                       |
| 15 Took from the enemy,<br>His water-filled covering. <sup>14a</sup><br>Now you will tell us of that,                               | 15 i'nakwe te'ona<br>ḡā'cima ḡo''yan ai'yonapḡā<br>ḡe'wuna' u'son ho''na ton ai'yu'ya-<br>ḡāna'wa<br>u'son ai'yu'ya'na<br>hon ḡe'wanan a'teḡān-a  |
| And knowing that we shall live.                                                                                                     | 20 hatei'                                                                                                                                         |
| 20 Is it not so?                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                   |

The four announcers reply:

- |                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Indeed it is so.<br>Neglecting our children,<br>Neglecting our wives,<br>Yonder into the enemy's country            | ma' i'na mi'tte<br>hon yam tca'-teḡālaena<br>yam o'ye-teḡālaena<br>le'hok <sup>a</sup> i'nakwan u'lo'nakwi      |
| 25 We made our road go forth.<br>Indeed it is so.<br>We started out.<br>We went.<br>Yonder at Rock Cave we arrived. | 25 hon o'neal a'ḡānapkā<br>ma'i'na mi'tte<br>hon u'kwe'ḡā.<br>hon a'wa'ḡā.<br>lakw a'mekuliakwi hon a'te'teina. |
| 30 There we spent the night.<br>Early next day we arose.                                                            | 30 hon i'sḡon a'wanḡewaḡā<br>ḡe'wap ca'mli<br>hon lu'walemakna<br>hon a'wa'ḡā<br>ḡānaituna'kwi                  |
| We went on.<br>At Ox-Eye-Place                                                                                      |                                                                                                                 |

<sup>13</sup> Twenty-third Ann Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 579.

<sup>14a</sup> ḡācima ḡo''yanre, the scalp. The usual ceremonial appellation.

## 35 We arrived.

There we spent the night.  
Next day we went on.

Yonder at Cattail Spring we arrived.  
There, when we arrived at their  
camp site,  
We attacked them.  
There this one,  
(And one of the enemy)  
Fought together. . . .

## 35 hon a'te'tcina

i'skon hon a'wanfewakā  
te'wap hon a'wakā  
lak<sup>a</sup> to'olelakānakwi hon a'te'-  
tcina  
i'skon ti'nakwi  
40 hon a'te'tcina  
i'skon hon ya'nte'unapkā  
i'skon lu'kon i'wiyattoḡā. . . .

(The account breaks off here. The informant lacked imagination to continue the narrative of the exploits of the war party.)

In the evening the scalp is brought into the village.<sup>14</sup> At the close of the ceremonies on the plain the scalp chief deposits in an excavation between two mounds of bread which he collected earlier in the day at the houses of the priests. The offering is specifically to the slain Navaho.

This day  
Into the corn priests' <sup>15</sup> country,  
You will make your road enter.  
With the fruit of the corn priests'  
labor

5 You will add to your heart.<sup>16</sup>

So that if any of the corn priests'  
ladder descending children  
Should by mistake cut off your  
road,<sup>17</sup>

No evil consequence <sup>18</sup> may come to  
him because of it.

## 10 And furthermore,

You who are my grandfather,  
Male turkey,<sup>19</sup>  
Weakening the enemies' hearts,

You will remain here always.

## 15 So that your children,

Their breath drifting hither only,  
When they attain their house,  
They will make their roads come  
in.<sup>20</sup>

Longing for them

## 20 You will live.

To this end, add to your hearts.

lu'kā yā'ton'e  
to'wa ci'wan an u'lo'nakwi  
to' o'neala kwa'toḡān-a  
to'waci'wan'an yu'mokwe'nan a'kā

## 5 to' i'wiḡe'na te'liana a'kā

le to'wa ci'wan an le'tsilon paninan  
tea'we  
hol teu'wa to'miyaena  
to'man o'neal aptsifa  
kwa ak' i'yatonan te'am'eḡāna

## 10 le'stikleaḡa

tom ho' nan i'li ho'tolo'waci

a'winakwe  
a'wiḡe'na la'tapiḡāna  
to' i'mita'kuna.

## 15 a'kā to'na'wan tea'we

ḡā'tem te''tei  
ai'yupi'la'na yam he'cot'a o'ka-  
napka te'kwi  
o'neala kwa'toḡāna  
i'ya'hawaḡāna

## 20 ton a'teḡān-a

fewuna' i'ḡe'na te'liana'we.

<sup>14</sup> See Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 581.

<sup>15</sup> The priests, hence Zuñi.

<sup>16</sup> He offers bread cooked in the houses of the priests.

<sup>17</sup> Cross their road while they encircle the village.

<sup>18</sup> i'yatonan'e, literally, an exchange, especially bad dreams or hallucinations—the usual means whereby supernaturals punish the breaches of mortals—provided, always, proper precautions are not taken.

<sup>19</sup> Wing feathers of the male turkey, which had lain on the meal painting, are deposited in the hole with the food. Turkey feathers are used on prayer sticks for the dead.

<sup>20</sup> May more of the enemy be killed and brought in thus.

After the scalp has been set up in the plaza the pekwin addresses the people:

- |                                                |                                            |
|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| Now this day                                   | ma' lu'kã yã'ton'e                         |
| This many of the children of the corn priests, | le' to'wa ci'wan an tea'we                 |
| Neglecting their children,                     | yam tea'-te'kãlacna                        |
| Neglecting their wives,                        | o'y-te'kãlacna                             |
| 5 Went out yonder into the enemy's country.    | 5 lehok <sup>21</sup> i'nakwan 'u'lo'nakwi |
| Then suddenly, one of the enemy,               | ke'e'e'e'e't i'nakwe te''ona               |
| Even one who stayed quietly in his hut,        | yam ha'cote'cina                           |
| 10 Even one who thought himself a man,         | yu'la'k i'mla'kãpte                        |
| In a shower of arrows,                         | i'nakwe te''ona                            |
| In a shower of stones,                         | 10 o'tsina ya'ntse'mante                   |
| In a shower of war clubs,                      | k'wi co'-li'tekwanel'a                     |
| With bloody head,                              | ko'w a'-litekwanel'a                       |
| 15 The enemy                                   | ko'wi ta-litekwanel'a                      |
| Reached the end of his life.                   | ko'wi ce'mkãia                             |
| The ones who are our fathers,                  | 15 i'nakwe te''ona                         |
| Beast bow priests,                             | te'kohanan pa'hou'pa                       |
| With their claws,                              | hon a'tate i'la'pona                       |
| 20 Tore from the enemy                         | we'ma a'pi'la'ciwan'i                      |
| His water-filled covering.                     | yam sa'wani'k a'kã                         |
| Into the country of the corn priests           | 20 i'nakwe te''ona                         |
| The enemy made his road enter.                 | kã'cima po''yan ai'yona-wa'pa              |
| 25 Four times encircling the town,             | i'nakwa te''ona                            |
|                                                | to'wa ci'wan an ulo'nakwi                  |
|                                                | o'neala kwa'to'kãana                       |
|                                                | 25 a'witel'a'ma                            |
|                                                | o'neal u'lapkãana                          |
|                                                | to'wa ci'wan an kã'cima te'wi-to-kwi       |
| The corn priests water-filled court            | o'neala kwa'to'kãana                       |
| He made his road enter,                        | to'wa ci'wan an kã'cima te'' wita          |
| In the corn priests' water-filled court        |                                            |
| 30 Setting him up,                             | 30 ye'liato'u'pa                           |
| When his days are made,                        | a'n te'wanan yo''a'pa                      |
| Eagerly you shall await his time.              | an te'wanan a'ntsume'na                    |
|                                                | ton te'wanan a'te'kãna                     |
|                                                | hol i'nakw an te'mla te'wakã               |
| When all the enemy's days are passed,          | te'a'ana                                   |
| 35 When those who are our fathers,             | 35 hon a'tate i'la'pona                    |
| Rain maker priests,                            | u'wanam a'ciwani                           |
| With their fresh waters                        | yam kã'cima tei'm'on a'kã                  |
| Have sprinkled the enemy, <sup>21</sup>        | i'nakwe te''ona                            |
|                                                | kã'lina-wapa                               |
| 40 Whenever his day is made,                   | 40 hol yam te'wana yo''a'pa                |
| Tirelessly unwearied                           | pu'a'aconici                               |
|                                                | o'ntia'u'lonici                            |
| You shall pass the time.                       | ton te'wanan a'te'kãana                    |
| For indeed, the enemy,                         | he'kice't i'nakwe te''ona                  |

<sup>21</sup> The washing of the scalp on the fifth day.

45 Even though he was without value,  
Notwithstanding he was a being  
of this kind—

Yet he was a water being;  
He was a seed being.

50 Desiring the enemy's waters

Desiring his seeds  
Desiring his wealth  
Eagerly you shall await his day.

55 Whenever his days are made,  
Throughout the days,  
Throughout the nights,  
Tirelessly, unwearied,

60 You shall live.  
Indeed, even though you ache from  
singing,  
Even though you fain would sleep,  
In order to win the enemy's waters,

65 His seeds,  
His wealth,  
His power,  
His strong spirit,  
To win these.

70 Throughout the nights  
Throughout the days,  
Tirelessly, unwearied

You shall live.  
Then indeed, if we are lucky,  
To some little corner  
Where the dust lies thick,  
(You will steal away.)  
In order to procreate sturdy <sup>22</sup> men  
And sturdy women,

Tirelessly you will live.

To procreate strong males,  
To procreate sturdy females,

85 To be the ones toward your  
thoughts may bend,  
Eager for this,  
You will keep the days.  
For indeed, the enemy,  
Even though on rubbish <sup>23</sup>

45 kwa'mastapī a'kū  
ho''i ya'kātaptē

kācim ho''i te'a'kū  
to'wacōnan ho''i te'a'kū  
i'nakwe te'ona

50 an kāk'cim a'ntecemana  
an to'wacōnan a'ntecemana  
an u'tenan a'ntecemana  
a'nīsume'na  
ton te'wanan a'tekāna.

55 hol yam an te'wanan yo'a'pa  
yā'to'we  
to'lina'we  
pu'a'aconici  
o'ntia'uhunici

60 ton a'tekāna  
he'kīcet te'neap-u'apte

a'liak' a'liteapte  
i'nakwe te'ona  
an kāk'cima

65 an to'wacōnan'e  
an u'tenan'e  
an sa'wani'kū  
an tse'makwin tsu'me  
o'kānakwi

70 to'lina'we  
yā'to'we  
pu'a'aconici  
o'ntia'uhunici  
ton a'tekāna.

75 ho'nkwe't hon a'halowila'pa  
ko'wi po'teeyo ya'hona  
ko'w he'ekopa'isa'na

o'tsi ya'sute  
o'kū ya'sute

80 i'to'tun'on a'kū  
pu'a'aconici  
ton a'tekāna

hol o'tsia i'toha'pa  
o'kū ya'sut i'toha'pa

85 i'skon tse'mak- te'lakwi yam a'-  
teatun'ona'kū  
a'nīsume'na  
ton te'wanan a'tekāna.  
he'kīcet i'nakwe te'ona  
kwa'hamackon a'kū

<sup>22</sup> Children conceived at this time are under the special protection of the gods of war, and are therefore especially strong.

<sup>23</sup> The Navajos have no cultivated crops.



- 90 He lived and grew to maturity,  
By virtue of the corn priests' rain  
prayers  
(He becomes valuable;)  
Indeed, the enemy,  
Though in his life
- 95 He was a person given to falsehood,  
  
He has become one to fortell  
How the world will be,  
How the days will be.  
That during his time,
- 100 We may have good days,  
Beautiful days,  
  
Hoping for this,  
We shall keep his days.
- 105 Indeed, if we are lucky,  
During the enemy's time  
Fine rain caressing the earth,  
Heavy rain caressing the earth,  
(We shall win.)
- 110 When the enemy's days are in  
progress,  
The enemy's waters,  
We shall win,  
His seeds we shall win,  
His riches we shall win,  
His power,
- 115 His strong spirit,  
His long life,  
His old age,  
In order to win these,
- 120 Tirelessly, unwearied,  
We shall pass his days.  
Now, indeed, the enemy,  
Even one who thought himself a  
man,  
In a shower of arrows,
- 125 In a shower of war clubs,  
With bloody head,  
The enemy,  
Reaching the end of his life,
- 130 Added to the flesh of our earth  
mother.  
Beast bow priests,  
With their claws,  
Tore from the enemy  
His water-filled covering.
- 90 ho'i ya''ente  
to'wa ci'wan an ƛä'cima ƛe'yen  
a'kä  
  
he'kfe't i'nakwe te'ona  
fe'kohanana  
kwa'hol yo'sekänaä  
95 ho'i te'kä'ente  
ko'n u'lo'nan te'atun'ona  
ko'na fe'wana te'atun'ona  
ho'i yo'kä  
hol an fe'wanan-a  
100 yä'ton ƛo'kei  
yä'ton tso'ya  
fe'wanan te'atun'ona  
u'son a'nŋsume'na  
hon te'wanan a'teƛän'a.  
105 ho'nkwe't hon a'halowilaƛa  
hol i'nakwan te'wanana  
ko'wi ƛä'ŋsana li'ton-te'lakwi  
ko'wi ƛälan li'ton-te'lakwi  
  
hol an fe'wanan te'aƛa  
  
110 i'nakwe te'ona  
hon an ƛäcim o'ƛäna'wa  
hon an to'wacanan o'ƛäna'wa  
hon an u'tenan o'ƛäna'we  
an sa'wanikä  
115 an tse''makwin ŋsu'me  
an o'naya'nakä  
an la'ciaä  
o'ƛänaäkä  
pu'a'aconici  
120 o'nta'uhunici  
hon te'wanan a'teƛän'a  
he'kfe't i'nakwe te'ona  
o'tsina ya'ntse'ma'ente  
  
ko'wi co'-li'tekwanel-a  
125 ko'wi ƛa-li'telwanel-a  
ko'wi ce'mƛäla  
i'nakwe te'ona  
fe'kohanana pa'tto'na  
ho'na'wan a'witelin tsi'ta  
130 ci'na te'lia'upa  
we'ma a'pi'la-ci'wan'i  
yam sa'wanik' a'kä  
i'nakwe te'ona  
an ƛä'cima ƛo''yan ai'yona'waƛa

135 Then the enemy  
 Into the corn priests' country  
 Made his road enter.  
 Now shout!  
 O- -----,  
 Again—  
 O- -----,  
 Again—  
 O- -----,  
 Once more—  
 O- -----,  
 Pu-hu hu  
 Huh hu  
 We- -----.

135 i'nakwe te'ona  
 fo'wa ci'wan an u'lo'nakwi  
 o'neala kwa'to'kākā  
 te'wuma' we'ana-we'  
 o -  
 te'ya  
 o -  
 te'ya  
 o -  
 ainate  
 o -  
 p'u hu hum hu hum we-----

The elder brother bow priest addresses the people in the same vein. Then the scalp chief offers to the scalp a handful of bread saved from his earlier offering.

Now, this day  
 That you have been set up  
 In the corn priests' rain-filled court,  
 All the children of the corn priest  
 5 Will be dancing for you.  
 All the children of the corn priest  
 Will pass you on your road.  
 They will add to your heart.  
 10 Should anyone by mistake touch  
 you  
 May no evil consequence befall him  
 because of it.  
 With this fruit of the corn priests'  
 labor  
 Add to your heart.  
 Your long life,  
 15 Your old age,  
 Your waters,  
 Your seeds.  
 Grant them.  
 To cleanse the thoughts  
 20 Of whoever has angry thoughts,  
 For this you will stand up here.

ma' lu'kā yā'ton'e  
 fo'wa ci'wan an ākcima te''wito'a  
 fo' ye'liato'una  
 le' fo'wa ci'wan an tea'we  
 5 fo'ma ta'ina a'te'kāna  
 le' fo'wa ci'wan an tea'we  
 tom o'na-e'latena'wa  
 tom i'ke'na te'liana'wa  
 hot teu'wa tomiaana  
 10 tom a'ipitina  
 kwa i'yatonan te'amekāna  
 fo'wa ci'wan an yu'mokwēnan  
 a'ka  
 i'ke'n i'teliana.  
 yam o'naya'na'ka  
 15 yam la'cia'ka  
 yam kākā'cima  
 yam fo'wacōnan'e  
 fo' ya'nhaiten-a  
 hot teu'wa tse''makwi sa'mu tea'-  
 kowa  
 20 hon tse''makwi: fo'keunakwi  
 to e'lato'kāna.

After four days the scalp is washed at any spring outside the town or in the river. Care is taken that the water used for the washing does not flow back into the river to bring death to those who drink of it. The scalp washer bites the scalp to get the power of the beast gods. "He acts like an animal," and therefore he does not need, in order to save his life, to observe the taboos generally required by contaminating contact with the dead. Prayer sticks are planted before the ceremony. At the conclusion the bowl is broken and cast away

and offerings of food are thrown about on the ground. During the ceremony of washing, the choir sings new songs made for the occasion and the scalp washer prays:

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Now this day<br/>Our sun father,<br/>Having come out standing<br/>To his sacred place,<br/>A little space yet remains<br/>Ere he goes in to sit down at his<br/>other sacred place.<br/>Now four times raising our niece,<sup>24</sup></p> | <p>ma' lu'kã yã ton'e<br/>hon yã'tokã tate i'laß a'te'ona<br/>yam te'lacinakwi<br/>ye'lana kwai'ikãna<br/>5 yam to'pakã te'lacinakwi<br/>i'muna kwa'tokatun te'kwi<br/>ko'w a'nte'wetcikwi<br/>yam e'ye te'ona<br/>a'witela'ma</p> |
| <p>10 And making her stand up,<br/>Her road going first,<br/>Hither with prayers,<br/>We have made our road come forth.<br/>Here, near by, our fathers,</p>                                                                                   | <p>10 a'na-e'lemañãna<br/>yam o'neal e'kwikona<br/>ñã'lhok' te'wus a'kã<br/>hon o'neal a'ñanapã<br/>lo'kwi le'wi te'a'a</p>                                                                                                        |
| <p>15 Rain maker bow priests,<br/>Where your watery road comes<br/>forth,<br/>Where you are waiting,<br/>We have passed you on your road.<br/>We have offered you plume wands.</p>                                                            | <p>15 hon a'tate i'laßona<br/>u'wanam a'pi'la'ci'wan'i<br/>yam ñacim o'neal kwai'ina<br/><br/>co'kya'kwi ton a'wona-e'latena<br/><br/>ton te'lekinan a'leañãpa</p>                                                                 |
| <p>20 Taking your plume wands,<br/>With them you will take firm hold<br/>Of the enemy's water-filled covering.</p>                                                                                                                            | <p>20 te'likinan i'leana<br/>i'nakwe te'ona<br/>an ñã'cima ðo'yan'e<br/>ya'tena-tsu'meñãna<br/>yam ñã'cima tei'm'on a'kã</p>                                                                                                       |
| <p>With your fresh water<br/>25 You will sprinkle him.<br/>Then again, if your hands go first,<br/>Our hands following,<br/>We shall meet no evil consequence.<sup>25</sup><br/>You who are our fathers,</p>                                  | <p>25 ton ñã'lin'a<br/>tem ta to'na'wan a'si e'kwi'kona<br/>hon a'was-yã'lu'kona<br/>kwa i'yatonan te'ameñãna<br/>ton hon a'tate i'laßa</p>                                                                                        |
| <p>30 Rain maker bow priests,<br/>Ñalawan-i,<br/>Tsiñãhaya,<br/>Kupictaya<br/>Beast bow priests,</p>                                                                                                                                          | <p>30 u'wanam a'pi'la'ci'wan'i<br/>ñã'lawan'i<br/>tsi'ñahaiya<br/>ku'pictaiya<br/>we'ma a'pi'la'ci'wan'i</p>                                                                                                                       |
| <p>35 By virtue of your thoughts<br/>The enemy<br/>Reached the end of his life.<br/>When with your clear water<br/>You have sprinkled the enemy,</p>                                                                                          | <p>35 to'na'wan tse'makwin a'kã<br/>hol i'nakwe te'kohanan pa'to'kã.<br/><br/>yam ñã'cim a'kã<br/>i'nakwe te'ona<br/>ton ñã'lina'waßa</p>                                                                                          |

<sup>24</sup> Brothers' daughter; i. e., the scalp. The rite of head washing is always performed by the paternal aunt. No explanation is given for inversion of sex.

<sup>25</sup> That is, from contact with the scalp.

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| <p>40 When into the corn priests' country<br/>He has brought his road,<br/>When in the corn priests' water-filled court<br/>He has been set up,<br/>All the corn priests' children</p> <p>45 With the song sequences of the fathers,<br/>Will be dancing for him.<br/>And whenever all his days are past,<br/><br/>Then a good day,<br/>50 A beautiful day,<br/>A day filled with great shouting,<br/>With great laughter,<br/>A good day,<br/>With us, your children,<br/>55 You will pass.<br/>Thus the corn priests' children<br/>Winning your power,<br/>Winning your strong spirit,<br/>Will come to evening.<br/>To this end, my fathers,<br/>60 Now let us take hold of our niece.</p> | <p>40 ʔo'wa ci'wan an u'lo'nakwi<br/>o'neal a'ḡāna<br/>ʔo'wa ci'wan an ḡā'cima ʔe''witona<br/><br/>ye'liato'uḡa<br/>ʔo'wa ci'wan an tea'we</p> <p>45 yam a'tatcu<br/>a'wan i'picienan ʔe'na-pi''lan a'ḡā<br/>ta'lna a'ḡeḡāna<br/>ho'an ḡā'ḡā ʔe'mla ʔe'waḡa tea''-ana<br/>yā'ton ḡo'kei<br/>50 yā'ton tso''ya<br/>ko'wi we'ana la'na<br/>ko'wi ci'kwi la'na<br/>yā'ton ḡo'kei<br/>ho'na ton tea'wilaḡa<br/>55 ʔe'wanan a'ḡeḡāna<br/>a'ḡa ʔo'wa ci'wan an tea'we sa'wa-<br/>niḡ' oḡānaḡāna<br/>tse''makwin tsum o'ḡānaḡāna<br/>su'nhaḡāna'wa<br/>ʔe'wuna' hom a'tatcu<br/>60 yam e'ye ʔe''ona<br/>hon ya'ḡenapce ḡe'si.</p> |
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After the dancing of the last day the scalp chief takes down the scalp. He and his associates remain in hiding on the outskirts of the village until midnight. Then they proceed singing to the scalp house. Each has under his tongue several grains of black corn to prevent pursuit by the ghost.<sup>26</sup> The scalp chief places the scalp in the jar in the scalp house and prays:

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
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| <p>Now this many are the days<br/>Since the enemy<br/>Reached the end of his life.<br/>Our fathers,<br/>5 Those who hold the high places,<br/>Beast bow priests,<br/>Tore from the enemy<br/>His water-filled covering.<br/>Into the corn priests' country,<br/>They made his road enter.<br/>10 And in the corn priests' water-filled court<br/>Standing him up,<br/>They made his days.<br/>This many are the days.<br/>And when the set number of days<br/>had all been counted up,</p> | <p>ma' le'si ʔe'wanan'e<br/>i'nakwe ʔe''ona<br/>ʔe'ḡohanan pa'ḡtoḡa<br/>hon a'tate i'laḡona<br/>5 ʔe'alan i'laḡona<br/>we'ma a'pi'la'ciwani<br/>i'naḡw an ḡā'cin ḡo''yan ai'yo-<br/>na'waḡa<br/>ʔo'wa ci'wan an u'lo'nakwi<br/>o'neala kwa'toḡāna<br/>10 ʔo'wa ci'wan an ḡā'cima ʔe'wito<br/><br/>ye'liato'na<br/>ʔe'wanan a'caḡa<br/>le'si ʔe'wanan'e<br/>an ʔe'wanan ai'yālenan a'tea'ḡa<br/>ʔe'a'ana</p> |
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<sup>26</sup> Compare with use of black corn to bring forgetfulness of dead relatives.

- 15 Way back, when all these days had  
past,  
The ones who are our fathers,  
Rain maker priests,  
With their clear water  
Took firm hold of him.<sup>27</sup>
- 20 Again in the corn priests' court  
Setting him up, they made his  
days.  
This many days  
The corn priests' children
- 25 With their fathers' song sequences  
Have consumed in dancing.  
Then yesterday,  
When the number of their days  
was at an end,  
Those who are our fathers,
- 30 The two who hold the high places,<sup>28</sup>  
With their elder brothers' plume  
wands,  
Their prayer feathers,  
Their shells,  
In these wrapping themselves they  
renewed their human form.<sup>29</sup>
- 35 Holding their world,  
Holding their people fast,  
Sitting down quietly,  
With us their children  
After a blessed night<sup>30</sup>  
They came to day.
- 40 This very day  
When he who is our sun father,  
Coming out standing to his sacred  
place  
Passed us on our roads,
- 45 Saying, let it be now,  
Those who are our fathers,  
The ones that first had being,<sup>31</sup>  
Came out standing  
Into the daylight of their sun  
father.  
Near by, in the corn priests' court,  
Our two fathers,  
The ones who hold the high places,  
With all their sacred things
- 15 loḱwan te'mla te'waḱā te'a'ana  
hon a'tate i'laḱona  
u'wanam a'ciwan'i  
yam ḱā'eim a'ḱā  
ya'tena-tsu'meḱāna'waḱa  
20 to'wa ci'wan an te'twito'a  
ye'liato'na' te'wanan a'caḱa  
le'si te'wanan'e  
to'wa ci'wan an tea'we  
yam a'tatcu  
25 a'wan i'piclenan tena-pi'lan a'ḱā  
ta'ina a'teaka te'a'ana  
te'cukwa yā'ton'e  
ḱes an te'wanan i'te'tcaḱa  
hon a'tcia tate i'laḱa  
30 te'alan i'lon a'tei  
yam a'papon te'liḱinan'e  
a'wa la'cowan'e  
a'wan lo' aḱā  
a'te i'pa'una tci'm'on ho'i-ya'-  
ḱāna  
35 yam u'lo'nan ya'tena  
yam ho'i ya'tena-tsu'meḱāna  
a'te i'me-la'kuna  
te'linan ḱo'kei  
ho' tea'wilap a'wan'ewaka  
40 tei'mte yā'ton'e  
hon yā'toḱā tate i'laḱ a'te'ona  
yam te'lacinakwi  
ye'wana kwai'iḱāḱa  
hon a'wona-e'lateḱa  
45 hot ḱā'ḱi ḱe'si' le'anaḱāḱa  
hon a'tate i'laḱona  
tei'miḱanapkona  
yam yā'toḱā ta'teu  
an te'kohanankwi  
50 i'luwakna kwai'ina  
la'lik to'wa ci'wan an te'li'tokwi  
hon a'tcia tate i'laḱ a'te'ona  
te'alan i'lon a'tei  
yam e'leteli-we a'wili

<sup>27</sup> The washing of the scalp.<sup>28</sup> The gods of war. The allusion is to the making of the images.<sup>29</sup> The completion of the images.<sup>30</sup> In the house of the bow priests.<sup>31</sup> The sacred war bundles, and the bundle of the chief priesthood.

- 55 Made their roads enter.  
Yonder from all sides,  
Those who are our fathers,  
All the water bringing birds,  
Ėkwins, priests,<sup>22</sup>
- 60 Made their roads come forth.  
They made their roads come  
hither.  
With his hand,  
With his heart  
His fathers' cloud house he fash-  
ioned,<sup>23</sup>  
Their mist blanket he spread out,  
Their life-giving road he sent  
forth,  
Their perfect spring he prepared;  
Then our two fathers,  
Those who hold the high places,  
With their house chiefs,<sup>24</sup>
- 70 Their Ėkwins,  
Holding all their sacred things  
Sitting down quietly  
Throughout a blessed day,  
With us, their children, they came  
to evening.
- 75 When the one who is our sun father  
Had gone in to sit down at his  
sacred place,  
And our night fathers,  
Our night mothers,
- 80 Night priests,  
Slowly rising to their sacred place,  
  
Had passed us on our roads,  
We passed you on your road.
- 85 You, Navaho priests,<sup>25</sup> have died.  
Truly during your lives  
You dealt falsely,  
Although that was your nature in  
life,
- 55 o'neala kwa'toġāpa  
la'lhok' le'si tekwi  
hon a'ate ilaġona  
ġācina wo'we ġe'kwi' a'ciwan'i  
  
o'neala kwai'ileġāna  
60 o'neal i'ġāna  
  
yam a'sin a'ġā  
yam i'ġe'nan a'ġā  
yam a'tate'on a'wan a'weluyan  
ġā'kwe ya'ġāna  
ci'pololon ġewuna  
  
65 o'naya'nak' o'nealan a'ġāna  
ġā'nakwe'nan ya'na ye'lete'una  
hon a'tcia tate i'laġa  
te'alan i'lon a'tei  
yam ġā'wa-mosi  
70 yam ġe'kwi-we  
yam e'leteli-we a'wili  
ate i'me-la'kuna  
yā'ton ko'kei  
hon tca'wilapa su'nhaġānapġā  
  
75 hon yā'toġā tate i'laġona  
yam te'lacinakwi  
i'muna kwa'toġāpa  
hon te'liak' a'tate i'laġona  
hon te'liak' a'tsit i'laġona  
80 te'liak' a'ciwan'i  
yam te'lacinakwi  
ko'w i'luwakna ye'makna  
hon a'wona-e'latena'wāpa  
to'na lon a'wona-e'latenapġā  
85 ton pa'tcu ci'wan'i ya'ce'napġā  
ġe'stce't te'kohanana  
kwa'hol yo'seġānapġā  
ton a'ho' a'teġā'ente

<sup>22</sup> There is only one Ėkwin, but he is the representative or human counterpart of all the summer birds. The translation is unavoidably awkward.

<sup>23</sup> The meal painting on the altar.

<sup>24</sup> ġā'wa-mosi, the first priesthood of the hierarchy.

<sup>25</sup> The inmates of the scalp house.



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| <p>90 Recently, by virtue of the corn<br/>priests water-bringing words,<br/>You have passed one another on<br/>your road.<br/>When you reveal to us <sup>26</sup><br/>How the days will be,<br/>How the world will be,<br/>Knowing that,<br/>We shall pass our days.<br/>To this end, my nieces, <sup>27</sup><br/>Add to your hearts.<br/>So that your people you may waft<br/>hither only,<br/>So that you may speed them<br/>hither,<br/>On this do not fail to fix your<br/>thoughts. <sup>28</sup><br/>This is all.</p> | <p>90 <i>to'wa ci'wan an k̄a'cima pe'yen</i><br/><i>a'k̄a</i><br/><i>ton i'yona-e'latenap̄k̄a</i><br/><br/><i>ko'nhol t̄ewanan te'atun'ona</i><br/><i>ko'nholu'lo'nan te'atun'ona</i><br/><i>ho'na ton ai'yu'ya'k̄ana'waβa.</i><br/>95 <i>u's ai'yu'ya'na</i><br/><i>hon te'wanan a'te'k̄ana</i><br/><i>te'wuna' hom a'weye.</i><br/><i>i'ken i'teliana</i><br/><i>k̄al te'tei</i><br/>100 <i>ai'yupila'na</i><br/><i>i'ya'hawa'kan'a</i><br/><br/><i>et ton te'alt i'yantse'manamtu</i><br/><i>k̄esi</i><br/><i>le'wi.</i></p> |
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He deposits the scalp in the scalp house, replaces the cover and comes back to the village. On his way back he mounts to four housetops, leaving on each a grain of black corn "to make his road dark." At his own house the ladder has been turned upside down. As soon as he has mounted it, it is righted so that the ghost can not follow him up. He comes into the house without speaking, hangs up his blanket and goes right out. Standing on the housetop facing the east, holding in his hands what yet remains of the black corn, he prays:

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| <p>This many are the days<br/>Since our children<br/>Neglecting their little ones,<br/>Neglecting their wives,<br/>5 Yonder into the enemy's country<br/>Made their road go forth.<br/>Presently, even where the enemy<br/>Stayed peacefully in their huts<br/><br/>Our fathers,<br/>10 The ones who hold the high places,<br/>Having commanded the enemy to<br/>be as women,<br/>In a shower of arrows,<br/>A shower of war clubs,<br/>15 With bloody head,<br/>The enemy reached the end of his<br/>life.<br/>Our fathers,<br/>Beast bow priests,</p> | <p><i>ma' le'si te'wanan'e</i><br/><i>ho'na'wan te'ap̄kuna'we</i><br/><i>yam tea'-te'k̄alacna</i><br/><i>yam o'y-te'k̄alacna</i><br/>5 <i>le'hok' i'nakwe an u'lo'nakwi</i><br/><i>o'neal a'k̄anap̄k̄a</i><br/><i>k̄e'c̄eert i'nakwe te'ona</i><br/><i>hol yam ha'c̄ocina yu'la'k̄i t̄i'nan</i><br/><i>la'k̄apte</i><br/><i>hon a'tate i'la'p̄ona</i><br/>10 <i>te'alan i'la'p̄ona</i><br/><i>o'kanakwe ya'n̄he'toena'wapa</i><br/><i>i'nakwe te'ona</i><br/><i>ko'wi co'-li'tekwanel'a</i><br/><i>ko'wi t̄a-li'tekwanel'a</i><br/>15 <i>ko'wi ce'm̄kaia</i><br/><i>i'nakwe te'ona</i><br/><i>te'kohanan pa'tto'pa</i><br/><i>hon a'tate i'la'p̄ona</i><br/><i>we'ma a'pi'la'ci'wan'i</i></p> |
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<sup>26</sup> The scalp chief hopes for some omen at this time.

<sup>27</sup> The scalps.

<sup>28</sup> May we kill more of the enemy and imprison them here to serve our ends.

- 20 With their claws,<sup>39</sup>  
Tearing from him his rain filled  
covering,  
Commanded him to be the one to  
count those who have their  
homes above—  
  
All little sparkling stars.<sup>40</sup>  
  
The enemy,  
30 Having added to the flesh of our  
mother earth,<sup>41</sup>  
  
Hither into the corn priests' coun-  
try,  
He made his road go.  
35 When his road came here to  
Itiwana,  
Our two mothers,  
Taking hold of him fast,  
The country of the corn priests,  
Four times successively encircling  
  
Into the corn priests' rain filled  
court  
Making their roads come in,  
There they set him up.  
His days were made.  
45 When we had lived eagerly await-  
ing his days,  
The rain maker priests,  
With their fresh water,  
  
50 Took firm hold of the enemy.  
Then the days were made  
For those who hold the high places.  
Through all these days,  
Mindful of their days,  
55 You came to the time.  
Then yesterday,  
Our two fathers,  
Those who hold the high places,  
Once more assuming human form,  
60 After a blessed night  
With us their children  
They came to day.  
This day<sup>42</sup>  
When he who is our sun father
- 20 yam sa'wanik' a'kã  
kã'cima po''yan ai'yo'na  
  
li'wan i'yamakwi  
te''wilaß a''te'ona  
tsu'hapa mo'yateu'we  
25 a'wiyalena  
ho''i te'atun'ona  
a'nhe'tocna kãpa  
i'nakwe te''ona  
ho''na'wan tsi'ta  
30 a'witelin'e  
ci''na te'liana  
kã'hok' fo'wa ci'wan an u'lo'-  
nakwi  
o'neal a''kãkã  
li'la i'tiwanakwi  
35 o'neal i'kãpa  
hon a''cia tsit i'laß a''te'ona  
a'tei ya'tena-tsume kãna  
fo'wa ci'wan an u'lo'nakna  
a'witen i'yãlto  
40 o'neal u'lupkãna  
fo'wa ci'wan an kã'ci'ma te''wit-  
i'tiwanakwi  
o'neal kwa'to kãna  
ye'liato'uþa  
an te'wanan yo''aþa  
45 an te'wanan a'n'tsume'na  
hon a''teaka te'kwi  
u'wanam a'ciwan-i  
yam kã'cima tei'm'on a'kã  
i'nakwe te''ona  
50 ya'tena-tsu'me kãna'waþa  
te'alan i'laþona  
a'wan te'wanan yo''aþa  
le'si te'wanan'e  
yam te'wanan a'na' yu''yana  
55 ðon a''teaka tekwi  
te'ekwa yã'ton'e  
hon a''cia tate i'laß a''te'ona  
te'alan i'lon a''tei  
a'tei tei'm'on ho''i-ya'kãna  
60 te'linan ko'kei  
  
hon tea'wilaß a'wan'tewa kã  
lu'kã yã'ton'e  
hon yã'toka tate i'laß a''te'ona

<sup>39</sup> Sa'wanika, any weapon, and abstractly, power.<sup>40</sup> The fallen enemy is left face upward and commanded to count the stars; that is, taunted to do the impossible.<sup>41</sup> His blood fertilizes the earth. Wherever an enemy falls is formed an ant hill—a symbol, probably, of fecundity. Therefore prayer sticks are planted in ant hills, and the Ant Society figures prominently in scalp-dance ceremonies.<sup>42</sup> By this time it is nearly day. The images of the war gods are taken to appropriate shrines, where they replace older ones which are removed and placed on a pile of similar ones behind the shrine.

- 65 Has come out standing to his  
sacred place,  
Saying, let it be now,  
Our two fathers,  
The ones who hold the high places,  
70 Yonder will pass their elder  
brothers on their roads.  
Wherever they pass the divine ones  
on their roads  
Taking their places,  
They will sit down quietly.  
75 Yonder on all the mossy mountain  
tops,  
All about they will have their  
sacred places.  
All the forests  
All the brush  
Being made representatives in  
prayer  
80 That all the corn priests' children  
May hold fast to life;  
That this may be so,  
The divine ones,  
Taking one another's places,  
Sit down quietly.  
85 Holding all their world,  
Holding all their people fast,  
They will sit down quietly.  
And then also these others,<sup>43</sup>  
Asking in prayer for life for their  
children  
They will add to our breath,  
Seeking our relatives,  
Our elders,  
Near-by in all their houses  
95 Wherever they lie sleeping,  
These they will hold fast.  
  
And also our children,  
Those who watch over the ones  
through which we prosper,<sup>44</sup>  
100 Those who for the sake of their  
children,  
For the sake of their flocks  
Yonder on all sides  
Wander over their earth mother,  
Who even on the bare ground  
stand at the edges of our land—
- yam te'facinakwi  
65 ye'lana kwai'ikāpa  
hol kã'kĩ ke'si'le'anaġāpa  
hon a'tcia tate i'lap a'te'ona  
te'alan i'lon a'tei  
le'hoku yam a'pāpa  
70 a-te a'wona-e'lateġān'a  
hol ġā'pin a'ho'i  
i'yona-e'latena  
i'yāli'na  
i'tinan la'ġikna  
75 la'hoku le'w a'wico yāla ġātsowa-  
'kona  
te'facin u'lapġāna  
  
lakwit-ḡo'ti  
lakwit-ḡo' i  
te wus ya'nulana'wāpa  
  
80 to'wa ci'wan an te'apġuna'we  
ya'kna tsu'me  
hol a'teatun'onaġā  
ġā'pin a'ho'i  
i'yāli'nan i'tinan la'ġikna  
  
85 le'w yam u'lo'nan ya'tena  
le' yam ho'i ya'tena-tsu'meġāna  
i'tinan i'la'ġikāpa  
tem ta lu'knia'konte  
te'wusu te'kohanan yai'neemana  
90 yam tea'we  
ho'na' wan pi'nan te'liana'wa  
ho'na'wan i'yaniġi'na'we  
ho'na'wan a'facina'we  
la'lik yam he'cofa'wa'kona  
95 ya'telan a'ne ta'pana  
lu'kniafo  
a'wiyafen-tsu'meġāna  
tem ta ho'na'wan tea'we  
yam a'k' el a'te'ona  
  
100 yam tea'wak' a'ni  
  
yam wo'wak' a'ni  
la'hoku le'si te'kwi  
yam a'witelin tsi'tana'kona  
a'wek pa'tocon'ona

<sup>43</sup> The old images that are laid aside.<sup>44</sup> The herders of sheep.

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| <p>105 All these also they will hold fast.<br/>         I have sent forth my prayers.<br/>         Our children,<br/>         Even those who have erected their<br/>         shelters<br/>         At the edge of the wilderness,<br/>         110 May their roads come in sa'ely,<br/>         May the forests<br/>         And the brush<br/>         Stretch out their water-filled arms<br/>         To shield their hearts;<br/>         115 May their roads come in safely;<br/>         May their roads all be fulfilled,<br/>         May it not somehow become diffi-<br/>         cult for them<br/>         When they have gone but a little<br/>         ways,<br/>         120 May all the little boys,<br/>         All the little girls,<br/>         And those whose roads are ahead,<br/>         May they have powerful hearts,<br/>         Strong spirits;<br/>         125 On roads reaching to Dawn Lake<br/>         May you grow old;<br/>         May your roads be fulfilled;<br/>         May you be blessed with life.</p> <p>130 Where the life-giving road of your<br/>         sun father comes out,<br/>         May your roads reach;<br/>         May your roads be fulfilled.</p> | <p>105 lu'kniako te'mla a'wiyaten-<br/>         tsu'mekana<br/>         ho' te'wusu pe'nan kwai'iikakä<br/>         ho''na'wan tea'we<br/>         ho! te'li'-pa'hto'konatapte<br/>         yam he'cota ya'känapkä te'a'kona</p> <p>110 o'neal kwa'tona ko'kei<br/>         le' takwil-öo'ti<br/>         la'kwil-öo'ti<br/>         a'wan kä'cina a's-ta'nanaka<br/>         a'wike'n ai'yala</p> <p>115 o'neal kwaton-a<br/>         a'wona-ya'an-a<br/>         ei ko'w a'napa<br/>         kwa'tiko! a'kä<br/>         te'ni yo'na'mana</p> <p>120 ko'w a'waktsik a'lana<br/>         ko'w a'kätsik a'lana<br/>         a'won-a'we'kwinte<br/>         sa'wanik' a'wike'na<br/>         tse'makwin tsun i'laöa</p> <p>125 te'luwaiyan käiakwi o'neala te'-<br/>         teina<br/>         ion a'iacitu<br/>         ion a'wona-ya'tu<br/>         ion te'kohanan ya'nikteiatu'<br/>         ho! yam yä'tokä ta'teu</p> <p>130 an o'naya'nakä o'nealan kwai''-<br/>         inakwi<br/>         o'neala te'teina<br/>         ion a'wona-ya'tunfiyo'na</p> |
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Taking out the black corn, he passes it around four times in front of him. Reentering the house, he repeats the prayer, still holding the corn in his hand. At the end, he again passes it around counter-clockwise before him, as a rite of exorcism, and sets it aside to be planted in spring. Then his aunts wash his head and bathe him. The following day he deposits prayer sticks at amitolan teöo'ulikwi (where the rainbow bends over), a shrine to the gods of war, located in the canyon southwest of Zuñi. The prayer is similar.

## V. PRAYERS AND CHANTS OF THE PRIESTS OF THE MASKED GODS. I

### THE COMING OF KĀKLO

In former times the preliminary initiation of small children took place every fourth year. In these years the chief of the cult group in charge of the Kāklo ritual received from the priests at the winter solstice a prayer stick commanding his participation.

The ceremony is held in March or April. Eight days before the actual whipping of the children Kāklo appears to announce the approaching ceremony and command those concerned to prepare for it. In each kiva he intones a long chant describing in great detail the mythological sanction of the coming ceremony.<sup>1</sup> After visiting all the kivas he departs.

After eight days he comes again. Again he visits each kiva, repeating his chant. At dawn he is ready to depart. As he leaves, the gods who perform the initiation ceremonies appear and enter the village.

The following prayer is spoken by the impersonator of Kāklo at some time during his preparations for his ceremony, probably at the moment of taking out the mask before his second appearance.

|                                     |                                   |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| This many are the days              | le'si te'wanan're                 |
| Since the moon who is our mother    | hon ya'onakā tsit i'laβ a'te'ona  |
| Yonder in the west a small thing    | li'wan kā'liciankwin ta'na ko'wi  |
| First became visible.               | tsa'na ye'tsaḡāna                 |
| When she reached maturity           | ho'i-ya'fāḡā te'a'ana             |
| 5 Then the one who is my father,    | 5 hon tate i'laβ a'te'ona         |
| Kāklo, βekwin priest,               | kā'klo βe'kwin ci'wan'i           |
| Perpetuating his rite had since the | yam yā'lan ya'na'a                |
| first beginning—                    | yam ko'nhol te'i'mik'a'kona te'-  |
| Yonder from his perfect mountain    | lia'na                            |
| Made his road come forth.           | o'neala kwai'iḡāna                |
| 10 He made his road come hither.    | 10 o'neal i'ḡāna                  |
| Into Iitiwana his road entered,     | i'tiwanakwi o'neala kwa'toḡāna    |
| There, wherever the roads of his    | la'ḡhok' yam te'apḡkunan o'neala' |
| children come forth                 | kwai'ina'kowa                     |
| He made his road enter.             | o'neala' kwa'toḡāna               |
| His words came forth.               | yam βe'nan kwai'ina               |

<sup>1</sup> The text recorded by Mrs. Stevenson (Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 80) is incomplete. This is a telescopic version, a mnemonic device consisting merely of a list of place names at which events and ceremonies described in the fuller version take place. The complete chant, which is intoned in very rapid rhythm, takes about six hours to perform—it is longer even than the sayataca chant. It is in the keeping of a cult group of four men who take turns in impersonating the god.

- 15 All the ladder descending children  
of the corn priest  
Desire the breath of their fathers,  
Priests of the masked gods;  
  
Since somehow it was not clear to  
which clan they belonged,
- 20 Kāklo, pekwin priest,  
Made his road come hither.  
To all the ladder descending chil-  
dren of the corn priests (he came)  
In order that their children may  
have someone whom they call  
their second father,  
That they may have one whom they  
call their second mother,
- 25 Now that they have sent for us  
For this we have passed you on your  
roads.  
I have told off the sequence of your  
days,  
Anxiously awaiting your time,  
I have told off the sequence of your  
days.
- 30 Seemingly now all the eight days are  
past,  
It is the ninth night,  
Now all of us  
Shall pass you on your roads.  
We shall pass a blessed night to-  
gether,  
And to-morrow,
- 35 When our sun father  
Has come forth standing to his  
sacred place,  
Throughout a blessed day,  
We shall come to evening.  
When our children  
Into the corn priest's court have  
brought their roads,
- 40 Our fathers,  
Priests of the masked gods,  
With their powerful weapons  
Four times will strike our young  
ones,  
In order that this may be
- 45 We have passed you on your roads.  
This is all.  
Thus with plain words  
We have passed you on your road.  
To-morrow
- 15 le' le'tsilon pa'ninān ū'wa ci'wa  
an tea'we  
yam a'tateu  
kokwa'ciwani  
a'wan pi'nān a'ntecmana  
el kwa' ho'no a'notan te'ona  
yu'hetam'e a'teakwi
- 20 ā'klo pe'kwīn ci'wan'i  
o'nealan i'kāpa  
le' le'tsilon pa'ninān ū'wa ci'wan  
an ū'ap'kuna i-me'  
kwi'likān a'na ta'teu le'ttikwatun'-  
on a'kā  
  
kwi'likān a'na tsi'ta le'ttikwatun'  
on a'kā
- 25 ho'n a'ntecmatina'p'kā te'kwi  
ū'na hon a'wona-e'latekā.  
  
ū'na'wan ho' yā'lenan pi''la  
  
ūon ū'wanan a'nsume'na  
ū'na'wan ho' yā'lenan pi''la
- 30 hi'nteol le'si ūewanan ha''eleka  
te'wan te'nalekā ū'na ū'linan'e  
  
kes te'mlamo  
ū'na hon a'wona-e'latena'wa.  
ū'linan kō'kei hon a'wantewana  
  
ū'wap yā'ton'e
- 35 ho'na'wan yā'tokā ta'teu  
yam ū'acinakwi ye'lana kwai''-  
ikāka  
yā'ton kō'kei hon su'nhak'āna'wa  
  
ho'na'wan tea'we  
ū'wa ci'wan an ū'witokwi o'neala  
kwa'tokā'na'wapa
- 40 hon a'tate i'lāpōna  
kokwa'ciwani  
yam sa'wanik' a'kā  
ho'na'wan ū'ap'kuna'we  
a'witeka'na sa'wanik' a'lapanana  
te'atun'on a'kā
- 45 ū'na hon a'wona-e'latekā.  
le'wi.  
le' yu'he'to ū'nan a'kā  
ū'na hon a'wona-e'latekā.  
ū'wan yā'not'e



- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
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| <p>50 Our young ones<br/>The plume wands of their fathers,<br/>Priests of the masked gods<br/>They will fashion into human form.</p> <p>When to our fathers,<br/>55 Priests of the masked gods,<br/>We have given these plume wands,<br/>Then making their days,<br/>Keeping their sacred days,<br/>We shall pass our days.</p> <p>60 And so, our fathers,<br/>Your long life,<br/>Your old age,<br/>Your power,<br/>Your strong spirit,<br/>65 You will give to us,<br/>So that we may be people blessed<br/>in all things.<br/>Yonder toward the place of dawn<br/>We shall give our fathers prayer<br/>meal.</p> <p>70 Anxiously waiting we shall pass our<br/>days.<br/>When all their days are at an end<br/>With our clear water<br/>We shall bind our children fast,</p> <p>So that their roads may reach to<br/>dawn lake<br/>75 So that our young ones' roads may<br/>be fulfilled.</p> | <p>50 yam te'ap̄kuna'we<br/>yam a'tateu<br/>kokwa'eiwan'i<br/>a'wan te'liḡina ṭon a'ho'a'ye-<br/>ḡina'wa<br/>yam a'tateu<br/>55 kokwa'eiwan'i<br/>hon te'liḡinan a'leara<br/>a'wan te'wanan a'cana<br/>a'wan te'wanan i'laḡa<br/>hon te'wanan a'teḡān'a<br/>60 ṭen ho'na-wan a'tateu<br/>yam o'naya'naḡā<br/>yam la'ciaḡā<br/>yam sa'wanikā<br/>yam tse'makwin ṭsu'me<br/>65 ho'na ya'nhaitena'wapa<br/>a'ḡā kwahol te'mla hon a'niktcia<br/>a'ho'a'teḡān'a<br/>li'wan te'luwankwin ta'na<br/>yam a'tateu<br/>ha'lawa'tinan hon a'wan hal'tena<br/>70 antsume'na hon te'wanan a'teḡ'-<br/>āna.<br/>a'wan te'wanan i'te'teapa<br/>yam tea'we<br/>yam ḡā'cima ḡo'kei hon a'wiya-<br/>ṭena ṭsu'meḡāna'wapa<br/>a'ḡā te'luwaiān ḡai'akwi o'neala<br/>te'teina<br/>75 ho'na-wan te'ap̄kuna'we<br/>ṭon a'wona-ya'ana.</p> |
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#### PRAYER OF THE IMPERSONATOR OF PA'UTIWA

Pa'utiwa is the katchina chief at Katchina village. It is he who determines the order of masked rituals and dances, and sends forth masked beings to dance for his daylight children at Zuñi. The great masked ceremonies are held expressly by his order. They can only be held when he commands them at the new year. In folklore he appears frequently in the rôle of the divine lover of mortal maidens.

He appears three times annually at Zuñi—twice during the winter solstice, and at the mola'wia which closes the great masked festival of the late fall. He comes, therefore, at the beginning and end of the year. He is one of the most beautiful of all Zuñi impersonations. The mask is turquoise blue, elaborately adorned with the most precious feathers, in particular the priceless tail feathers of the macaw. He is fully clothed in rich clothing, including four embroidered white cotton blankets and innumerable strings of the finest turquoise. His gait is slow and stately. He always goes sprinkling corn meal before him. It is altogether an impersonation of the greatest splendor and solemnity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See pl I, and Twenty-third Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pl. xxviii.

The winter solstice ceremonies and Pautiwa's part in them are described on pp. 535 and 908.

After Pautiwa has visited all the kivas he goes out toward the west. After undressing, at a point on the river, he is met by men of the Sun clan who escort him to the house of the house chief. Here are assembled all priests of the council, and members of the Dogwood clan. On entering, the impersonator of Pautiwa offers a long prayer recounting the duties of his office and invoking a blessing on the people. The house chief replies, thanking him, and then asks him what he has seen in his rounds of the village. He then relates what omens have been observed in the four excavations. The following prayer recited when he enters the ceremonial room, was dictated by a member of the Dogwood clan:

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                |
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| Now this many are the days<br>Since there yet remained a little<br>space<br>Ere our sun father<br>Stood close beside his left hand<br>sacred place,                                                                     | ma' le'si te'wanan'e<br>hon yā'tokā tate i'laḡ a'te'ona<br>yam we'ciḡānem te'facinakwi<br>i'tiulaḡuntekwi kow a'nīe'wetei<br>kwi                               |
| 5 When our daylight father of the<br>Dogwood clan,<br>Pekwin, priest,<br>For his fathers,<br>The ones that first had being—<br>ḡāeto'we,                                                                                | 5 hon teḡohanan tate i'laḡ a'te'ona<br><br>pi'teik a'nota ḡe'kwin ci'wan'i<br>yam a'tateu<br>tei'miḡānapkowa<br>ḡā'eto'we                                      |
| 10 Teu'eto'we,<br>Mu'eto'we<br>Mu'eto'we Le'eto'we<br>All the society priests,<br>For them he counted up the days.                                                                                                      | 10 teu'e'to'we<br>mu'e'to'we<br>le'e'towe<br>le' ti'ka a'ciwan'i<br>a'wan te'wanan pi'laḡa                                                                     |
| 15 When we had lived through the<br>full number of his days,<br>And when all the days were past,<br>He thought of those said to be the<br>bearers of messages<br>To all the different directions,<br>The forest beings, | 15 an hon te'wanan ai'yalena a'teaḡā<br>tekwi<br>loḡw an te'mla te'waḡā tea<br>lalhok' le'si te'kwi<br>ya'cu'itulo'ḡānapḡun'ona<br><br>le''anaḡāḡ ḡakwiḡ ḡo'ti |
| 20 The brush beings.<br>When for their sun father,<br>Their moon mother,<br>Our daylight children<br>Had counted up the days<br>And when we come to the middle<br>division of the days, <sup>3</sup>                    | 20 la'kwil ḡo'ti<br>yam yā'tokā ta'teu<br>yam yā'onakā ts'i'ta<br>yam te'kohanan tea'we<br>a'wan te'wanan pi'laḡ loḡwan<br>i'ti'ihāḡikā te'a'ana               |
| 25 Our children,<br>Whoever of them thought to grow<br>old,<br>Taking prayer meal,<br>Taking shell,<br>Taking corn pollen,                                                                                              | 25 ho''na'wan tea'we<br>ho'teu'wa la'cina tse''ma'kona<br><br>ha'lawotinan i'leana<br>lo' i'leana<br>o'nean i'leana                                            |

<sup>3</sup> The fifth day of the pekwin's count. This is the traditional day for gathering willow sticks for making prayer sticks. As a matter of fact, sticks are brought in at any time.

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| <p>30 Yonder toward all directions<br/>One by one they made their roads<br/>go forth.<br/>Yonder finding those who have<br/>been granted domain<br/>On all the mossy mountains,<br/>Along the slopes of the mountains,<br/>In all the shady places,</p> <p>36 The forests,<br/>The brush,<br/>And at the feet of some lucky one</p> <p>40 Offering prayer meal,<br/>Shell,<br/>Corn pollen,</p> <p>Among their slender finger tips</p> <p>45 They looked about.<br/>Breaking off the young green<br/>shoots of some lucky one,<br/>And drawing them toward him <sup>4</sup><br/>Even from where they abide<br/>quietly,</p> <p>50 Holding their long life,<br/>Holding their old age,<br/>He brought them hither.<br/>Now this many days<br/>In our houses,</p> <p>55 With us, their children,<br/>They have stayed.<br/>Then, when all their days were<br/>past,<br/>With their warm human hands,<br/>They took firm hold of them.</p> <p>60 For their ancestors,<br/>Their children,<br/>The ones who have attained the<br/>far off place of waters,<sup>5</sup><br/>For their sun father,<br/>For their moon mother,</p> <p>65 For their need<br/>We prepared plume wands.<br/>With the massed cloud robe<br/>Of the one who is our grandfather,<br/>Male turkey,</p> | <p>30 lalhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi<br/>o'neala<sup>u</sup> kwai'ilenapkä.<br/><br/>lalhok<sup>u</sup> a'wico yä'la'kona<br/><br/>fe'lete i'tiwa'kona<br/>fe'tula'kona<br/>ulo'na ya'nikteia'kona</p> <p>36 la'kwi-lp<sup>u</sup> i'<br/>la'kwi-lp<sup>u</sup> ti<br/>hol teuw ha'lowi'li'kona<br/>an sa'kwia</p> <p>40 ha'lawo'tinan'e<br/>lo'-'o<br/>o'nean'e<br/>a'leakna<br/>a'sin kä'tsowakwinte</p> <p>45 i'yun'ulapnapkä.<br/>hol teuw ha'lowili 'kona<br/>a'käwulkwi'nakna<br/>a'wana'ulakäpa.<br/>hol yam lu'wa'la'ki'konante</p> <p>50 yam o'naya'nakä le'aäpa<br/>yam la'ciakä le'aäpa<br/>o'neal i'kana<br/>le'si te'wanan'e<br/>ho'na-wan he'cota'kona</p> <p>55 ho'na tea'wiläpa<br/>fe'wanan a'teakä<br/>kes an te'mla tewäka tea'ana<br/><br/>yam a'sin kälnakä<br/>a'wiya'fena'su/mekäna</p> <p>60 yam a'facina'we<br/>yam tea'we<br/>le'hok<sup>u</sup> käcima fe'wokänapkä</p> <p>yam yä'tokä ta'teu<br/>yam yä'onakä tsi'ta</p> <p>65 a'wan hai'to<br/>hon te'likina<sup>u</sup> ye'lete'unapkä.<br/>yam nanili te'ona<br/>ton ots an a'wehuyan pa'in'e</p> |
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<sup>4</sup> Changes from singular to plural, from first to third person, are frequent in Zuñi prayers which make little effort toward coherence or clarity of expression. Indeed, obscurity is a prized feature of the style of the men "who know how to pray." Lucidity is characterized as childish.

<sup>5</sup> The dead. Sticks are offered to the ancestors, the sun, and the moon.

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| <p>70 With eagle's thin cloud wing,<br/>And with the striped cloud wings<br/>And massed cloud tails<br/>Of all the birds of summer,<br/>With these four times wrapping<br/>our plume wands,</p> <p>75 We gave them human form.<br/>With the flesh of our grandfather,<br/>Giant yucca<br/>Even a roughly made cord,<br/>Even a dirty cord,</p> <p>80 With this four times encircling the<br/>plume wands<br/>We tied it about their bodies;<br/>With water-bringing hanging<br/>feathers,<br/>We made them into living beings.<br/>With the flesh of our two mothers,<br/>Black paint woman,</p> <p>85 Clay woman,</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">We clothed our plume wands with<br/>flesh;<br/>Giving them flesh, we gave them<br/>human form.</p> <p>90 Then our two fathers,<br/>The ones who hold the high places,<sup>6</sup><br/>Wrapping themselves in their elder<br/>brothers' plume wands,<br/>Their elder brothers' prayer feath-<br/>ers,<br/>Their elder brothers' shell beads,</p> <p>95 They became living beings;<br/>Holding all their world,<br/>Holding all their people fast,<br/>The two sat down quietly.<br/>Then while yet a little space re-<br/>mained<br/>Ere our sun father<br/>Went in to sit down at his sacred<br/>place,<br/>Yonder from all directions,<br/>Our fathers, water birds,</p> <p>105 Pekwin priests,<br/>By means of their supernatural<br/>wisdom<br/>Made their roads come in.<sup>7</sup><br/>Having brought their roads hither<br/>Thinking, "Let it be here,"</p> | <p>ḡāḡāi an su'lahaiyan la'tan'e<br/>70 lalhok<sup>a</sup> o'lo'iḡāiaḡā wə'we<br/>a'wan la'pihanan la'tan'e<br/>a'wan a'weliyan ḡāten'e<br/>a'ḡ a'witela'ma<br/>te'liḡina a'pa'una<br/>75 a'ho' a'ya'ḡāna<br/>yam na'n ili te'ona<br/>ho'yala'ciwu<br/>ko'ti pi'lenapte<br/>pi'le ci'ḡānapte<br/>80 a'ḡa a'witela'ma pa'nulap i'kwi-<br/>yan te'te'ina<br/><br/>ḡācina la'cowa<br/><br/>te'liḡinan ho'i ya'ḡāna-waḡa<br/>yam tsi'tili te'ona<br/>ha'kwin o'ḡā<br/>85 he'tel o'ḡā<br/>a'teian ci''nan a'ḡā<br/>aḡ' a'witela'ma te'liḡinan ma''ci'-<br/>nan i'yante'tcina<br/>te'liḡinan i'eiana<br/>ho'i ya'ḡāpa<br/>90 hon a'teia tate i'laḡ a'te'ona<br/>te'alan i'lon a'tei<br/>yam a'papon a'wan te'likinan<br/>aḡā<br/>yam a'papon a'wan la'cowan aḡā<br/><br/>yam a'papon a'wan lo'aḡā<br/>95 a'te i'pa'un ho'i ya'ḡāna<br/>le' yam u'lo'nan ya'tena<br/>le' yam ho'i ya'tena tsumeḡāna<br/>a'te i'mila'ḡuḡa<br/>hon ya'toḡā tate ilaḡ a'te'ona<br/>100 yam te'la'ci'nakwi<br/>i'muna kwa'toḡatun'tekwi<br/><br/>ko'w an'te'we'teikwi<br/>lalhok<sup>a</sup> le'si te'kwi<br/>hon a'tate i'laḡona<br/>105 ḡā'eima wə'we ḡe'kwiw a'ci-<br/>wan'i<br/>yam a'nikwanan aḡā<br/>o'neala kwai'iḡāna<br/>o'neal i'ḡāna<br/>ho'i li'la le''hatina</p> |
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<sup>6</sup> The images of the gods of war are carved and set up in the houses of the image makers. See pp. 526, 535.

<sup>7</sup> The pekwin makes the altar painting in He'iwa kiva. The pekwin is here conceived plurally as representative of the summer-bringing birds.

- 110 His fathers' massed cloud house he  
fashioned,  
Their mist blanket he spread out,  
Their life-giving road he fashioned,  
Their perfect spring he prepared.
- 115 When all was ready our two fathers,  
The ones who hold the high places,  
And their house chiefs,  
Their pekwins,  
Their bow priests,
- 120 All with their sacred possessions,<sup>8</sup>  
Made their roads come in.  
Perpetuating their rite handed  
down since the first beginning,  
The two sat down quietly.  
Listening for this,
- 125 All the society priests  
Kept to their houses.<sup>9</sup>  
And to wherever they staid in,  
Along a single road  
The divine ones came to them.  
Sitting down quietly
- 130 Throughout a blessed night  
With us, their children, they came  
to day.  
Next day,  
Saying, "Let it be now,"  
Our two fathers,
- 135 The ones who hold the high places,  
Met their elder brothers,<sup>10</sup>
- Changing places with them  
The divine ones sat down quietly,
- 140 And counted the days for us.  
When all our days were passed in  
anticipation,  
And when we came to the middle  
division of the days,  
The ones who are our fathers  
Those of the Dogwood clan
- 110 yam a'tatconawa  
a'weluyan k̄a'kwen ya-k̄ana  
ci'pololon p̄e'wuna  
o'na'ya-na'k̄a o'nealan ya-'k'āna  
k̄a'nakwai'ne ya'na ye'lete'u'k̄a  
te'kwi
- 115 hon a'tcia tate i'lap a'te'ona  
te'alan i'lon a'tci  
yam k̄a'kwa'mosi  
yam p̄e'kwiwe  
yam a'pi'la'ciwan'i
- 120 yam e'leteli'we a'wili  
a'te o'neala kwa'to'k̄ana  
yam ko' tei'mi'k̄a'kowa te'lia'na
- a'te a'mila'kupa  
le'ko yu''hatia'na
- 125 le' ti'k̄a a'ciwan'i  
hol yam he'cota'k̄anap̄k̄a tea'kona
- to'pint o'neala' a'na  
k̄a'pin a'ho'i  
i'tinan la'k̄ikna
- 130 te'linan ko'kci  
ho'n teawila'p a'wan'ewa'k̄a.
- te'wa'p ya'tone  
hol k̄a'k̄i ke'si le'ana'k̄a'pa  
hon a'tcia tate i'lap a'teo'na
- 135 te'alan i'lon a'tci  
yam a'papa  
a'te a'wona-e'latena  
k̄a'pin a'ho'i  
i'yali'na i'tinan-la'k̄ikna
- 140 ho'na'wan te'wanan pi'lana'wa'pa  
hon a'wan'ewanan an'sume'na  
a'te'ka te'a'ana  
lo'kw a'wan i'tiwi-ha'k̄ika te'a'ana
- hon a'tate i'la'p̄ona  
pi'tcik a'not a'nila'p a'te'ona

<sup>8</sup> The war gods come into the kiva, followed by the various sacred war bundles, and parts of the rain-making bundles of the chief priesthoods.

<sup>9</sup> The priests wait in the kiva until they are visited by the Ne'we'kwe. Then they start their ceremonies, and, on hearing their drum, the other societies that have been waiting start their own ceremonies.

<sup>10</sup> The war gods are taken out to their shrines, where they are set up to replace the images of previous years.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>145 Desiring one another sat down in council.<br/>Among all our ladder descending children<br/>We looked about.<br/>Toward whoever was trustworthy<br/>Our fathers, who once had been thus,<sup>11</sup></p> <p>150 Bent their thoughts,<br/>Their thoughts following,<br/>The living ones chose me<br/>To be the one to keep their prayers.</p> <p>155 Yonder from all sides,<br/>From wherever they abide permanently<br/>The divine ones made their roads come forth.<br/>They made their roads come hither,<br/>Their roads went first,</p> <p>160 The others followed at their backs.<br/>Into my house<br/>The divine ones made their road enter.<br/>After they had sat down quietly</p> <p>165 We in the daylight<br/>Met one another.<br/>The divine ones' prayers leading,<br/><br/>Our words following,</p> <p>170 With prayer meal<br/>We held one another fast.<br/>That I might be the one to represent our father,<br/>Kāwulia, Pautiwa,<sup>12</sup></p> <p>176 My daylight father,<br/>He of the Dogwood clan who holds this rite,<br/>For this with prayer meal<br/>He held me fast.</p> <p>180 Now that this many days<br/>Eagerly we have lived.<br/><br/>Yesterday the appointed time arrived,</p> | <p>145 i'yanteceman i'wōkwikna<br/><br/>le' yam le'tsilon pā'nīnan tea'we<br/><br/>hon a'wun-ulapnapka<br/>ho'teuw hi'yawolucna<br/>yam a'tate a'tekwi</p> <p>150 tse'mak te'lakwi<br/>ts'e'mak yā'lu<br/>te'wus pen ili te'aʔun'ona<br/>hon a'nawana'kāpa</p> <p>155 kā'pin a'ho'i<br/>lalhok' le'si te'kw'i<br/>yam ti'nan la'kī'kona<br/><br/>o'neala kwai'i'kāna<br/><br/>o'neal i'kāna<br/><br/>o'neal e''kuna-wāpa<br/>160 a'wa ma'sikwi e'layā'lu<br/>kā'pin a'ho'i<br/>ho'man he'cofakwi<br/>o'neal i'kāna<br/>i'ifnan la'kīkā te'a'ana</p> <p>165 te'Kohanana<br/>hon i'yona-e'latena<br/>kāpin a'ho'i<br/>a'wan te'wusu pe'nan e''kwi'kona<br/>yam pe'nan yā'luna</p> <p>170 ha'lawo'tinan a'kā<br/>hon i'wiyafen-īsu'mekākā<br/>yam tateili te'ona<br/>kāwulia pā'utiwa<br/>a'ntelia'na</p> <p>175 ho' ho'i te'aʔun'on a'kā<br/>ho' te'Kohanana tate i'li te'a'ona<br/>pi'teik a'not'an ilaḅ te'a'ona<br/>ha'lawo'tinan a'kā<br/>hom ya'tena-īsu'mekākā</p> <p>180 le'si te'wanane<br/>a'ntsume'na<br/>hon te'wanan a'teakā te'a'ana<br/>te'cukwa yā'ton'e<br/>kes le'n hai'tokwin te'teipa</p> |
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<sup>11</sup> The selection is made by members of the cult group; that is, by former impersonators of the god. The choice is inspired by deceased impersonators.

<sup>12</sup> In prayers, he is always referred to under the double name. No explanation of the first part could be elicited. The dual form of the verb and the pronoun is used.



- 185 When all my fathers,  
Passed me on my road,  
Yonder from all sides  
The divine ones made their roads  
come forth.
- 190 They made their roads come  
hither  
Whenever it was that they first  
took hold of our plume wands,  
In the brush,  
The straight green shoots of some  
lucky one
- 195 Drawing toward them,  
They held them fast.  
Holding in our hands  
Plume wands ordained for our two  
fathers,  
Kāwulia,  
Pautiwa,
- 202 Thus we came to evening.  
With the massed cloud robe  
Of him who is our grandfather,  
Male turkey,
- 205 With eagle's thin cloud wing,  
With the striped cloud wings  
And massed cloud tails  
Of all the birds of summer,
- 210 With these four times wrapping  
our plume wands  
We gave them human form;  
With the one who is our grand-  
father,  
Giant yucca,  
Even a roughly made thread,
- 215 Even a dirty thread,  
With this four times encircling  
them,  
We tied it about their bodies;  
With our mothers,  
Black paint woman,  
Clay woman,
- 220 With their flesh four times we  
clothed our plume wands all over  
with flesh,  
Putting flesh on our plume wands  
We gave them human form.  
Then when yet a little space re-  
mained  
Ere our sun father went in
- 185 homa le'n a'tateu  
hom o'na-e'latena-waḡa  
la'thok<sup>a</sup> le'si tekwi  
k̄ā'pin a'ho'i  
o'neala kwai'i k̄āna  
190 o'neal i'k̄āna  
  
hol ke'la yam te'likinan ya'tena  
tsu'mekānapk̄a te'a'ana  
ha'kwil p̄o'i  
hol teuwa ha'lowili'kona  
a'k̄awulkwi'nakna  
195 a'wana-ula'kona  
a'wiyaten-i'su'mekāna  
yam a'teia tate ilaḡ a'te'ona  
k̄awulia  
ḡa'utiwa  
a'tcian hai'to  
hon te'likinan le'aḡa  
202 su'nhakānapk̄a  
yam nan i'li te''ona  
ton ots an a'weluyan ḡa''in'e  
  
205 k̄ā'k̄āl an su'lahaiyan la'tan'e  
la'thok<sup>a</sup> o'lo'ikaiaḡa wo'we  
a'wan la'pīhanan la'tan'e  
a'weluyan k̄ā'ten'e  
a'k' a'witela'ma  
210 te'liḡina a'ḡa'una  
  
a'ho' a'ya'k̄ana  
yam nan i'li te''ona  
  
ho'yalaciwa  
ko'ti pi'lenapte  
215 pi''le ci'k̄ānapte  
a'witela'ma pa'nulapnan i'kwian  
te''tcina  
  
yam tsit i'li te''ona  
ha'kwil o'k̄a  
he'tel ok' a'tcian ci''nan'e  
220 ak' a'witela'ma te'likinan ma'  
ci'nana  
  
i'yante'tcina te'likinan i'ci'nana  
ho''i ya'k̄ana-waḡa  
hon ya'toka tate i'laḡ a'te'ona  
  
yam fe'taci'nakwi

|                                                                                                |                                                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| To sit down at his ancient place<br>For our two fathers                                        | 225 i'muna kwa'tofun te'kwi<br>kow a'nte'we'teikwi<br>hon a'tcia tate i'laß a'te'ona |
| We made the bundle of wood <sup>13</sup><br>The bundle of sticks, <sup>13</sup>                | i'yanil po'k'i<br>ka'ti po'k'i                                                       |
| 230 The bundle of twigs— <sup>13</sup><br>That which is generally called the<br>water terrace. | 230 tsel po'k'i<br>e'tsakä kã''etcin le'aniñan'ona                                   |
| Then perpetuating their rite had<br>since the first beginning,                                 | yam ko' tei'mik'a'kona te'lia'na                                                     |
| The two assumed human form.<br>Holding all their world                                         | a'te ho''i ya'k'ana<br>le' yam u'lo'nan ya'tena                                      |
| 235 Holding all their people fast,<br>With us their children<br>They came to day.              | 235 le' yam ho''i ya'tena-tsu'mek'ana<br>a'te ho'na tcawil a'ntewakä.                |
| When he who is our sun father,<br>Coming out standing to his ancient<br>place                  | hon ya'toka tate i'laß a'teona<br>yam te'laci'nakwi ye'lana kwai''i-<br>kãna         |
| Passed us on our roads,<br>240 Saying, "Let it be now,"<br>The divine ones leading             | ho'n a'wona-elatepa<br>240 hol kã'ki kesi le'aniñãpa<br>kãpin a'ho'i                 |
| We following at their backs,<br>Yonder to the south,                                           | o'neal e''kuna-wapa<br>a'wa ma'sikwi e'layälu<br>le'hok' a'laho'ankwin ta''na        |
| 245 With prayers we made our road go<br>forth.                                                 | 245 te'wus a'kã<br>o'neal kwai''iñanapã.                                             |
| Reaching the place<br>Whence my fathers make the<br>world over anew, <sup>14</sup>             | hol yam a'tateu<br>a'wan teim'ona u'lo'na ya'nakwi<br>o'neala te'tciãna              |
| 250 Representing my father,<br>Kãwulia Pautiwa,                                                | 250 yam tate ili te''ona<br>kãwulia<br>pa'utiwa                                      |
| I assumed his person, <sup>15</sup><br>Carrying his waters,                                    | a'ntelia'na ho''i ya'kãna<br>an kã'cima                                              |
| 255 His seeds,<br>And carrying my fathers' perfect <sup>16</sup><br>plume wands,               | 255 an to'wa conan'e<br>yam a'tate a'wan te'likinan<br>ya'na i'leana                 |
| I made my road come hither.<br>I offered my fathers plume wands,                               | o'neal i'kãna<br>yam a'tateu<br>ho' te'likinan a'le'uþa                              |
| 260 Praying to know how the world<br>would be,<br>I offered my fathers plume wands.            | 260 ko'n hol u'lo'nan te'atun'ona<br>te'wusu þenan kwai''iñãna<br>yam a'tateu        |
| Drawing my plume wands to them<br>How the days will be.                                        | ho' te'likinan a'leþa<br>homan te'likinan a'nula'a<br>hol ko'na te'wanan te'atun'ona |

<sup>13</sup> These are three esoteric names for a large bundle of prayer sticks, the common name of which is Kã'etene, "water steps," so called from the fact that it is arranged like a terraced house, with the longer sticks in the center. With characteristic Zuñi double entendre it might mean also the steps by which the rain gods descend from heaven.

<sup>14</sup> Pautiwa comes from the land of summer. Therefore he clothes himself and comes in from the south.

<sup>15</sup> He puts on the mask, thereby assuming the form and personality of the god. This power to change one's personality resides in the mask which is the body of the god.

<sup>16</sup> The telnawe or staves of office made by the priests and "finished" with their sacred paint.

- 265 They revealed to me.  
Knowing that,  
I prayed that throughout the  
country of the Corn priests  
Our earth mother might be wrap-  
ped  
In four layers of green blanket,  
That the land might be full of  
moss,  
Full of flowers  
Full of corn pollen—
- 275 Sending forth prayers that it  
might be thus,  
I offered my fathers' plume wands.  
Four times I made my road en-  
circle  
The land of the Corn priests
- 280 Then yonder, wherever the water  
roads of my kiva children come  
out,  
I laid down plume wands.  
Then far off to his own country  
My father
- 285 Made his road go forth  
Carrying my fathers' plume wands,  
  
Carrying his prayer meal,  
I made his road go forth.
- 290 Far off at the place of the first be-  
ginning  
Touching them with my plume  
wands,  
With all the others he will hold  
discourse.  
Our fathers will take hold of our  
plume wands.
- 295 Then in that way  
Their long life,  
Their old age,  
They will grant to us.
- 300 That our roads may reach to where  
the life-giving road of our sun  
father comes out,  
That we may finish our roads—  
This they will grant us.  
This day in accordance with what-  
ever you wished,
- 305 Whatever you wished when you  
appointed me,  
I have fulfilled your thoughts.  
With thoughts in harmony  
May we live together.
- 265 hom tū'naḡana'waḡa  
u's ai'yu'ya'na  
tō'wa ci'wan an u'lo'na'a  
  
a'witen i'yalto  
hon a'witelin tsit i'laḡ a'wite'ona  
270 ḡa'i li'ana  
ko'w a'wicōna ḡo'ti  
  
ko'w u'tea ḡo'ti  
ko'w o'nea ḡo'ti  
u'lo'nan te'aḡun'ona  
275 tē'wusu ḡe'nan kwai'iḡāna  
yam a'tatcu  
ho' te'likinan a'leakā.  
a'witen i'yalto tōwaci'wan an  
u'lo'na'a  
ho' o'neal ulapḡāna  
280 la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'wi yam u'pa tca'we  
a'wan ḡā'cim o'neal kwai'i-  
na'kōna  
te'likinan wo'ta laḡuna  
  
le'hok<sup>u</sup> yam u'lo'nakwi  
ho' tate ili te'ona  
285 o'neal a'ḡāḡa.  
yam tate i'li te'ona  
ho' te'likinan le'ana  
ha'lawo'tinan le'ana  
ho' an o'nealan a'ḡāḡa  
290 homan te'likinan a'ḡā  
lehok<sup>u</sup> yam tē'miḡāḡa te'kwi  
ak' ya'cuwa tē'laḡuḡa  
hon a'tate i'laḡona  
homan te'likinan ya'tena-tsu'me-  
ḡāna  
295 la'ḡānkōnte  
yam o'na'ya'naḡā  
yam la'ciaḡā  
ho'na ya'nhaitena'waḡa  
hol yam yā'toḡā ta'teu  
  
300 yam o'na'ya'naḡa o'neala kwai'-  
"inakwi o'neal te'tcina  
hon a'wona ya'tun'ona  
ho'na yanhaitena'wa.  
lu'ḡā yā'tone  
holko'n ya'ntecemana  
305 hol tōn ko'n a'ntecemana'  
hol tōn a'nulanapkona  
ho' tse'makwin mo'laḡā ḡe'si.  
tō'pint i'tse'makuna  
hon tē'wanan a'teḡāna

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
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| <p>310 For even while I call myself poor,<br/>Somewhere far off<br/>Is one who is my father.<br/>Beseeching the breath of the di-<br/>vine one,<br/>Kāwulia Pautiwa,</p> <p>315 His life giving breath,<br/>His breath of old age<br/>His breath of waters,<br/>His breath of seeds,<br/>His breath of riches,</p> <p>320 His breath of fecundity,<br/>His breath of power,<br/>His breath of strong spirit,<br/>His breath of all good fortune<br/>whatsoever,<br/>Asking for his breath</p> <p>325 And into my warm body drawing<br/>his breath,<br/>I add to your breath<br/>That happily you may always live.</p> <p>To this end, my fathers,</p> <p>330 My children:<br/>May you be blessed with light.</p> | <p>310 ta'teic tewuko'liya le'kwanante<br/>ho'lomackona teu'wa tate i'ji-<br/>kan'a<br/>Kā'pin ho'i<br/><br/>Kā'wulia<br/>Pa'utiwa</p> <p>315 an o'na'ya'na'kā pi''nan'e<br/>an la'cia'kā pi''nan'e<br/>an Kācima pi''nan'e<br/>an to'wa conan pi''nan'e<br/>an u'tenan pi''nan'e</p> <p>320 an te'apkunan pi''nan'e<br/>an sa'wanikā pi''nan'e<br/>an tse'makwin tsume pi''nan'e<br/>kwahol temla pi''nan ho'i te'ona<br/>pi''nan ai'ncemana<br/><br/>yam ce'lnakwi</p> <p>325 pi''nan a'na'kwa'to'Kāna<br/>to'na ho' pi''nan te'liu'pa<br/>a'kā Kē'tsanici<br/>ton tewanan a'te'Kān'a.<br/>tewuna' hom a'tateu</p> <p>330 hom tea'we<br/>to' te'Kohanan ya'nikteia'tu</p> |
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## VI. PRAYERS AND CHANTS OF THE PRIESTS OF THE MASKED GODS. II

### PRAYERS AND CHANTS OF THE CA'LAKO CEREMONIES

During the taboo period of the winter solstice <sup>1</sup> ceremony the priests select men who are to impersonate the priests of the masked gods during the coming year. They are notified of their appointment, and on the final day of the winter solstice are summoned to Hei''wa kiva to receive their staves of office—the feathered staves which the impersonator of Pautiwa left there the night before.

The men who are chosen must be known to be above reproach—men of pure heart and kindly disposition, who will not neglect any of the taboos attaching to their office and who will be diligent in their prayers.

Their duties begin the evening of the day on which they receive their sticks of office. Every day at sunrise they must offer meal to the sun with prayers for their people. They must go out of the village toward the east for their prayer. Many Zuñi pray each morning, but on priests and impersonators of the gods this observance is obligatory. Every evening after dark they sacrifice food in the river to the west of the village.

On their first evening following their appointment they start their nightly meetings with the trustees of their ritual to learn the long prayers and complicated rites connected with their office. These nightly meetings continue throughout the year until their days are fulfilled in November. The 10 Koyemci meet in the house of their father, the impersonators of the priests of the masked gods—Cula'witsi Sayataca, Hututu, the two Yamuhato meet in the house of the impersonator of Sayataca. The little boy Cula'witsi and his ceremonial father are required to attend only the four nights following the planting at the new moon. The Ca'lako impersonators meet formally only on these four nights each month, but hold informal meetings in between. The first prayer that is learned is the one that accompanies the monthly offerings of prayer sticks.

At each full moon all the impersonators plant together at springs in the mountains south of Zuñi.

On these days they gather early in the morning in their ceremonial houses to make their prayer sticks. Long prayers are recited at the conclusion of their work. Then after a feast they leave for the shrines, which lie to the south at a distance of 4 to 8 miles. The prayer sticks are deposited beside the spring in regular order, and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 535.

long prayers are offered. The impersonators of Sayataca recite the prayer, the others joining in according to the extent of their knowledge. Toward sunset the party approaches the village, marching in regular order across the plains, singing songs of the masked dancers.

Throughout the year each group of impersonators must work for the household which is to entertain them at the great public festival. From midsummer on every day is spent in labor for their hosts. They do all the work of the fields and build the new home in which the gods are to be received.

On the morning of the tenth planting, which takes place early in October, the impersonators of Sayataca and Molanhakto receive from the priest the two day counts—cotton strings containing 49 knots. One knot is untied each morning until the day of the great public ceremony. During this period there are plantings at intervals of 10 days at rock shrines to the southwest of the village.

The public ceremonies start on the fortieth day,<sup>2</sup> with the arrival of the Koyemci in the evening. They come masked, visiting each of the four plazas to announce the coming of the gods in eight days. They then go into retreat in the house of their father, where they remain in seclusion, with the exception of appearances in the plaza, until the festival is concluded fifteen days later.

Four days after the appearance of the Koyemci the Sayataca party come in in the evening and go into retreat in the house of the impersonator of Sayataca. On the same night the Ca'lako impersonators go into retreat in their respective houses.

On the eighth day there is another planting of prayer sticks with elaborate ceremonies at which the gods are summoned from the village of the masked gods.

After they are clothed and masked they approach the village. The giant Ca'lako gods wait on the south bank of the river but the priests of the masked gods—Cula-witsi, Sayataca, Hututu, two Yamuhakto, and two Salimofia—enter the village in mid afternoon. After planting prayer sticks in six excavations in the streets of the village they repair to the house where they are to be entertained for the night. This is always a new or at least a renovated house, and the visit of the gods is a blessing, a dedication. Prayer sticks are planted inside the threshold (formerly under the outside ladder) and in a decorated box suspended from the center of the ceiling. The walls of the house are marked with corn meal. In all excavations in the center of the floor seeds of all kinds are deposited. Similar rites are performed later in the evening by the six Ca'lako and the Koyemci in the houses where they are to be entertained.

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<sup>2</sup> That is, if the ceremony is not postponed. However, almost without exception, a postponement of 10 days is necessary.



After the blessing of the house the gods are seated by the pekwin, their masks raised. Reed cigarettes are brought and each god smokes with the person seated opposite him, exchanging with him the customary terms of relationship. Then the host (in the Sayataca house, the village chief serves as host) questions the gods concerning the circumstance of their coming. In the long recital that follows he reviews all the events leading up to the present moment, and invokes upon the house all the blessings of the gods, especially the blessing of fecundity.

This litany chanted in unison by the four leaders (Cula'witsi is not required to learn it) takes about six hours to perform. It is chanted in loud tones and very slowly in monotone, except for the last syllable of each line, which is higher in pitch, heavily accented, and prolonged.

The chants of the Ca'lako, which omit the recital of the 29 springs visited by the gods on their way to Zuñi and curtail other portions, take from one to two hours to perform.

All are finished at about 11 o'clock at night, when an elaborate feast is served in all the houses. After this all the masked personages dance until day in the house of their hosts.

At the first sign of approaching dawn Sayataca ascends to the roof of the house where he has spent the night, and facing the east, unties the last knot in his counting string while he intones another prayer. Returning to the house, he repeats the prayer. He then thanks the members of the society choir who furnished the music during the night. The dancing continues until sunrise, when the heads of all impersonators are washed by the women of the house where they were entertained, as a symbol of their permanent association with these houses.

At about noon, after planting prayer sticks and performing magical ceremonies in a field on the south of the river, the Ca'lako gods and the Sayataca group depart for their home in the west. This closes their year, and the impersonators of the Sayataca group and the six Ca'lako are now free after the exacting period of service.

The Koyemci, however, are not yet free. Throughout the year their duties have been heavier. They hold nightly meetings and participate in the monthly plantings of the other impersonators. Furthermore, at all of the dances of the summer series (six in all, lasting from one to eight days) they must come out and "play," observing all the usual taboos from the evening preceding the dance until the final departure. They may appear also in winter, and if they do must observe the same restrictions. If any extra dances are inserted into the calendar in the summer and fall, as frequently happens, the Koyemci are required to attend.

For five nights following the departure of the Ca'lako gods, dancers from each of the six kivas are supposed to visit all the houses which have entertained the gods. Some of them dance in the plaza during

the day. Throughout this period the Koyemci remain in strict retreat in the house where they were entertained. At night they dance in their house; during the day they "play" in the plaza and attend any dancers who appear there. These are days of great festivity.

On the fifth evening they eat early and sparingly, and from this time on food and drink are taboo until the following night. Speech also is forbidden them, nor may they appear unmasked. After they enter upon this period the character of their dancing changes, becoming more solemn. They do not indulge in their usual obscenity. On the following morning they come out early and are taken to be washed in the house of the village chief. Here the women give them gifts of food. On coming out, they are taken by men of their fathers' clans to the houses of their fathers' sisters. Here they receive gifts from all members of the fathers' clan. Each impersonator will receive as many as thirty slaughtered sheep, as many baskets of corn or wheat flour, bread, melons, and miscellaneous gifts of clothing, frequently of great value. The gifts are brought to the plaza, where they remain until night. Meanwhile the Koyemci attend upon the various dancers until later at night.

At nightfall the last of the dancers, the Molawia, have departed. Then the Koyemci, in pairs, visit every house in the village to invoke upon it the blessings of the gods. At each house they receive gifts of food from the female inhabitants. Returning to the plaza, they take their prayer sticks out to plant. They return to the house of their father late at night, and removing their masks for the first time all day give them to their father to return to the house where they are kept. When he comes back he thanks his children for their year of work and sets them free. Then for the first time since the preceding evening they drink, and after eating and bathing return to their homes. Their retreat, fifteen days, is the longest in Zuñi ritual.

The following prayers are only a fragment of the whole ritual. In addition to those recorded there are long series of prayers spoken at the time of appointment to office, for making prayer sticks, for offering corn meal to the sun (different in summer and winter) and food to the ancestors, for untying the knots of the day count, for each stage of dressing for the public ceremony, and for each offering of prayer sticks. In addition, the host and officials of the Katcina society have many long prayers.

Each of the six Ca'lako impersonations has a different chant, and that of the Koyemci is again different.

PRAYER OF THE IMPERSONATORS OF THE MASKED GODS WITH MONTHLY  
OFFERING OF PRAYER STICKS

- |                                                              |                                     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| And now indeed it is so.                                     | i'na no'milte                       |
| At the New Year                                              | i'tiwan'a                           |
| Our fathers                                                  | hon a'tate i'laḡona                 |
| 5 Four times prepared their precious<br>plume wands.         | a'witela'ma                         |
| With their plume wands they took<br>hold of me. <sup>1</sup> | 5 te'liḡinan ya'na ye'lete'una      |
| This many days                                               | te'liḡinan a'kā hom ya'fena-        |
| Anxiously we have awaited our<br>time.                       | tsu'meḡākā                          |
| 10 When the moon, who is our mother                          | le'si te'wanan'e                    |
| Yonder in the west                                           | te'wanan a'nḡsume'na                |
| As a small thing appeared, <sup>2</sup>                      | hon te'wanan a'teakā.               |
| Carrying our fathers' precious<br>plume wand,                | 10 hon ya'onakā tsii i'laḡ a'te'ona |
| 15 With our own poor plume wand                              | li'wan kā'lici'a'nkwin ta'na        |
| Fastened to our fathers' plume<br>wand,                      | ko'wi'la'na ye'tsaḡākā te'a'ana     |
| At the place called since the first<br>beginning             | yam a'tateu                         |
| Snow hanging, or where snow<br>hangs,                        | a'wan te'liḡinan ya'na'a            |
| 20 To our fathers,                                           | 15 yam te'liḡinan ci'mafo           |
| Priests of the masked gods,                                  | yam a'tateu a'wan te'liḡinan        |
| Cula'witsi, ḡekwin priest,                                   | ya'na a'mpaḡcuna                    |
| Sayataca, bow priest,                                        | te'liḡinan i'leana                  |
| Hututu, bow priest,                                          | kā'kā te'i'miḡākā                   |
| 25 Yamuhakto, bow priests,                                   | 'u'hana'a 'uhana'ye le'anakā        |
| To all the masked gods,                                      |                                     |
| (Our plume wands we gave.)                                   | 20 yam a'tateu                      |
| Where they were to receive their<br>plume wands,             | kokwa'eiwani                        |
| All happily gathered together,                               | cu'la'witsi ḡe'kwin ci'wani         |
| There we passed them on their<br>roads.                      | sa'yataca ḡi'la'ci'wani             |
| 30 This day                                                  | hu'tutu ḡi'la'ci'wani               |
| We shall give you plume wands.                               | 25 ya'muhakto a'ḡi'la'ci'wani       |
| Keeping your days,                                           | ko'ko te'mla                        |
| Throughout the cycle of your<br>months,                      | yam te'liḡinan i'leanaptun te'a     |
| Throughout the summer,                                       | te'mla ha'ḡona ko'keikwi            |
| 35 Anxiously we shall await your<br>time.                    | to'na hon a'wona-e'latanapḡā.       |
| Our fathers,                                                 |                                     |
| Yonder toward the south                                      | 30 lu'kā yā'tone                    |
| Wherever your roads come out,                                | to'na hon te'likina a'leana'wa.     |
| We have given you plume wands.                               | to'na'wan te'wanan a'ena            |
|                                                              | to'na yā'teu ḡi'lane                |
|                                                              | o'lo'ḡānan'e                        |
|                                                              | 35 a'nḡsume'na hon te'wanan a'te-   |
|                                                              | ḡana.                               |
|                                                              | hon a'tate i'laḡona                 |
|                                                              | li'wan a'laho'a'nkwin ta'na         |
|                                                              | to'na'wan o'neala kwai'inaḡkowa     |
|                                                              | to'na hon te'likina a'leanapḡā.     |

<sup>1</sup> The appointment of the impersonator at the winter solstice.

<sup>2</sup> The new moon. The first planting may be at the new moon or at the full moon, depending upon how quickly the appointments of the Ca'lako impersonators and the nine Koyemci are made.

- 40 When your springs were at an end,  
Our fathers,  
In their rain-filled room  
Met together.
- 45 The flesh of their mother, cotton  
woman,  
Four times counting up,  
They gave their day counts human  
form.<sup>3</sup>  
Of our two fathers,  
Sayataca, bow priest,
- 50 Molanhaktu, house chief,  
They had need.  
The two passed their fathers on  
their roads.  
With the flesh of their mother,
- 55 Cotton woman,  
Four times counted up, and given  
human form,  
With this they took hold of them.  
From where our fathers stay,  
Carrying the day count
- 60 They made their roads go forth.  
To their own houses  
Their roads reached.  
A little later
- 65 Carrying their fathers' day count  
With their plume wands fastened  
together,  
They made their roads go forth.  
Yonder we took our way.
- 70 At the place called since the first  
beginning.  
Aiyayaḱā,<sup>4</sup>  
Our fathers,  
Rain makers,  
Our fathers,
- 75 Priests of the masked gods,  
Where they were all gathered to-  
gether,  
We passed them on their roads.  
Giving them our fathers' plume  
wands,
- 80 Giving them their day count,  
This many days  
The days of their counting string,  
Anxiously we have awaited our  
time.
- 40 ʔo''na'wa ḱā'nakwe'na i'te'tapa  
hon a'tate i'laḱona  
yam ḱā'cima ʔe'li'tona  
ʔe'mlamo i'yona-e'latena  
yam tsit i'laḱ a'te'ona
- 45 pi'tsem o'ḱā an ci''nan'e  
a'witela'ma  
i'yālenan ho''i ya'ḱāna.  
hon a'teia tact i'laḱona  
sai'yataca pi'laci'wan'i
- 50 mo'lanhaktō ḱākwemos'i  
a'tei a'ntecematināḱāpa  
yam a'tateu  
a'te a'wona-e'lateḱā.  
yam tsit i'laḱ a'te'ona
- 55 pi'tsem o'ḱ' an ci''nan'e  
a'witela'ma ya'lenan yam ho''i  
ya'ḱānapkowa  
a'teia ya'ḱenapḱā.  
yam a'tateu ʔi'na'a  
ya'lenan i'leana
- 60 o'neal kwai''iḱāna  
yam he'coṭakwi  
o'neala te'toiḱāna  
we'tsim te'la'aḱa  
yam a'tateu
- 65 a'wa yā'lenana  
yam te'liḱinan a'mpatcu'kowa  
i'leana  
o'neala kwai''iḱāna  
le'hok' hon a'wona-ḱā.
- 70 ḱā'ḱā tei'miḱ'āḱā  
a'yayaḱā  
yam a'tateu  
u'wanam'i  
ho''na'wan a'tateu
- 75 koḱwa'ciwan'i  
te'mla ha'ḱona'kwi  
hon a'wona-e'latenapḱā.  
yam a'tateu  
te'liḱinan a'leana
- 80 yā'lenan a'leana  
le'si ʔe'wanane  
a'wa yā'lenan pi''lan'e  
a'nṣume'na  
hon ʔe'wanan a'teakā.

<sup>3</sup> Kohaito, "setting the day for the gods." The presentation of the day count with its 49 knots theoretically fixes the date of the festival. Kohaito may take place at the new moon or the full moon of October.

<sup>4</sup> The place used to be Ifalon Kwaton. See below.

- 85 When all their days were past,  
When their day-count was at an  
end  
Again we prepared plume wands.  
Carrying our plume wands  
At the place called since the first  
beginning
- 90 Rock Face,  
We passed our fathers on their  
roads.  
Meeting our fathers,  
  
We gave them plume wands.  
Keeping their days  
Anxiously waiting  
We passed our days.
- 100 This many are the days.  
And when their days were at an  
end,  
Over there, following your springs,  
We gave you plume wands.  
When all your days are past,
- 105 Our fathers,  
Priests of the masked gods  
Bow priests of the masked gods  
Cula-witsi pekwin priest,  
Sayataca bow priest,
- 110 Hututu bow priest,  
Yamuhaktu bow priests,  
Ca'lako bow priests,  
All the masked gods  
There from your home set with  
mountains,
- 115 Bringing your waters,  
Bringing your seeds,  
Bringing all your good fortune,  
  
Our fathers,  
You will make your roads come  
forth.
- 120 "Yes,<sup>5</sup> now every one of us will  
come forth.  
Our fathers at Itiwana,  
We shall pass on their roads.  
Let no one be left behind.  
All the men,
- 85 a'wan te'mla te'waḡa  
a'wan ya'lenan i'te'tcaḡa  
  
tem fa te'likinan ye'lete'una  
te'likina i'leana  
ḡā-ḡā te'i miḡā ḡā  
  
90 ḡa'nitan i'ma  
yam a'tateu  
hon a'wona-e'latenapḡa.  
hon a'wona-elatena  
yam a'tateu  
  
95 te'likinan a'leana  
te'wanan a'ena  
a'wan te'wanan a'n'sume'na  
hon te'wanan a'teaḡā.  
a'wan te'wanan i'te'tcaḡa  
  
100 le'si te'wanane  
a'wan te'wanan i'te'tcaḡa  
la'khok<sup>6</sup> to'na ḡanakwe'nan  
ta'pana  
to'na hon te'likinan a'leanapḡā.  
a'wan te'mla te'waḡa te'a'ana  
  
105 ho'na'wan a'tateu  
koḡwa'ciwani  
koḡwa'pi'la'ci'wani  
cu'la-witsi ḡe'kwin ci'wani  
sa'yataca ḡi'la'ci'wani  
  
110 hu'tutu ḡi'la'ci'wani  
ya'muhaktu ḡi'la'ci'wani  
ca'lako a'pi'la'ci'hani  
ko'ko te'mla  
ho' yam ya'lan ya'na'a  
  
115 yam ḡācim i'leana  
yam to'wacanan i'leana  
yam kwa'ho' te'ni ha'lowi'lin  
i'leana  
hon a'tate i'laḡona  
o'neal kwai'iḡāna  
  
120 e' ma' kes te'mlamo  
  
i'tiwanakwi yam a'tateu  
hon a'wona-e'latenan kwai'ina  
el kwa teu'ho' i'metcam'e  
a'wots a'te'ona

<sup>5</sup> From this point to the end the speaker quotes from the Ca'lako chant. The frequent changes of tense throughout the prayer make it impossible to fix it in the calendar. The Zuñi use of tense is not the same as ours.

- 125 Those with snow upon their heads,  
With moss upon their faces,  
With bony knees,  
No longer upright, but bent over  
canes,  
Now all of us
- 130 Shall pass our fathers on their  
roads.  
And the women,  
With snow upon their heads,  
Even those who are with child,
- 135 Carrying one on the back,  
With another on the cradle board,  
Leading one by the hand,  
With yet another going before,  
Even all of us
- 140 Shall pass you on your roads.  
Indeed, it is so  
The thoughts of our fathers,  
Who at the New Year  
With their precious plume wands  
Appointed us
- 146 Their thoughts we now fulfill.
- This is all.  
Thus with plain words we have  
passed you on your roads.
- 150 Now we fulfill the thoughts of our  
fathers.  
Always with one thought  
We shall live together.  
This is all.
- 155 Thus with plain words we have  
passed you on your roads.  
For whatever our fathers desired  
When at the New Year
- 160 They sent forth their sacred  
words,  
We have now fulfilled their  
thoughts.  
To this end: My fathers,  
My mothers,  
My children,
- 165 Always with one thought  
May we live together.  
With your waters,  
Your seeds,  
Your riches,
- 170 Your power,  
Your strong spirit,  
All your good fortune,  
With all this may you bless us."
- 125 u'tcina ha'ktoḡa  
ḡo'heti a'wiconapḡa  
o'ei kḡep yā'lupna  
e'lemakna i'natina ḡa'ḡowan  
sa'tili  
ḡes te'mlamo  
hon a'tatcu  
hon a'wona-e'latena'wa.  
a'woḡ' a'te'ona  
u'tcinan haktōḡa  
ya'nine'nante
- 130
- 135 ḡoḡ i'setona  
ḡoḡa le'mana yā'to i'ḡeckuna  
ḡoḡ i'ḡiyana  
ḡoḡa e'kuḡāna  
ḡes te'mlamo
- 140 ḡo''na hon a'wona-e'latenapḡā.  
no'milte  
i'tiwana  
te'likinan ya'n a'ḡā  
ho'n a'nulanapkowa  
yam a'tatcu
- 146 hons a'wan tse''makwin  
mo'la'na'wa.  
le'wi.  
le' yu''he'to ḡe'nan a'ḡā  
ḡo''na hon a'wona-e'latenapḡā.  
yam a'tatcu  
a'wan hon tse''makwimo'la'na'we.  
ḡopint i'tse'makuna  
hon ḡe'wanan a'teḡāna.  
le'wi
- 150
- 155 le' yu''he'to ḡe'nan a'ḡā  
ḡo''na hon a'wona-e'latenapḡā.  
i'tiwana  
yam a'tateu  
ko''n a'ntecemana
- 160 ḡe'wusu ḡe'nan kwai'iḡānapkowa  
hon tse''makwin mo'la'na'we  
te'wuna' hom a'tatcu  
hom a'tsita  
hom tea'we
- 165 ḡo'piut i'tse'makuna  
hons ḡe'wanan a'teḡāna.  
yam ḡā'cima  
yam ḡo'wacanan'e  
yam u'tenan'e
- 170 yam sa'wanikā  
yam tse''makwin ḡsu'me  
yam kwahol teni ha'lowilin-e  
temla ho'na ḡo ya'niktiatu.



## SAYATACA'S NIGHT CHANT

And now indeed it has come to pass.  
 When the sun who is our father  
 Had yet a little ways to go to reach his  
     left-hand altar,<sup>3</sup>  
 Our daylight father,  
 Pekwin of the Dogwood clan,  
 Desired the waters, the seeds  
 Of his fathers,  
 Priests of the masked gods.  
 Then our fathers,<sup>4</sup>  
 Sharing one another's desire, sat down  
     together  
 In the rain-filled room  
 Of those that first came into being.<sup>5</sup>  
 Yonder following all the springs,  
 They sought those ordained to bring  
     long life to man,<sup>6</sup>  
 Those that stand upright,  
 But (like the waters of the world),  
 Springing from one root, are joined to-  
     gether fast.<sup>7</sup>  
 At the feet of some fortunate one<sup>8</sup>  
 Offering prayer meal,  
 Turquoise, corn pollen,  
 Breaking the straight young shoots,  
 With their warm human hands  
 They held them fast.  
 Taking the massed cloud robe of their  
     grandfather, turkey man,  
 Eagle's mist garment,  
 The thin cloud wings and massed  
     cloud tails  
 Of all the birds of summer,  
 With these four times clothing their  
     plume wands,  
 They made the plume wands into living  
     beings.

With the flesh of their mother,  
 Cotton woman,  
 Even a thread badly made,  
 A soiled cotton thread,<sup>9</sup>  
 Four times encircling their wand they  
     made their belts;<sup>10</sup>  
 With rain-bringing prayer feathers  
 They made them into living beings.  
 With the flesh of their two mothers,  
 Black paint woman,  
 Clay woman,  
 Clothing their plume wands with flesh,  
 They made them into living beings.  
 When they said, "Let it be now,"  
 The ones who are our fathers  
 Commissioned with prayers  
 The prayer wands that they had fash-  
     ioned.  
 When the sun who is our father,  
 Had gone in to sit down at his ancient  
     place,<sup>11</sup>  
 Then over toward the south,  
 Whence the earth is clothed anew,<sup>12</sup>  
 Our father, Kāwulia Pautiwa,<sup>13</sup>  
 Perpetuating what had been since the  
     first beginning  
 Again assumed human form.<sup>14</sup>  
 Carrying his fathers' finished<sup>15</sup> plume  
     wands  
 He made his road come hither.  
 Wherever he thought, "Let it be here,"  
 Into his fathers' rain-filled room,  
 He made his road to enter.  
 And when our sun father,  
 Had yet a little ways to go  
 To go in to sit down at his ancient place,  
 Yonder from all sides

<sup>3</sup> I. e., the south, therefore, at the winter solstice.

<sup>4</sup> The priests.

<sup>5</sup> E'to'we, the fetishes of the priests.

<sup>6</sup> The red willow, the wood most commonly used for prayer sticks.

<sup>7</sup> According to Zuni cosmology, springs are outlets of a system of underground waters. By analogy, a shrub whose shoots are joined to a common rootstock is used to bring rain.

<sup>8</sup> This one is not cut.

<sup>9</sup> That is, so long as it is cotton.

<sup>10</sup> A characteristic word play, literally, "they brought it around to be tied" or "they reached their belts."

<sup>11</sup> Sunset.

<sup>12</sup> The south wind and the summer birds bring summer from the south.

<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Stevenson calls him komosona (head of the masked god cult) of Koluwalawa. He is described as "the highest chief." None of the gods can come to Zuni save by his order. The plans are made at the New Year, when he leaves the crooks for all the dancers.

<sup>14</sup> The impersonator dons the mask and becomes the god, and inversely the god assumes human form. As a matter of fact, in the evening the impersonator comes unmasked, the mask having previously been taken to the kiva.

<sup>15</sup> Finished with the special paint used by priests, which was brought from the underworld at the time of the emergence.

Rain-bringing birds,<sup>16</sup>  
 Pekwin, priest  
 From where he stays quietly,  
 Made his road come forth.  
 Making his road come hither,  
 Into his fathers' rain-filled room,  
 He made his road to enter.  
 With his wings,  
 His fathers' cloud house<sup>17</sup> he fashioned,  
 Their bed of mist<sup>17</sup> he spread out,  
 Their life-giving road<sup>18</sup> of meal he  
   sent forth  
 Their precious spring<sup>19</sup> he prepared.  
 When all was ready,  
 Our father, Kāwulia Pautiwa  
 Reaching his house chiefs,<sup>20</sup>  
 His pekwin  
 His bow priests,  
 He made his road to go in.  
 Following one road,  
 Sitting down quietly,  
 A blessed night  
 The divine ones  
 With us, their children, came to day.

Next day, when our sun father  
 Had come out standing to his sacred  
   place,<sup>21</sup>  
 Saying, "Let it be now."  
 Over there to the south,  
 Whence the earth is clothed anew,  
 Our father, Kāwulia Pautiwa,  
 Perpetuating what had been since the  
   first beginning,  
 Again assumed human form.

Carrying his waters,  
 Carrying his seeds,  
 Carrying his fathers' precious plume  
   wands,  
 He made his road come forth.  
 He made his road come hither.  
 The country of the Corn priests,  
 Four times he made his road encircle.<sup>22</sup>  
 Yonder wherever all his kiva children's  
   rain-filled roads come out<sup>23</sup>  
 His precious plume wands  
 He laid down.  
 Then turning he went back to his own  
   country.  
 My father picked up the prayer plume,  
 And with the precious prayer plume  
 Me he appointed.<sup>24</sup>  
 The moon, who is our mother,  
 Yonder in the west waxed large;  
 And when standing fully grown against  
   the eastern sky,<sup>25</sup>  
 She made her days,  
 For my fathers,  
 Rain maker priests,  
 Priests of the masked gods.  
 I fashioned prayer plumes into living  
   beings.  
 My own common<sup>26</sup> prayer plume,  
 I fastened to the precious prayer plume  
   of my fathers.  
 At the place since the first beginning  
   called cotton hanging,  
 I brought my fathers<sup>27</sup> prayer plumes.  
 Drawing my prayer plumes toward  
   them,

<sup>16</sup> An esoteric designation for the pekwin.

<sup>17</sup> The meal painting on the altar.

<sup>18</sup> A line of meal reaching from the altar to the ladder, along which impersonators walk.

<sup>19</sup> The bowl of medicine water placed on the altar.

<sup>20</sup> The chief priesthood.

<sup>21</sup> Sunrise. Pautiwa enters the village just after sunset. In fact, by the time he has visited all the kivas it is quite dark. However, the ceremonies on the plain, where he dresses, begin shortly after noon.

<sup>22</sup> Pautiwa in coming in at this time encircles the village four times in narrowing circles, symbolic of the search for the middle.

<sup>23</sup> At the hatchways of all the kivas; Pautiwa does not enter the kivas. He leaves the plume wands on the roofs. The description is of the leaving of the crooks for the six Ca'lako impersonations. The crooks for the Sayataca group and the Koyemci are brought to He'iwa kiva by the impersonator of Pautiwa when he comes unmasked for the night ceremonies of the New Year. They have already been distributed before his afternoon appearance with the Ca'lako crooks.

<sup>24</sup> The "Ca'lako crook" left by Pautiwa is taken by one of the kiva officials who is waiting in the kiva to receive it. He takes it home. Next evening members are summoned to his home for the ceremony of installation. The "crook" contains one long and two short sticks. The long stick and one short one are given to the man who volunteers to entertain the gods. The short stick is planted at the first full moon of the New Year. The long one is kept in the house until the last day of the Ca'lako festival, when it is given to the father of the Koyemci, who plants it with his own prayer sticks that night. The other short stick is given to the impersonator and is planted by him at the first full moon, as described in the following passage.

<sup>25</sup> At the full moon.

<sup>26</sup> Painted with common paint.

<sup>27</sup> His ancestors, the deceased impersonators of Sayataca, and the kateinas.

They spoke to those inside the place of  
our first beginning.<sup>25</sup>

Yonder following all the springs,  
On all the mossy mountains,  
In all the wooded places,  
At the encircling ocean,  
With my prayer plumes,  
With my sacred meal,  
With my sacred words,  
They talked to those within.  
Winter,  
Summer,  
Through the cycle of the months,  
Though my prayer plumes were but  
poor ones,  
There toward the south,  
Wherever my fathers' roads come out<sup>29</sup>  
I continued to give them prayer plumes.

And when the cycle of months was at  
an end

My fathers<sup>30</sup> made their rain roads  
come in

To their fathers,  
Their mothers,  
Those that first came into being.  
Sharing one another's desire, they sat  
down together.

With the flesh of their mother,  
Cotton woman,  
Even a cord badly made,  
A soiled cotton cord,  
With this four times  
They made the day counts<sup>31</sup> into living  
beings.

Saying, "Let it be now,"  
They sent for me.

I came to my fathers,  
Where they were waiting for me.  
With their day count  
They took hold of me fast.  
Carrying their day count  
I came back to my house.  
Saying, "Let it be now,"  
And carrying the prayer plumes which

I had prepared,  
Yonder to the south  
With prayers, I made my road go forth.  
To the place ever since the first begin-  
ning called "Ants go in,"<sup>32</sup>  
My road reached.

There where my fathers' water-filled  
roads come out,

I gave them plume wands;  
I gave them prayer feathers;  
There I asked for light for you.  
That you may finish your roads,  
That you may grow old,  
That you may have corn,  
That you may have beans,  
That you may have squash,  
That you may have wheat,  
That you may kill game,  
That you may be blessed with riches,  
For all this I asked.

Then over toward the west<sup>33</sup>  
Where the road of my fathers comes in,  
I gave them plume wands.

And now, when all of their days were  
past,  
Over toward the west,

<sup>25</sup> The rain makers.

<sup>29</sup> At various springs in the mountains south of Zuñi. At the present time these are visited in the following order: Uhanaa (snow hanging), January; Alapatsi (rock wedge), February; Aisinakwi (painted rock), March; PicnGaia (poison water weed spring), April; Eanula (mesa wall spring, lit., water against something), May; Toloknana, two plantings, in June and July; Eatei (evil smelling water), August; Opumfia (sack of meal hanging), September; Ayayakya (bluebird), October (ko haito). The matter, however, is not so simple, and there are always arguments as to the dates and places of planting. The first planting need not be at the full moon. If the New Year is at the full moon the first planting may be immediately after or delayed a month. If it takes place the end of January there is disagreement concerning the advisability of planting twice at Toloknana and as to whether the last planting at Ayayakya should be made at the full moon or the first quarter. The final decision rests with the personator of Sayataca. No matter when the plantings are made, it is always necessary at the end to postpone the festival because the houses are not ready. This is done after consultation with the Pekwin, so that the dates may not conflict with his dates for the winter solstice.

<sup>30</sup> The priests.

<sup>31</sup> A cotton string containing 49 knots. Starting with the following morning, one knot is untied each morning, the last being untied at daybreak the morning the gods go out after their night of dancing in the houses. One such string is given to the Sayataca impersonator, one to the father of the Koyemci.

<sup>32</sup> Halon Kwaton, at the foot of Corn Mountain. M. C. Stevenson records ko haito as being made at this place. In 1927 and in preceding years this ceremony took place at Ayayakya, on the opposite side of the valley.

<sup>33</sup> The plantings to the west are at intervals of 10 days. They are not at springs.

Where the gray mountain stands,<sup>34</sup>  
 And the blue mountain,  
 Where rain always falls,  
 Where seeds are renewed,  
 Where life is renewed,  
 Where no one ever falls down,<sup>35</sup>  
 At the abiding place  
 Of those who are our children,<sup>36</sup>  
 There I met them on their roads.

There where the one who is my father  
 Had prepared my seat  
 Four times my father<sup>37</sup> sprinkled  
 prayer meal.

On the crown of my head  
 Four times he sprinkled prayer meal.  
 And after he had sprinkled prayer meal  
 on his rain seat,

Following him,  
 My prayer meal  
 Four times I sprinkled.  
 My father's rain seat  
 I stood beside.  
 My father took hold of me.  
 Presenting me to all the directions,<sup>38</sup> he  
 made me sit down.

When I had sat down,  
 My father  
 Took his grandson,  
 Reed youth.  
 Within his body,  
 He bored a hole going through him.  
 Four times drawing toward him his bag  
 of native tobacco,

Into the palm of his hand  
 He measured out the tobacco.

Within his body  
 He placed mist.<sup>39</sup>

He took his grandmother<sup>40</sup> by the hand,  
 And made her sit down in the door-  
 way.<sup>41</sup>

Having made her sit in the doorway,

Four times inhaling, he drew the mist  
 through.

With the mist

He added to the hearts<sup>42</sup>

Of the rain maker priests of all direc-  
 tions.

It is well;

Praying that the rain makers

Might not withhold their misty breath,  
 With his prayers

He added to their hearts.

He handed it to me.

Four times inhaling,

Into my body

I made the mist pass through.

Then with the mist,

I added to the hearts of my fathers of all  
 the directions.

When this was at an end,

We greeted one another with terms of  
 kinship:

Father,<sup>43</sup>

Son; elder brother, younger brother;  
 uncle, nephew; grandfather, grand-  
 son; ancestor, descendant.

With this many words we greeted one  
 another.

When all this was at an end,

My father questioned me:

"Yes, now indeed

You have passed us on our roads.

Surely you will have something to say,  
 some words that are not too long."

Thus he spoke to me.

"Yes, indeed it is so.

Back at the New Year,

All my fathers

Desiring something,

With their precious prayer plume

Appointed me.

Yonder toward the south,

At all the places where the roads of the  
 rain makers come out,

<sup>34</sup> Ko'luwawawa, katsina village. Actually the impersonator is dressed, with elaborate ceremonies, at A'gohana ū'nakwi, a shrine about 2 miles southwest of Zuñi. Here two mounds of corn meal are made to represent the mountains at Ko'wala-wa. Komosona, chief of the katsina cult, officiates as the "father."

<sup>35</sup> I. e., dies.

<sup>36</sup> The katsinas.

<sup>37</sup> Saynta, the god, represented by komosona

<sup>38</sup> Holding his shoulder and moving him gently to the north, west, south, east, up, and then seating him.

<sup>39</sup> Cipololon'e, a common word play. Cipololon'e means both mist and smoke, ceremonially. The ordinary word for smoke is hīgaian'e. The significance of the rite suffers in translation.

<sup>40</sup> Fire. In ritual smoking the cigarette is lighted with live coal from the fireplace.

<sup>41</sup> At the end of the cigarette.

<sup>42</sup> The common terms for offerings to supernaturals, used especially of offerings of smoke and food.

<sup>43</sup> Stevenson and Parsons give different translations. (See p. 762.)

I have continued to offer you prayer  
plumes.  
Now that the cycle of your months is at  
an end,  
Now that the counted number of your  
days has been told off  
Now that this many days  
Anxiously we have awaited your day,  
Now this day,  
We have reached the appointed time.  
Now I have passed you on your roads."  
Thus I spoke to them.

When I had spoken thus,  
Hurriedly, without delay,  
My father took hold of me.  
From the very soles of my feet  
Even to the crown of my head  
He clothed me all over with all things  
needful.

When all this was at an end,  
Then also with that which is called my  
belt,

His prayer meal,  
He covered my navel.  
With his bundle that covered it all over.  
He took hold of me,  
His bundle reached all around my  
body.

When all this was at an end,  
Then also the different kinds of seeds  
four times he placed over my navel.<sup>44</sup>  
All different kinds of seeds his bundle  
contained:

The seeds of the yellow corn,  
The seeds of the blue corn,  
The seeds of the red corn,  
The seeds of the white corn,  
The seeds of the speckled corn,  
The seeds of the black corn,  
And also that by means of which you  
may have firm flesh,  
Namely, the seeds of the sweet corn;  
And also those which will be your sweet  
tasting delicacies,  
Namely, all the clans of beans—  
The yellow beans,  
The blue beans,  
The red beans,

The white beans,  
The spotted beans,  
The black beans,  
The large beans,  
The small beans,  
The little gray beans,  
The round beans,  
The string beans;  
Then also those that are called the  
ancient round things—<sup>45</sup>  
The striped squash,  
The crooked-neck squash,  
The watermelons,  
The sweet melons,  
And also those which you will use to dip  
up your clear water,  
Namely, the gourds;  
And then also the seeds of the piñon  
tree,  
The seeds of the juniper tree,  
The seeds of the oak tree,  
The seeds of the peach tree,  
The seeds of the black wood shrub,  
The seeds of the first flowering shrub,  
The seeds of the ĩkapuli <sup>46</sup> shrub  
The seeds of the large yucca,  
The seeds of the small yucca,  
The seeds of the branched cactus,  
The seeds of the brown cactus,  
The seeds of the small cactus;  
And then also the seeds of all the wild  
grasses—  
The evil smelling weeds,<sup>47</sup>  
The little grass,  
Tecukta,  
Kucutsi,  
O'co,  
Apitalu,  
Sutoka,  
Mololoqa,  
Īculiya  
Small ĩculiya,  
Hamato  
Mitaliko;  
And then also the seeds of those that  
stand in their doorways,<sup>48</sup>  
Namely the cat-tails,  
The tall flags,

<sup>44</sup> Every masked dancer carries a package of seeds in his belt. It is his "heart." At the close of any dance the priest who thanks the dancers takes some of the seeds to plant. Those carried by Sayataca are planted in the floor of the house he dedicates. (See p. 873.)

<sup>45</sup> Native squashes.

<sup>46</sup> An unidentified shrub sometimes used for prayer sticks.

<sup>47</sup> None of these have been identified. Many are food plants.

<sup>48</sup> The doorways of the rain makers, the springs.

The water weeds,  
 The water cress,  
 The round-leaved weed;  
 Across my navel  
 His bundle reached.  
 And then also, the yellow clothing  
 bundle <sup>49</sup> of the priest of the north,  
 The blue clothing bundle of the priest  
 of the west,  
 The red clothing bundle of the priest of  
 the south,  
 The white clothing bundle of the priest  
 of the east,  
 The many colored bundle of the priest  
 of the above,  
 The dark colored bundle of the priest  
 of the below;  
 Across my navel  
 His bundle reached.  
 When all this was at an end,  
 My father spoke to me:  
 "Thus you will go.  
 Your daylight fathers,  
 Your daylight mothers,  
 Your daylight children  
 You will pass on their roads.  
 And wherever you come to rest,  
 We shall come to you.<sup>50</sup>  
 Assuredly none of us shall be left  
 behind—  
 All the men,  
 Those with snow upon their heads,  
 With moss on their faces,  
 With skinny knees, no longer upright,  
 and leaning on canes,  
 Even all of these;  
 And furthermore the women,  
 Even those who are with child,  
 Carrying one child on the back,  
 Holding another on a cradle board,  
 Leading one by the hand,  
 With yet another going before,  
 Even all of us,  
 Our daylight fathers,  
 Our daylight mothers,

Our children,  
 We shall pass on their roads."<sup>51</sup>  
 Thus my father said.  
 Having spoken thus,  
 He took hold of me.  
 Presenting me to all the directions he  
 made me arise.  
 With his prayer meal  
 Four times he sprinkled his water-  
 filled ladder.  
 After him,  
 Four times I sprinkled my prayer meal.  
 Taking four steps,  
 Four times striding forward,  
 Standing, I came out.  
 [Having come out standing,  
 Yonder to all directions I looked;<sup>52</sup>  
 I looked toward the north,  
 I looked toward the west,  
 I looked toward the south,  
 I looked toward the east.  
 Hither, toward the place of dawn,  
 I saw four roads going side by side.  
 Along the middle road,  
 Four times my prayer meal I sprinkled.  
 There I made the sound of the water-  
 filled breath of the priest of the  
 north.<sup>53</sup>  
 Taking four steps,  
 Four times striding forward,  
 To the place known since the first  
 beginning as Great Lake,<sup>54</sup>  
 My road came.  
 Where my father's road comes out  
 I stood in the doorway.  
 That which formed my belt,  
 My prayer meal,  
 Four times sprinkling inside,  
 I opened their curtain of scum.<sup>54</sup>  
 After that,  
 Four times sprinkling prayer meal  
 inside  
 Standing I came in.  
 When I came in standing,

<sup>49</sup> U'tenan he'kun'e. A word of esoteric meaning; utenan'e is clothing and ornaments, any movable wealth. It is not the ordinary word for clothing. Pekwin possesses hekune instead of e'tone. In the Corn dance the leaders carry hekune on their heads. Pekwin makes it, and no one knows what it contains inside the rich wrappings. U'tenan hekune seems to be a symbol of wealth.

<sup>50</sup> The gods who are believed to be present in spirit on this night.

<sup>51</sup> At this point in the prayer the chief w'o'le rises and whirls a rhombus, symbolizing the breath of the rain makers.

<sup>52</sup> The north wind. Wind brings rain.

<sup>53</sup> One of the springs at which the a'ciwi stopped on their journey in search of the middle place.

<sup>54</sup> In this case he actually enters the spring. The term, "to open the scum," is, however, used esoterically to refer to the entrance of any impersonator into a kiva or other ceremonial room.



My father<sup>55</sup>  
 Hurrying without delay  
 Where he had prepared his rain seat,  
 His prayer meal  
 Four times he sprinkled.  
 On the top of my head  
 His prayer meal  
 Four times he sprinkled.  
 After him  
 Four times sprinkling my prayer meal,  
 My father's rain seat  
 I stood beside.  
 As I stood up beside it  
 My father took hold of me,  
 Yonder to all the directions presenting  
 me,  
 He made me sit down.  
 Having seated me  
 The one who is my father  
 Took the water bringing cigarettes  
 which he had prepared.  
 Four times drawing it toward him,  
 He took his grandmother by the hand  
 And made her sit down in the doorway,  
 Four times inhaling, he drew the mist  
 through.  
 With the mist  
 He added to the hearts of fathers,  
 Rain maker priests.  
 Thus it is well;  
 In order that the rain makers may not  
 withhold their misty breath.  
 With mist he added to their hearts.  
 When all this was at an end,  
 My father handed it to me.  
 Four times inhaling, I drew the mist  
 through.  
 Into my body drawing the misty  
 breath,  
 With the mist  
 I added to the hearts of my fathers.  
 This is well;  
 In order that the rain makers may not  
 withhold their misty breath,  
 With mist I added to their hearts.  
 When all this was at an end,  
 We greeted one another with terms of  
 kinship:  
 Father,  
 Son; elder brother, younger brother;  
 uncle, nephew; grandfather, grand-  
 son; ancestor, descendant.

With these words we greeted one an-  
 other.  
 When all this was at an end  
 My father questioned me:  
 "Yes, now at this time  
 You have passed us on our roads.  
 Surely you will have something to say,  
 some word that is not too long,  
 If you let us know that,  
 I shall know it for all time."  
 Thus my father spoke.  
 When he had spoken thus, (I answered)  
 "Yes, indeed it is so.  
 Yonder to the south,  
 Following wherever your roads come  
 out,  
 I have been bringing you prayer sticks,  
 I have been bringing you prayer  
 feathers.  
 Now this day,  
 Having reached the appointed time,  
 I have passed you on your roads."  
 "Is that so. With plain words you  
 have come to us.  
 We are clothed with your prayer sticks;  
 We hold your prayer meal;  
 With your prayer plumes in our hair  
 we are sitting in here waiting.  
 Here where we are just standing  
 around,  
 Where we are just sitting on our  
 haunches,  
 You have come to us.  
 When the sun who is our father  
 Has yet a little ways to go,  
 Before he goes in to sit down at his  
 sacred place,  
 Nearby your daylight fathers,  
 Your daylight mothers,  
 Your children,  
 You will pass on their roads.  
 Wherever you come to rest,  
 All together we shall come to you.  
 All the men,  
 Those with snow upon their heads, with  
 moss upon their faces,  
 With skinny knees,  
 No longer upright but leaning on canes;  
 And the women,  
 Even those who are with child,  
 Carrying one upon the back,  
 Holding another on the cradle board,

<sup>55</sup> The inhabitants of the spring, differently interpreted as rain makers, some special, unnamed class of beings living in springs, or simply *alacina'we*, the ancestors.

Leading one by the hand,  
 With yet another going before.  
 Yes, with all of these,  
 Your daylight fathers,  
 Your daylight mothers,  
 Your children,  
 You will pass on their roads.  
 And wherever you come to rest  
 We shall come to you."  
 Thus my father spoke.  
 When he had spoken thus,  
 He took hold of me.  
 Yonder to all the directions  
 Presenting me  
 He made me arise.  
 After he had made me arise  
 With his prayer meal  
 His water-filled ladder  
 He sprinkled.  
 After him sprinkling my prayer meal  
 Standing, I came out.]<sup>55</sup>

\* \* \*

Coming out standing  
 Yonder to all directions I looked.  
 I looked to the north,  
 I looked to the west,  
 I looked to the south,  
 I looked to the east,  
 Hither toward Itiwana<sup>57</sup> I saw four  
 roads going side by side.

Along the middle road,  
 My prayer meal  
 Four times I sprinkled before me.  
 Then I made the sound of the rain-  
 filled breath of the rain maker priest  
 of the below.

Taking four steps,  
 Four times striding forward,  
 Where descends the watery road.  
 Of my daylight fathers,<sup>58</sup>  
 My daylight mothers,  
 I stood.  
 Then I consecrated<sup>59</sup> the place  
 Where my father's watery road de-  
 scends.  
 That none of his children might fall  
 from the ladder,<sup>60</sup>  
 Having still one rung left to go,  
 Having still two rungs left to go,  
 Having still three rungs left to go,  
 Having still four rungs left to go;  
 In order that none of his children should  
 fall down  
 I consecrated the place where his watery  
 road descends.  
 When all this was at an end  
 The one who is my father  
 On the crown of my head  
 Four times sprinkled prayer meal.  
 On his watery wood pile<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The bracketed portion is repeated unchanged, except for two words, for the other 28 springs visited by the A'ciwi during their migrations. In addition to substituting the names of the springs, the different winds are invoked in the following order: West, south, east, above, below, north, west, etc. The springs are visited in the following order which is not that of the ca'lako (see p. 771): 2, te'wul i'ti-wa pi'kaia le'ana-kanakwi, the place called water cress in the valley; 3, he'i patcikwi, cliff dwelling; 4, ha'nipinkakwi, place of stealing; 5, kana pa'itokwi, last spring; 6, ka'na i'tiwakwi, middle spring; 7, to'pa pi'kaia, the other watercress spring; 8, ko'lowisi kanekwi, Kolowisi's home; 9, patsikanakwi, dripping spring; 10, po'co-wakwi, grass bending over; 11, lw kanakwi, ashes spring; 12, to'seluna kanakwi, cat tail spring; 13, a'miltolan ka'akwi, rainbow spring; 14, kapkwenakwi, water flowing out (Ojo Caliente); 15, wa'tsita'na-kwi, dog's corner; 16, ka'lakonakwi, ca'lako place; 17, u'banakwi, snow hanging place; 18, a'apatsikwi, rock wedge place; 19, a'isnakwi, pictograph place; 20, pi'cu'kaakwi, poison water weed spring; 21, ka'nula'kwi, mesa wall spring; 22, to'lokanakwi (no translation); 23, ka'tetcikwi, evil smelling water; 24, o'pumpiakwi, where the sack of flour hangs; 25, a'yayakakwi, bluebird place; 26, ha'lon kwa'tonankwi, where ants go in; 27, to'wa ya'akwi, Corn Mountain (substitute "toward Itiwana" for "toward the east"); 28, matasaka hepatina le'ana kanakwi, the place called matsaka hepatina; 29, ko'lin ka'akwi e'tsaka hepatinakwi, sulphur spring, commonly called hepatina.

<sup>57</sup> The middle; i. e., Zuni. The word in common use is ci'wina'kwi.

<sup>58</sup> The outer ladder. Sayataca still enters through the roof. None of the prayers make any mention of the planting of prayer sticks in the six permanent excavations in the street of the village. In 1927 these were visited in the following order: Te'gainawa, o'na'wa, pa'towa, ts'a'a'wa, he'ga'pawa, te'witola'na. Their house was in the large plaza. In these excavations Cu'la-witsi, Sa'yataca and Hu'tutu deposit telikina Isume (strong prayer sticks) to the Uwanami of the six regions. They are colored with the appropriate colors.

<sup>59</sup> He deposits a double prayer stick just inside the threshold of the door, where every one passes. This was formerly planted under the ladder. Like those placed in the roof, these are colored blue and yellow and are male and female, respectively.

<sup>60</sup> That is, die before their time.

<sup>61</sup> Kacima fapela is an archaic expression for a load of firewood made by laying short sticks across two long poles.

Four times he threw prayer meal  
upward.  
Then after him,  
My prayer meal  
Sprinkling before me,  
Where my father's water-filled road  
ascends  
I made my road ascend.  
The one who is my father  
Four times sprinkled prayer meal be-  
fore him.  
After him  
Four times sprinkling prayer meal be-  
fore me,  
Standing, I came in.  
As standing I came in  
I could scarcely see all my fathers,  
So full was his house.

Then my father's rain-filled room  
I rooted at the north,<sup>62</sup>  
I rooted at the west,  
I rooted at the south,  
I rooted at the east,  
I rooted above,  
Then in the middle of my father's roof,<sup>63</sup>  
With two plume wands joined to-  
gether,  
I consecrated his roof.  
This is well;  
In order that my father's offspring may  
increase,  
I consecrated the center of his roof.  
And then also, the center of my father's  
floor,  
With seeds of all kinds,  
I consecrated the center of his floor.<sup>64</sup>  
This is well;  
In order that my father's fourth room  
May be bursting with corn,  
That even in his doorway,  
The shelled corn may be scattered be-  
fore the door,  
The beans may be scattered before the  
door,

That his house may be full of little  
boys,  
And little girls,  
And people grown to maturity;  
That in his house  
Children may jostle one another in the  
doorway,  
In order that it may be thus,  
I have consecrated the rain-filled room  
Of my daylight father,  
My daylight mother.

When all this was at an end,  
The one who is my father<sup>65</sup>  
Four times sprinkled prayer meal  
Where he had prepared my seat.  
Following him,  
Four times sprinkling prayer meal be-  
fore me,  
Where my father had prepared my seat,  
I stood beside it.  
My father took hold of me.  
Presenting me to all the directions, he  
made me sit down.  
After my father had seated me,  
The rain invoking cigarette which he  
had prepared  
My father drew toward him.  
He took his grandmother by the hand  
And made her sit in the doorway.  
Having seated her in the doorway,  
Four times inhaling he made the mist  
pass through;  
Into his body  
He drew the misty breath.  
With the mist he added to the hearts  
of his fathers.  
This is well:  
That the rain makers may not withhold  
their misty breath,  
With mist  
He added to the hearts of his fathers.  
He handed it to me.  
Four times inhaling I made the mist  
pass through;

<sup>62</sup> Consecrating the walls of the house. Each of the impersonators makes one stroke downward on each wall, using for this purpose whatever he is carrying. Cula'witsi uses his torch, Sayataca, Htututu, the two Yaumbakto use their teha'we, the Salimopia their yucca. This is not done above and below.

<sup>63</sup> In the decorated box made to receive them. The box is called teckwin'e, the word used for any permanent or temporary altar or sacred place. The sticks are painted blue and yellow; the blue one is male, the yellow female. The female has a face painted on one side. They are deposited with the face toward the east. They are called wihawe, "babies."<sup>64</sup> This term is used for prayer sticks in the excavations visited by Pa'utiwa at the New Year, from which he foretells the future, and for the dolls given at the winter solstice ceremonies to barren or unlucky women to insure conception or safe delivery.

<sup>64</sup> The seeds are deposited in a permanent excavation carefully concealed. Sometimes at the winter solstice articles of clay are deposited in this excavation.

<sup>65</sup> Pekwin seats the personators in the Sayataca house, and they smoke with the priests. (See M. C. Stevenson.)

Into my warm body  
 I drew the misty breath.  
 With mist I added to the hearts of my  
 fathers.  
 This is well:  
 That the rain makers may not with-  
 hold their misty breath,  
 With mist I added to their hearts.  
 When all this was at an end,  
 We greeted one another with terms of  
 kinship:  
 Father,  
 Son, elder brother, younger brother;  
 uncle, nephew; grandfather, grand-  
 son; ancestor, descendant.  
 With this many words we greeted one  
 another.

When all this was at an end,  
 My daylight father questioned me:<sup>66</sup>  
 "Yes, now indeed  
 You have passed us on our roads,  
 The one whom all our fathers,  
 Desiring something,  
 Appointed at the New Year.  
 Yonder to the south  
 Wherever emerge the precious roads of  
 our fathers,  
 Rain maker priests,  
 Rain maker Pekwins,  
 Rain maker bow priests.  
 With your prayer plumes—poorly made  
 though they were,  
 You have asked for light for us.  
 Now this day, the appointed time has  
 come."  
 Thus my father said to me.

Now our fathers,  
 Cula-witsi, pekwin priest,<sup>67</sup>  
 Sayataca, bow priest,<sup>68</sup>  
 Hututu, bow priest,  
 The two Yamuhakto, bow priests,  
 Perpetuating their rite,  
 Have once more assumed human form.  
 Their seeds,  
 Their riches,  
 Their fecundity,  
 The seeds of the yellow corn,

The seeds of the blue corn,  
 The seeds of the red corn,  
 The seeds of the white corn,  
 The seeds of the speckled corn,  
 The seeds of the black corn,  
 The seeds of the sweet corn,  
 All the clans of beans,  
 All the ancient round things,  
 The seeds of all the different trees,  
 The seeds of all the wild weeds,  
 I carry over my navel.  
 Those which we brought,  
 These seeds we now leave here  
 In the rain-filled rooms  
 Of our daylight fathers,  
 Our daylight mothers.

When in the spring,  
 Your earth mother is enriched with  
 living waters,  
 Then in all your water-filled fields,  
 These, with which you will renew your-  
 selves,  
 Your mothers,  
 All the different kinds of corn,  
 Within your earth mother  
 You will lay down.  
 With our earth mother's living waters,  
 They will once more become living  
 beings.  
 Into the daylight of our sun father  
 They will come out standing.  
 They will stand holding out their hands  
 to all the directions,  
 Calling for water.  
 And from somewhere,  
 Our fathers with their fresh water  
 Will come to them.  
 Their fresh waters  
 They will drink in.  
 They will clasp their children in their  
 arms;  
 Their young will finish their roads.  
 Into your house,  
 You will bring them,  
 To be your beloved ones.  
 In order that you may live thus,  
 In the rain-filled rooms  
 Of our daylight fathers,

<sup>66</sup> Pekwin speaks.

<sup>67</sup> The cula'witsi personator, usually a boy 10 to 13 years of age, is always referred to as pekwin tsana, the little sun priest.

<sup>68</sup> Sayataca is never called k'a'kawam'osi, house chief, as Mrs. Stevenson reports. The koyemci are the k'a'kwa'mosi. In prayers their father is always called mo'lan haktu k'a'kwemosi ci'wani.

Our daylight mothers,  
 Our daylight children,  
 The seeds which we brought tied about  
 our waists  
 We leave here now.  
 This is well;  
 That going but a little ways from their  
 house  
 Our fathers may meet their children;<sup>69</sup>  
 That going about, as they say,  
 With your water-filled breath  
 (You may meet) antelope,  
 Mountain goats,  
 Does,  
 Bucks,  
 Jack rabbits,  
 Cottontails,  
 Wood rats,  
 Small game—even little bugs;  
 So that thus going out from your  
 houses,  
 With the flesh of these  
 You may satisfy your hunger.  
 This is well;  
 In order that my daylight fathers' rain-  
 filled rooms,  
 May be filled with all kinds of clothing,  
 That their house may have a heart,<sup>70</sup>  
 That even in his doorway  
 The shelled corn may be spilled before  
 his door,  
 That beans may be spilled before his  
 door,  
 That wheat may be spilled outside the  
 door,  
 (That the house may be full of) little  
 boys,  
 And little girls,  
 And men and women grown to matu-  
 rity,  
 That in his house  
 Children may jostle one another in the  
 doorway,  
 In order that it may be thus,  
 With two plume wands joined together,  
 I have consecrated the center of his roof.

Praying for whatever you wished,  
 Through the winter,  
 Through the summer,  
 Throughout the cycle of the months,  
 I have prayed for light for you.  
 Now this day,  
 I have fulfilled their thoughts.  
 Perpetuating the rite of our father,  
 Sayataca, bow priest,  
 And giving him human form<sup>71</sup>  
 I have passed you on your roads.  
 My divine father's life-giving<sup>72</sup> breath,  
 His breath of old age,  
 His breath of waters,  
 His breath of seeds,  
 His breath of riches,  
 His breath of fecundity,<sup>73</sup>  
 His breath of power,  
 His breath of strong spirit,  
 His breath of all good fortune whatso-  
 ever,  
 Asking for his breath,  
 And into my warm body  
 Drawing his breath,  
 I add to your breath now.  
 Let no one despise the breath of his  
 fathers,  
 But into your bodies,  
 Draw their breath.  
 That yonder to where the road of our  
 sun father comes out,  
 Your roads may reach;  
 That clasping hands,  
 Holding one another fast,  
 You may finish your roads,  
 To this end, I add to your breath now.  
 Verily, so long as we enjoy the light of  
 day  
 May we greet one another with love;<sup>74</sup>  
 Verily, so long as we enjoy the light of  
 day  
 May we wish one another well,  
 Verily may we pray for one another.  
 To this end, my fathers,  
 My mothers,  
 My children:

<sup>69</sup> Game animals.

<sup>70</sup> An empty house "has no heart." The heart of the house is anything which has been used by human beings.

<sup>71</sup> The syntax of this passage is obscure. The reference is to the complete identification of the god with the impersonator.

<sup>72</sup> O'naya'naka, literally, road finishing.

<sup>73</sup> Te'ap'kunan'e, a word difficult to render into English. It includes children, domesticated animals, and game.

<sup>74</sup> I'yanikinawa, literally, "call one another by terms of relationship." The impersonator remains a "child" of the house he has dedicated and calls the host and hostess father and mother.

May you be blessed with light;  
 May your roads be fulfilled;  
 May you grow old;  
 May you be blessed in the chase;

To where the life-giving road of your  
 sun father comes out  
 May your roads reach;  
 May your roads all be fulfilled.

Sai'yataca an pe'na ta'cana  
 Sai'yataca his talk long

e'ma' no'milte  
 yes now indeed it is so

hon yä'tokä tate i'laḅ a'te'ona<sup>75</sup>  
 we sun father having the ones

li'wanem yam we'cikānem te'läci'nakwi  
 hither his left ancient place

i'tiulaṭuntekwin kow an'te'we'teikwi  
 when he should stand against it a little space yet remained for him (when)

hon te'kohanān tate i'laḅ a'teona  
 we daylight father having the ones

pi'teik a'nota pe'kwin ci'wan'i  
 Dogwood clan speaker priest

yam a'tateu  
 his fathers

koḱw a'ciwan'i  
 masked god priests

a'wan k̄äcima  
 their waters

a'wan to'wacōnan'e  
 their seeds

a'ntecemana  
 desiring

yam a'tateu  
 their fathers

tei'mikāna'pkowa  
 the ones who first had being

a'wan k̄ä'cima te'li'tona  
 their water inner room in

i'yanteceman i'wo'kwikna  
 one another desiring sitting down in a circle

la'lkok<sup>u</sup> k̄ä'nakwēna tapana  
 yonder springs following

to'pinte la'kwimon a'k'ä  
 one root with

i'piyaṭsumēpa  
 holding one another fast

ho'i o'na'ya k̄ānakä  
 person prolonging life for

ya'nuḷa'a  
 appointed

<sup>75</sup> A reciprocal relationship is implied; hence the obscurity of the grammatical construction. Freely translated "our sun father" or "the sun, who is our father."



lu'wanan'ona

the ones that stand

hoi teuwa ha'lowili'kona

whoever the one who is lucky

a'wan sa'kwia

their feet

ha'lawa'tinan'e

prayer meal

lo''o o'nean'e a'leakna

shell pollen giving to them

a'kewukwina'kna

the young shoots breaking off

yam a'sin kã'lnak'ä

his hand warm with

a'wiyaten-tsu'mekãna.

them they held fast

yam na'nili te'ona

his grandfather [having] the one who is

ton ots an a'wehuyan pa'in'e

turkey male his cumulus cloud robe

kã'kãl an ci'pololon u'tcun'e

eagle his mist garment

lalhok<sup>u</sup> o'lo'ikãia'kã wo'we

yonder summer birds

a'wan la'pihanana la'tan'e

their hanging cloud wing

a'wan a'wehuyan kã'ten'e

their cumulus cloud tail

a'k' a'witela'ma

with them four times

te'likinan a'pa'una

prayer stick clothing

a'ho' a'ya'kãna

persons having finished them

yam tsitili te'ona

his mother having the one who is

pitsem o'kã

cotton woman

ko'ti pi'lenapte

rough string even though it is

pi'le ci'kãnapte

string soiled even though it is

a'witela'ma

four times

pa'nulap i'kwiyante'tcina

winding around reaching around its waist

k'acima la'cowa

water hair feather

ho'i ya'kãna'wapa

person having finished it

yam tsitili te'ona  
his mother [with] the one who is

ha'kwin o'kä  
black paint woman

he'tet o'kä  
clay woman

a'tcian ci'nanaä  
their flesh with

te'likinan ci'nana  
prayer stick giving flesh

ho'i ya'käpä  
person having finished it

kä'käi ke'si le'aniäpä  
whenever now thus saying

hon a'tate i'lap a'te'ona  
we fathers having the ones

yam te'likinan ya'käkona  
his prayer stick the one he had finished

fewusu ya'nulana  
prayer appointed

hon yätoä tate i'lap a'te'ona  
we sun father having the ones

yam fe'lacinakwi  
his ancient place

i'muna kwa'toäpä  
sitting down having gone in

hon a'tcia tate i'lap a'te'ona  
we two fathers having the ones

kä'wulia pä'utiwa  
kä'wulia pä'utiwa

li'wan a'lahoankwin ta'na  
hither to the south direction

ho! yam tcim'on u'lo'nana ya'na'a  
wherever their new world becoming made

yam ko' tci'mikä'kowa te'lia'na  
his rite according to the first beginning perpetuating

ho'i ya'käna  
person having made (himself)

yam a'tatcu a'wan te'likinan ya'n i'teana  
his fathers their prayer stick finished taking

a'tc o'neal i'käna  
the two road making come

ho! li'ta le'hatina  
wherever here thinking

yam a'tatcu a'wan kä'cima fe'li'tonankwi  
their fathers their water inner room (into)

a'tc o'neala kwa'toäpä  
the two road having made come in

hon yätoä tate i'lap a'te'ona  
we sun father having the ones

- yam tē'lačinakwi  
 his ancient place  
 i'muna kwa'to'tuntekwi kow a'nte'we'teikwi.  
 sitting down when he should go in little space yet remained for him  
 la'hok<sup>u</sup> le'si tekwi  
 yonder all directions  
 k̄ä'cima wo'we pekwiw a'ciwani  
 water birds speakers priests  
 hoł yam ti'nan la'kišana  
 wherever their staying quietly places (where)  
 o'neal kwai'i k'ana  
 road making come out  
 o'neal i'k'ana  
 road making come  
 yam a'tatcu a'wan k̄ä'cima teli'tonankwi  
 their fathers their water inner room (into)  
 o'neala kwa'tok̄ana  
 road making come in  
 yam la'tan ak'ä  
 their wing with  
 yam a'tatcana'wa  
 their fathers'  
 a'wełuyan k̄ä'kwen ya'k̄ana  
 cumulus cloud house having made  
 ci'pololon pe'wuna  
 mist blanket having spread out  
 o'naya'nak̄a o'nealan a'k̄ana  
 life-giving road sending out  
 k̄ä'nakwai'nan ya'na ye'lete'uk̄atekwi  
 spring complete he had made ready when  
 hon a'tcia tate i'laṣona  
 we both fathers the ones [we] have  
 k̄ä'wulia pa'utiwa
- 
- yam k̄ä'kwa'mosi  
 their house chiefs  
 yam pe'kwi'we  
 their speakers  
 yam a'pi'la'ci'wani  
 their bow-priests  
 a'tci te'tcin o'neala kwatoṣana  
 they reaching [their] road brought in  
 to'pint o'nealana'na  
 one road along  
 k̄ä'pin a'ho'i  
 raw persons  
 i'finan-la'ṣikna  
 sitting down quietly  
 tē'finan ko'kei  
 night good

ho' tea'wilap a'wanfewakä  
 us children having they came to day  
 fe'wap yä'ton'e hom yä'tokä tate i'lap a'te'ona  
 next day we sun father having the ones

yam fe'acinakwi  
 his ancient place

ye'lana kwai'ikäpa  
 standing having come out

hoi kä'fi ke'si le'anakäpa  
 whenever now having said

li'wan a'lahoankwin ta'na  
 hither to the south direction

hon a'tcia tate i'lap a'te'ona  
 we two fathers having the ones

kä'wulia pa'utiwa

yam teim'on u'lo'nan ya'nakwi  
 his new world where it became made

yam ko' tei'mikä'kowa telia'na  
 his rite according to the first beginning perpetuating

tei'm'on ho'i ya'käna  
 new person having made

yam kä'cima i'leana  
 their waters taking

yam to'wacanan i'leana  
 their seeds taking

yam a'tatcon a'wan te'likina ya'na i'leana  
 their fathers' their prayer stick complete taking

a'tc o'neala kwai'ikäna  
 the two road making come out

a'tc o'neal i'käna  
 the two road making come

to'wa ci'wan an u'lo'na'a  
 Corn priest his country

a'witela'ma o'neal u'lapkäna  
 four times road encircling it

lalhok<sup>u</sup> le' yam upa' teawe  
 yonder that many their kiva children

a'wan kä'cim o'neala kwai'ina'kona  
 their water roads they come out where

te'likina' ya'na  
 prayer sticks complete

wo'tala'kuna  
 laying down

le'hok<sup>u</sup> yam u'lo'nakwi  
 yonder their country

a'tci tu'niko'pupa  
 the two having turned around

hon tate i'lap a'te'ona  
 we father having the ones

te'likinan a'n'ulana

prayer stick drawing toward him

te'likina ya'n ak'a

prayer stick complete with

hom a'nulakāpa

me having appointed

hon ya'onakā tsit i'lap a'te'ona

we moon mother having the ones

li'wan k̄āliciankwin ta'na

hither to the west direction

ko'wīlana ye'tsaḡāna

still small appearing

te'luankwin ū'na

to the east direction

i'tiulana

standing against

ho'i ya'ḡānaka te'wanan a'caḡa

person finishing day having made

yam a'tatcu

(for) my fathers

u'wanam a'ciwan'i

rain maker priests

koḡwa'ciwan'i

masked god priests

ho' te'likina ho'i ya'ḡākā.

I prayer sticks person finished

yam te'likinan ci'matana

my prayer stick poor (to)

yam a'tate a'wan te'likin ya'na a'mpatcuna

my fathers their prayer stick complete fastening to it

kā'ḡi te'i'niḡ'ākā

sometime the first beginning

u'hana le'anik'āna

cotton hanging so-called

yam a'tatcu

my fathers

ho' te'likinan a'te'upa

I prayer stick having given to them

ho'man te'likinan a'n-ulana

my prayer stick drawing toward them

hoḡ yam te'i'miḡākātekwi

somewhere their they had (their) first beginning where

ya'cuwa ūetakuna'wāpa

talking together bending over

laḡhok' k̄ānakwe'na ūa'apana

yonder springs following

a'wico yāla'kona

mossy mountains along

ūaḡwiḡpoḡina'kona

wooded places along

ḡä'tul-ulapna'kona

encircling oceans along

ho'man te'likinan ak'ä

my prayer stick with

ho'man ha'lawo'tinan ak'ä

my prayer meal with

ho'man te'wusu pe'nan ak'ä

my prayers words with

ya'cuwa te'akuna'wapa

talking together bending over

te'tsinane

winter

o'lo'ik'änan'e

summer

yä'teu pi'lan'e

month sequence

te'likin'an ko'ti'a'lewunante

prayer stick badly made even

li'wan a'lakoan'kwin ta'na

hither to the south direction

yam a'tatcona'wa

my fathers'

a'wan o'neala kwai'ina'kona

their roads they come out wherever

ho' te'likinan a'lean te'akä.

I prayer stick giving to them (I) have lived.

kes le'na yätcu pi'lan i'te'tciḡa te'a'ana

now all month sequence came to the end when

hon a'tate i'laḡona

we fathers the ones we have

yam a'tateu

their fathers

yam a'tsita

their mothers

tei'miḡänapkowa

the ones that first had being

a'wan ḡäcima o'nealan kwa'tona

their water road coming in

i'yante'ceman i'wo'kwikna

desiring one another sitting down in a circle

yam tsi'tili te'ona

their mother (having) the one

pi'tsem o'ḡa

cotton woman

ko'ti pi'lenapte

rough cord even though it is

pi'le ci'ḡänapte

cord dark even though it is



a'k awite'la'ma

with it four times

yä'lenan a'tci ho'i ya'kăna'wapa

count two having made into persons

ho! kă'ki ke'si' le''anakăpa

whenever now having said

hom a'ntecematinaċăpa

me having summoned

yam a'tatcu

my fathers

ho' a'wona-e'latekă

I on their roads passed

yä'lenanak'ä

with the count

hom ya'tena-tsu'mekăna'wapa

me having grasped strongly

yä'lenan i'leana

the count taking

yam he'coċakwi

my house to

o'neala te'tciċăna

road making reach

ho! kă'ki ke'si' le'anaċăpa

whenever now having said

yam te'likinan ye'lete'u'kona i'leana

my prayer stick the one I had prepared taking

li'wan a'lahoankwin ta'na

hither to the south direction

ho' te'wus ak'ă ho' o'neala'k'ăkă

I prayers with I my road go made

kă'kă te'imikăkă

somewhere the first beginning

ha'lon kwa'ton le'anaċ'ăkwi

ant going in where it is so called

o'neala te'tciċăna

road reaching

yam a'tatcu

my fathers

a'wan kă'cim o'neala kwai'ina

their water road coming out

ho' te'likinan a'leana

I prayer stick giving to them

ho' la'cowan a'leana

I prayer feathers giving to them

i'skon to'na'wan ho' te'kohanana ce'makă.

there for you I light asked.

ton a'wona-ya'tun'ona

(that) you may be the ones whose roads may be fulfilled

ton a'facitun'ona

(that) you may be the ones to grow old

ʔon mi'yapʔun'ona  
 (that) you may be the ones to have growing corn  
 ʔon no'ʔānapʔun'ona  
 (that) you may be the ones to have beans  
 ʔon mo'lenapʔun'ona  
 (that) you may be the ones to have squash  
 ʔon kāyanapʔun'ona  
 (that) you may be the ones to have wheat  
 ʔon kwa ai'nanapʔun'ona  
 (that) you something may be the ones to kill  
 ʔon u'tenan ya'niktcia'tun'ona  
 (that) you clothing may be the ones to be blessed (with)  
 ho' yai'ncemaḱä.  
 I for this asked.

li'wan ʔālician'kwīn ta'na  
 hither to the west direction  
 yam a'tatcu  
 my fathers  
 a'wan o'neat i'nakwi  
 their road where it comes  
 ho' te'liḱinan a'leakḱa.  
 I prayer sticks gave to them.

ʔes le'n a'wan te'mla ʔe'waḱa te'a'ana  
 Now so much their all time has passed when  
 li'wan ʔā'licia'nkwin ta'na  
 hither to the west direction  
 yā'lan lo'kān ima  
 mountain gray standing  
 yā'lan hi'ana  
 mountain blue  
 ʔā'cima te'lakwi  
 water where it lies  
 ʔo'wacōnan ci'wuna  
 seeds renewing  
 ʔeapḱunan ci'wuna  
 children renewing  
 kwa e'la la'ninam'e  
 none falls down  
 ho' tea'wilapa  
 I children having  
 ʔi'nan la'ḱikwi  
 where they stay quietly  
 ho' a'wona-e'lateḱä.  
 I on their roads passed them.  
 i'sḱon ho' ta'tcili te'ona  
 there my father having the one

yam k̄ācima p̄ai'yan e'lete'ukātekwi  
his water seat where it was prepared

yam ha'lawo'tinane  
his prayer meal

a'witela'ma  
four times

o'ta'wite-yāltōna  
sprinkling on top

ho'man o'tsimowa  
my crown

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
his prayer meal

o'ta'wite-yāltōna  
sprinkling on top

yam k̄ācima p̄ai'yan a'lkwi  
his water seat where it lay

ha'lawo'tinan o'ta'wite-yāltōpa  
prayer meal sprinkling on top

i'ste yā'lu  
him following

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
my prayer meal

ho' o'ta'wite-yāltōna  
I sprinkling on top

yam ta'te'on a'ni  
my father's his

k̄ācima p̄ai'yan a'lkwi  
rain seat where it lay

ho' ye'li'ula'k̄ā.  
I stood beside it.

ho'ma ta'tcu te'a'ona  
my father the one who is

homa ya'te'ka  
me grasped

lalhok<sup>a</sup> le'si te'kwi ta'k̄āna ho'm an'imla'ku'ka.  
yonder to all directions presenting me he made sit down quietly

ho' i'mila'kupa  
I having sat down quietly

ho'ma ta'tcu te'a'ona  
my father the one who is

yam na'ni'i te'ona  
his grandson (having) the one who is

la'kaia tsa'wak' te'ona  
read youth the one who is

an ce'ina'a  
his inside

pu'su a'npikwai'i a'nhaitek̄ā  
hole piercing him he gave to him

yam se'weke wo'p̄un a'witela'ma a'n-ula'na  
his tobacco sack four times drawing toward him

yam a'stecokta  
his palm of the hand

se'weke wo'ikāpowan i'yanhai'tekā.  
tobacco measuring out he gave them to him

anc'e'ina'a  
his inside

ci'pololon u'teuna  
smoke having put in

yam hot a'si'-a'nakā.  
his grandmother he took by the hand.

a'nim-koskukā.  
he seated her in the doorway

a'nim-koskuna  
having seated her in the doorway

a'witela'ma ci'pololon cu'lulutina a'na'pikwai'i'kākā.  
four times smoke sucking he made it pass through.

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi  
yonder on all sides

u'wanam a'ciwan-i  
rain maker priests

ci'pololon a'k'ā a'wike'na te'liakā.  
with the smoke (their) hearts he added to.

ke'sic e'leta'pa  
now indeed it is well

u'wanam-ik a'te'ona  
rain maker beings

yam ci'pololon ya'nha'kunan kwai'ina i'witecman  
their smoke breath coming out withholding

a'teame'tun'ona  
that they may not be

pe'nan kwai'ikāna  
word sending out

a'wike'na-te'liana  
their hearts adding to

ho'ma lea'kākā.  
to me he handed it.

yam ce'nakwi  
my inside

a'witela'ma  
four times

ci'pololon cu'lulutin pi'kwai'ina an'haiteka  
smoke sucking passing through I gave him

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi  
yonder on all sides

yam a'tateu  
my fathers

ho' ci'pololon a'wike'na te'liakā.  
I smoke their hearts I added to.

lu'kākōn i'te'tcāpa  
this being at an end

i'skon hon i'yanikikā.

there we greeted one another.

ta'teumo

father

ta'le pa'pa su'we kākā kāsē na'na to'cle a'le  
son elder brother younger brother uncle nephew grandfather grandson great grandfather

u'wakā

great grandson

le' n a'k-ā hon i'yanikikā

with these we greeted one another

lukakon le'n i'te'tcāpa

this all being at an end

ho' tātēli te'ona

my father [with] the one who is

i'te'kunākā

questioned

e'ma' la'kima

yes now at this time

ho'n a'wona-elatekā.

us (you) have passed on our roads.

i'me' kwa'hol pe'nan te'yulanam'e pe'nan te'aḡāna

perhaps some word not too long word may be

le' hom i'yantikwakā.

thus to me they said

e'ma' i'namilte

yes now indeed it is so

hoḷ i'tiwana

sometime at the middle of the year

ho'ma le'n a'tateu

my this many fathers

ko'n a'ntecemana

something desiring

te'likinan ya'nakā

prayer stick complete with

hom a'nuḷana'wāpa

me having appointed

li'wan a'lahoankwin ta'na

hither to the south direction

u'wanam a'wan o'neala kwai'ina ta'pana

rain makers their roads coming out following

to'n ho' te'likina le'an te'aḡā te'kwi

to you I prayer sticks giving have lived when

ḡes le'na to'na'wa yā'teu pi''lan i'te'tcāpa

now this much your month sequence being at an end

to'na'wan yā'lenan pi''laḡāpa

your count having been counted up

le'si te'wanan'e

this many days

a'ntsume'na

eagerly

hon fe'wanan a'teakātekwi  
 we time have lived when

lu'kã ya'ton'e  
 this day

kes le'n hai'tokwin te'tciķa  
 now this much the appointed time has come

fo'na lo a'wona-e'lateķã.  
 you I have passed on your roads.

lee ho' i'yantikwaķã.  
 thus I to them said.

lee ho' i'yantikwaķã  
 thus I having said to them

ho'ma ta'tcu te'a'ona  
 my father the one who is

a'nanam'e i'ķãcetikāna ho'ma ya'ķeķa  
 without delay hurrying me he grasped

sa'kwikwi we'kwikwinte  
 (from) feet even the soles of my feet

o'tsi'mowakwinte  
 even to the crown of my head

kwa'hoi lean i'yante'tcina hom le'ekã  
 some clothing covering all over me he dressed

u'sona le'n i'te'tcãpã  
 that all being at an end

tem řa ho' a'kã a'nikwitonona le'anaķãpã  
 then also with it that I might have my belt as it is said

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
 his prayer meal

ho'man ķã'mulukwia  
 my navel

pe'han i'yante'tcina  
 bundle covering all over

ho'ma ya'ķeķa  
 me he took hold of

hom o'pikun i'yante'tciķãķã.  
 my abdomen covered completely

lu'ķaķon le'n i'te'tcãpã  
 this all being at an end

tem řa řowaconan te'mla a'witela'ma ho'ma ķãmulukwia  
 then also seeds all four times my navel

fo'waconan pe'han i'te'tciķãķã;  
 seed bundle he fitted on

lu'ptsikwa fo'waconan'e  
 yellow seeds

li'akwa fo'waconan te'ona  
 blue seed the one that is

ci'lowa fo'waconan te'ona  
 red seed the one that is



ko'hakwa to'wacanan te'ona

white seed the one that is

ku'teuteukwi to'wacanan te'ona

speckled seed the one that is

kwi'nikwa to'wacanan te'ona

black seed the one that is

tem ta ton a'ka ci'na pi'ka a'teafun'ona le'ana'kãp co'tsito

and also you with it flesh firm the one that may be so-called sweet corn

to'wacanan te'ona

seed the one that is

tem ta ton a'ka ye'pna ko'kci a'teafun'ona le'ana'kãp

and also you with delicacies good the ones that may be so-called

no' a'n'oti temla

bean clans all

no' lu'ptsina te'ona

bean yellow the one that is

no' li'ana te'a'ona

bean blue the one that is

no' ci'lowa te'a'ona

bean red the one that is

no' ko'hana te'a'ona

bean white the one that is

no' ci'he te'a'ona

bean spotted the one that is

no' kwi'ne te'a'ona

bean black the one that is

no' la'na te'a'ona

bean large the one that is

no' tsa'na te'a'ona

bean small the one that is

tsikãpuli te'a'ona

little grey bean the one that is

no'kamuliya te'a'ona

bean round the one that is  
(pea)

la'pihakã te'a'ona

string bean the one that is

tem ta to'wa ka'moliya le'ana'kãpa

and also ancient round fruits thus called

mo'teala te'ona

striped squash the one that is

mo'kisi te'ona

crooked-neck squash the one that is

mo'laknan te'ona

watermelon the one that is

me'luna te'ona

cantaloupe the one that is

tem ta a'kü ka'cima ko'kci ton ya'nawila'pa a'teafunona

and also that with which water clear you to use for this the ones that will be

|                       |                       |                 |            |         |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|------------|---------|
| le'anaḱāpa            | co'pa                 | te'a'ona        |            |         |
| so-called             | gourd                 | the one that is |            |         |
| tem ṭa he'coṭatan     | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| and also piñon        | tree                  | its seed        |            |         |
| a'sufatan             | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| juniper tree          | its seed              |                 |            |         |
| ṭa'wi ṭa'tan          | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| oak tree              | its seed              |                 |            |         |
| mo'teikwa ṭatan       | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| peach tree            | its seed              |                 |            |         |
| ṭaḱwin ṭatan          | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| blackwood brush       | its seed              |                 |            |         |
| ḱe'la ci'wuna ṭatan   | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| first flowering       | brush                 | its seed        |            |         |
| ḱāpuli                | ṭatan                 | an              | ḱukwin'e   |         |
|                       | brush                 | its seed        |            |         |
| ho'ḱāp ho'ton         | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| giant yucca           | its seed              |                 |            |         |
| hoṭsan ho'ton         | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| small yucca           | its seed              |                 |            |         |
| me'tan                | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| cactus                | its seed              |                 |            |         |
| cu'lep                | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| brown cactus          | its seed              |                 |            |         |
| uṭsipana me'tan       | an                    | ḱukwin'e        |            |         |
| small cactus          | its seed              |                 |            |         |
| tem ṭa ḱāwawula       | temla                 | le'anaḱāpa      |            |         |
| and also wild grasses | all                   | so-called       |            |         |
| ḱā'tetci              | te'a'ona              |                 |            |         |
| grass evil-smelling   | the one that is       |                 |            |         |
| ḱā'ṭsana              | te'a'ona              |                 |            |         |
| small grass           | the one that is       |                 |            |         |
| tecuk                 | te'a'ona              |                 |            |         |
| ku'cutsi              | te'a'ona              |                 |            |         |
| o'co                  | te'a'ona              |                 |            |         |
| a'pīlalu              | te'a'ona              |                 |            |         |
| su'ltoka              | te'a'ona              |                 |            |         |
| mo'loloḱā             | te'ona                |                 |            |         |
| pi'culiya             | te'ona                |                 |            |         |
| pi'culiya             | ṭsan'ona              |                 |            |         |
| ha'mato               | te'ona                |                 |            |         |
| mi'talik              | te'ona                |                 |            |         |
| tem ṭa li't           | yam                   | a'wena'kona     | ṭo'wacanan |         |
| and also here         | your                  | doorways in     | seeds      |         |
| u'latō                | ḱo'skwi'kona          | le'anaḱāp       | o'welu     | te'ona  |
| the ones              | that are scattered in | so-called       | cattail    | the one |
|                       | the doorway           |                 |            |         |

tonoli te''ona <sup>78</sup>  
 to'selu te''ona <sup>78</sup>  
 pi'k'aia te''ona <sup>78</sup>  
 ha'pitsulia te''ona <sup>78</sup>  
     watercress      the one that is  
 homan kã'mulukwia  
     my              navel  
 pe'han iyante'tciḡākā  
     bundle      he covered all over  
 tem fa pi'cle ci'wan an u'tenan he'kun lu'ptsikwa  
     and also      north      priest      his      clothing      bundle      yellow  
 kã'lici ci'wan an u'tenan he'kun hi'ana  
     west      priest      his      clothing      bundle      blue  
 a'laho ci'wan an u'tenan he'kun a'hona  
     south      priest      his      clothing      bundle      red  
 te'makoha ci'wan an u'tenan he'kun ko'hana  
     east      priest      his      clothing      bundle      white  
 i'yama ci'wan an u'tenan he'kun tsi'lipana  
     above      priest      his      clothing      bundle      many colored  
 ma'nilama ci'wan an u'tenan he'kun ci'kāna  
     below      priest      his      clothing      bundle      dark  
 ho'ma kã'mulukwia  
     my              navel  
 pe'han i'yante'tciḡāna  
     bundle      covering all over  
 lu'kakōn le'n i'te'tcāpa  
     this      all      being at an end  
 le'na ūo' o'na-kāna  
     thus      you      will make your road go forth  
 ūe'kohanan yam a'tatcu  
     daylight      your      fathers  
 ūe'kohanan yam a'tsita  
     daylight      your      mothers  
 ūe'kohanan yam tca'we  
     daylight      your      children  
 ūo' a'wona-e'latena  
     you      will pass them on their roads  
 ho' ūo' yu'laḡuḡā te'a'ana  
     somewhere      you      have come to rest      where  
 ūom hon o'na-e'latena-wa  
     you      we      shall pass on your road  
 a'tichon ūi'nan-e'tciḡānan ūse'na  
     on no account      will any stay behind  
 a'wots a'te'ona  
     men      the ones who are  
 u'tcinan ha'ktoḡa  
     snow      carrying on the head

<sup>78</sup> Unidentified aquatic plants.

po'hetci a'wiconapa

cheeks covered with moss

o'ci ke'pyälpna e'lemak-i'natina tapowan satili  
knees skinny with unable to stand cane helping

kes te'mlate

now even all

le'stiklea o'kănan a'te'ona  
furthermore womankind the ones who are

ya'nine'nante

even those with child

top i'seto'na

one carrying on the back

topa lemayälto i'k'ec'kuna

another on the cradle clasp

top i'piyana

another holding by the hand

top e'ku'ana

another sending ahead

kes te'mlate

now even all

yam te'kohanan a'tatcu

our daylight fathers

yam te'kohanan a'tsita

our daylight mothers

yam tca'we

our children

hon a'wona-elatenapiun'ona te'a'kăna'a

we the ones who shall pass them on their roads shall be

ho'm ta'tcili te''ona

my father (having) the one who is

le'ciantikwakă

thus he said to me.

le'ciantikwana

thus having said

ho'ma ya'teka

me he grasped

lahok<sup>a</sup> le'si te'kwi ho'ma ta'kuna e'lema'kăka.

yonder to all sides me presenting he made me arise.

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e

his prayer meal

yam kăcima tapelakwi

his water woodpile

a'witela'ma o'ta'wite'yă'ito'kă.

four times he sprinkled meal on it.

i'ste yă'lu

him following

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
my prayer meal

ho' o'ta'wite'-yā'itoḱā.  
I sprinkled meal on it.

a'witenakān te'tcunan a'la'nana  
four times step taking

a'witenakān ye'letelupnana  
four times striding forward

ho' ye'lana kwai''iḱākā.<sup>79</sup>  
I standing came out.

ho ye'lana kwai''i ḱāna  
I standing having come out

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwin ho' ṭunatiḱā.  
yonder to all sides I looked

ho' pi'cle ṭu'natikā.  
I north looked.

ho' ḱā'lici ṭu'natikā.  
I west looked.

ho' a'laho ṭunatiḱā.  
I south looked.

ho' te'mako ṭunatiḱā.  
I east looked.

ḱālhok<sup>u</sup> te'luanḱwin ta'na  
yonder to the east direction

a'witenana o'neala wo'ḱāpa  
fourfold roads parallel

ho' unatiḱākā.  
I saw.

i'tiw o'neala'kona  
middle road along

yam ha'lawo'tinan o'ta'wite'-yā'itona i'sko ho' pi'cle ci'wan  
my prayer meal sprinkling on it there I north priest

an ḱācima ya'n hakunan ho' tehatokā.  
his water breath I sounded

a'witenakān tetcun a'la'nana  
four times step taking

a'witenakān ye'letelupnana  
four times striding forward

ḱā'ḱā tei'miḱākā  
sometime the first beginning

ḱā'tulanakwi le''anaḱākwi  
great lake where it is named

ho' o'neal i'ḱākā  
I road brought

<sup>79</sup> The following section is repeated for the 29 sacred springs visited by the Zuñis in their migrations.

hom a'tateu  
my father

a'wan o'nealan kwai'ina'a  
their road coming out

ho' ye'likoskukä.  
I stood in the doorway.

yam a'ka anikwian'ona  
my by means of which I am belted

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
my prayer meal

ho' a'witela'ma o'ta'wite-'kwa'to'känä  
I four times sprinkling in

ho' a'wan a'wic a'itika.  
I their scum opened

i'ste yä'lu  
after that

yam ha'lawo'tinan o'ta'wite-'kwato'känä  
my prayer meal sprinkling in

ho' ye'lana kwa'to'käkä.  
I standing came in.

ho' ye'lana kwa'tokäpa  
I standing having come in

ho'ma ta'teu te'a'ona  
my father the one who  
is

a'nanam' i'käceti'känä  
without delay hastening

yam kä'cima pä'iyam ye'lete'uka te'kwi  
his rain seat he got ready when

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
his prayer meal

a'witela'ma o'ta'wite'-yä'itona  
four times sprinkling on it

ho'man o'tsimowa  
my crown

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
his prayer meal

a'witela'ma o'ta'wite'-yältona  
four times sprinkling on it

i'ste yälu  
him after

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
my prayer meal

o'ta'wite'-yä'itona  
sprinkling on it

yam ta'teu te'ona  
my father the one who is

an kä'cima päianana  
his water seat



ho' ye'le-ulaḡa

I stood beside

ho' ye'le-ulaḡa

I having stood beside it

ho'ma ta'tcu te'ona

my father the one who is

ho'ma ya'teḡā

me grasped

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi

yonder to all directions

hom e'lulatenā

me presenting

hom a'nimla'kuḡā

me he seated quietly

ho' i'mila'kuḡa

I having sat down quietly

ho'ma ta'tcu te'ona

my father the one who is

yam ḡā'cima ḡo'n'e ye'leteu'fona

his water roll which he had made ready

a'witela'ma

four times

a'n'uḡana

drawing toward him

yam hot as'ana'ḡa.

his grandmother taking by the hand

a'nim-ko'skuḡā.

he seated her in the doorway

a'witela'ma ci'pololon cululutinan a'na'pikwai'ḡāna

four times smoke sucking he drew it through

yam a'tatcu

his fathers

u'wanam a'ciwan'i

rain maker priests

ci'pololon a'kū a'wiḡe'na te'liaḡā

smoke with (their) hearts he added to

ḡe'sic e'letaḡa

now indeed it is well

u'wanamiḡ a'te'ona

rain maker beings

eḡ yam ci'pololon ya'nhaḡana

their smoke breath

kwa'i'inan

coming out

i'witcmana

withholding

in

a'team'eḡun'onāḡā

order that they may not be thus

ci'polonāḡā a'wiḡe'na te'liaḡā.

with smoke their hearts he added to

lu'ḡaḡon i'te'tcaḡa

this being at an end

ho'ma ta'tcu te'a'ona

my father the one who is

ho'ma leaḡāḡā

to me handed it

a'witela'ma ci'pololon cululutinan a'na'pikwai'ina  
four times smoke sucking drawing it through

yam ce'lnakwi ci'pololon yanhakuna kwatoḡāna  
my body smoke breath taking in

yam a'tatcu  
my fathers

ci'pololon a'kā  
smoke with

ho' a'wikena-te'liaḡā  
I their hearts added to

ḡe'sic e'letapa  
now indeed this is well

u'wanamik' a'te'ona  
rain maker beings

yam ci'pololon ya'nhaḡuna kwai''inan el i'witcmana  
their smoke breath coming out not withholding

a'team'e'fu'n'onak'ā  
that they may not be thus

ho' ci'pololonak'ā a'wikena te'liaḡā  
I smoke with their heart added to

lu'ḡakon le'n i'te'tcapa  
this all being at an end

hon i'skon i'yanikikā.  
we then greeted one another

ta'tcumo  
father

ta'le pa'pa su'we ḡā'ḡā ḡā'se na'na to'cle a'li  
son elder brother younger brother uncle nephew grandfather grandson great grandfather

u'waḡa le'n hon i'yanikikā.  
great grandson thus we greeted one another

lu'ḡākon le'n i'te'tcapa  
this all being at and end

ho'ma ta'tcu te'ona  
my father the one who is

i'te'kuna'ḡā.  
inquired

e'ma' la'ḡimante  
yes now at this very time

ho'na t'a'wona-e'lateḡā.  
us you have passed on our roads

i'me' kwa'tikol pe'nan te'yulanam'e pe'nan te'aḡāna.  
perhaps some kind of word not too long (your) word will be

u''son ho'na t'ai'yu'ya'ḡāpa  
that us you having let know

u''son ai'yu'ya'na  
that knowing

hon te'wanan a'teḡāna—  
we (our) time shall live

ho'ma ta'tcu te'a'ona  
my father the one who is

le'ciantikwaḡā

thus he said

le'ciantikwaḡa

thus having spoken

—e'ma' i'nami'te

yes now indeed it is so

li'wan a'lahoan'kwin ta'na

hither to the south direction

ṭo'na'wan o'neala kwai'ina ta'pana

your roads coming out following

ṭo'n ho' te'likina a'lean te'aḡatea

to you I prayer sticks giving have lived when

ṭo'na ho' la'cowan a'lean te'aḡatea

to you I prayer feathers giving have lived when

lu'ḡa yā'ton'e ḡes bhai'tokwin te'tciḡa

this day now the appointed time having arrived

to'na ho' a'wona-e'lateḡā.

you I on your roads have passed.

ma' honkwa yu'he'to pē'nan ho'na ṭo' a'wona-e'lateḡā.

Is that so (with) plain words us you have passed on your roads

ṭo'man te'likinan hon a'leaye.

your prayer stick we hold them

ṭo'man ha'lawotinan hon a'leaye.

your prayer meal we hold

ṭo'man la'cowa'we hon a'lacowaḡa ṭinan'uliye.

(with) your prayer feathers we feathered sit inside

ma' ṭomt hon lu'wan'u'laconankwi

now just we stand around waiting where

ḡes ṭomt mo'ṭsokta ṭi'na'u'likwi

now just crouched on our buttocks where we sit inside

ho'na ta'wona-elateḡā.

us you on our roads have passed

hon yā'toḡā tate i'lap a'teona

we sun father having the ones who are

yam ṭe'lacinakwi

his ancient place

i'muna kwa'toḡāṭun tekwi

sitting down when he should go in

kow a'nte'wetci kwi

a little space yet remained for him

lalik' ṭe'kohanan yam a'tatcu

near by daylight your fathers

ṭe'kohanan yam a'tsita

daylight your mothers

yam tea'we ṭo' a'wona-e'laten'a

your children you on their roads will pass

ṭo' yu'lakūḡā te'a'ana

you have come to rest when

kes a'nsamo

now together

tom hon o'na-e'latena'wa.

you we shall pass on your roads.

a'wots a'te'ona u'tcinan ha'kto'pa po'hetci a'wiconā

men beings snow carrying on the head cheeks mossy

o'ci'kep ya'lupna

with knees skinny

e'lemak i'natina ūapowan sa'tili

unable to arise (with) cane helping

o'k'ānan a'te'ona

womankind beings

ya'nine'nante

even those with child

top i'setona

one carrying on the back

top'a le'mayä'to i'keekuna

another on the cradle board clasping

top i'piyana

another holding by the hand

top e''ku'k'āna

another sending ahead

kes temlate

now even all of these

la'lik yam te'kohanan a'tatcu

near by your daylight fathers

yam te'kohanan a'tsita

your daylight mothers

yam tca'we

your children

ton a'wona-e'latena

you their roads will pass on

hoł to yu'łaku'k'ā te'a'ana

somewhere you have come to rest when

tom hon o'na-e'latena'wa—

you we shall pass on your road

ho'ma ta'tcu tea'ana

my father the one who is

le'ciantikwakā.

thus he said

le'ciantikwana

when he had spoken thus

i'skon ho'ma ya'te'k'ā.

there me he grasped

lathok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi

yonder to all sides

ho'ma ta'k'āna

me presenting

hom a'na'e'lemaḡākā.  
he pulled me up

hom a'na'e'lemaḡāna  
me having pulled up

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
his prayer meal

yam ḡā'cima ḡa'pelakwi  
his water woodpile

o'ta'wite'-yā'itona  
sprinkling on it

i'ste yā'lu  
after him

ho' yam ha'lawo'tinan o'ta'wite'yāitona  
I my prayer meal sprinkling on it

ho' ye'lana kwai'iḡākā.  
I standing came out.

\* \* \* \* \*

ho' ye'lana kwai'iḡāna  
I standing having come out

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwin ho' ṭu'natiḡā  
yonder to all directions I looked

ho' pi'ele ṭunatiḡā  
I north looked

ho' ḡālici ṭunatiḡā  
I west looked

ho' a'laho ṭu'natiḡā  
I south looked

ho' te'maḡoha ṭu'natiḡā  
I east looked

ḡā'lok<sup>u</sup> i'tiwanakwi a'witenana o'neal wo'ḡāpa' ho' u'natiḡākā.  
hither Itiwana to fourfold road parallel I saw

i'tiwan o'neala'kona  
the middle road along

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
my prayer meal

a'witelama o'ta'wite'-e'ḡuna  
four times sprinkling before me

i'skon ho' manila'ma u'wanam ci'wan an ḡā'cima ya'nhaḡuna  
there I below rain maker priest his water breath

ho' te'hatokā  
I sounded

a'witenakān te'tcu a'la'mana  
four times step taking

a'witenakān ye'tetelupnana  
four times striding forward

yam ṭe'kohanan ta'tcili te''ona  
my daylight father [having] the one who

yam ṭe'kohanan tsi'tili te''ona  
my daylight mother [having] the one who is

an k̄ä'cima o'neal pa'ni'nankwi  
their water road descends where

ho' ye'li-ulana  
I stood beside it

i'skon yam ta'tcili te'ona  
there my father with the one who is

an k̄ä'cima o'nealan pa'ni-nan ho' an e'lete'uk̄ä,  
his water road descending I for him made it ready

el an teap̄kuna-we  
that not his children

topacol ta'myālan e'tci  
just one rung remaining

kwi'licol ta'myālan e'tci  
just two rungs remaining

ha'icol ta'myālan e'tci  
just three rungs remaining

a'witencol ta'myālan e'tci  
just four rungs remaining

el an teap̄kunan pu'lahin pa'ni-na a'teamefun'onak̄ä  
[not] his children falling down that they might not be thus

an k̄ä'cima o'neala pa'ni-nan ho' an e'lete'uk̄ä  
his water road descending I for him prepared it

lu'ka le'n i'te'tcap̄a  
this all being at an end

ho'ma ta'tcu te'a'ona  
my father the one who is

ho'man o'tsimona'a  
my crown

hom ha'lawo'tinan a'witela'ma o'ta'wite'-yältonk'āna  
me prayer meal four times sprinkling on it

yam k̄ä'cima ta'pelakwi  
his water woodpile

ha'lawo'tinan a'witela'ma o'ta'wite'-ye'mak̄āna  
prayer meal four times sprinkling upward

i'ste yä'lu  
after him

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
my prayer meal

o'ta'wite'-e'k̄una  
sprinkling before me

yam ta'tcili te'ona  
my father [having] the one who is

an k̄ä'cima o'neala ye'maknakwi  
his water road where it ascends

ho' o'neal ye'mak̄ä  
I road made ascend



ho'ma ta'teu te'a'ona  
 my father the one who is  
 yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
 his prayer meal  
 a'witela'ma o'ta'wite'-e''kupa  
 four times sprinkling before him  
 i'ste ya'lu  
 after him  
 yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
 my prayer meal  
 ho' ota'wite'-e''kuna  
 I sprinkled before me  
 ho' ye'lana kwa'to'kākā  
 I standing came in  
 ho' ye'lana kwato'kāpa  
 I standing having come in  
 hom a'tatcu kwa les i'yunite'tcinam'e  
 my fathers [not] all I was hardly able to see  
 ti'nanpo'ti ho' a'wunati'kākā  
 sitting crowded I saw them  
 i'skon yam ta'tcili te'ona  
 them my father [having] the one who is  
 an kāk'cima te'li'to'a  
 his water inner room  
 ho' pi'cle la'kwimokā  
 I north rooted  
 ho' kāk'lici la'kwimokā  
 I west rooted  
 ho' a'laho la'kwimokā  
 I south rooted  
 ho' tema'ko la'kwimokā  
 I east rooted  
 ho' i'yama la'kwimokā  
 I above rooted  
 yam tate an i'apoi'tiwana'a  
 my father his ceiling middle  
 te'likinan i'patciakā  
 prayer sticks fastened together with  
 ho' an i'apo' i'tiwanan an e'lete'u'ka  
 I his ceiling middle for him I prepared  
 ke'sic e'letapa  
 now indeed this is well  
 ho'ma ta'teu te'a'ona  
 my father the one who is  
 an i'epkunān ci'wuna teatun'onak'ā  
 his offspring renewing that it might be thus  
 ho' an i'apo' i'tiwanan an e'lete'u'ka  
 I his the middle of his ceiling for him (I) prepared  
 tem i'a yam ta'tcili teona  
 and also my father with the one who is

an te'witiwana'a

his middle of the floor

ŋo'wacōnan te'ml̥ ak'ä

seeds all with

ho' an te'witiwanan an e'lete'uḵa

I his floor the middle for him prepared

ḵesic e'letaḵa

now this is well

ho' ta'tcili te'ona

my father with the one who is

an a'witen ŋeli'tokwinte

his fourth inner room even there

ŋo'wacōna' wo'pākwi u'kwai'in'a

seeds where they are stored coming

an a'wenakwin'te

his doorway even there

tcu ḵe'wikōskwi

corn spread before the door

no' ḵe'wikōskwi

beans spread before the door

kow a'waktsiḵ' a'ḵana

half grown boys

kow a'ḵätsiḵ' a'ḵana

half grown girls

a'wonan a'we'kwint'e

even those whose roads go ahead

ḵes an he'coḵana

now his house in

ŋe'apḵunan u'ḥton

children jostling one another

kwai'ḵilena

as they go out

te'aḥun'onaḵ'ä

that it may be thus

yam ŋe'ḵohanan ta'tcu

my daylight father

yam ŋe'ḵohanan tsi'ta

my daylight mother

ho' a'tcian ḵä'cima ŋe'li'tona an e'lete'uḵä.

I their water inner room for him I prepared

lu'ḵä le'n i'tetcaḵa

this all being at an end

ho'ma ta'tcu te'a'ona

my father the one who is

yam ḵä'cima ḵai'yan e'lete'uḵätekwi

his water seat where he had prepared it

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e

his prayer meal

o'ta'wite-yä'ḥtoḵa

sprinkling on it

i'ste yä'lu

after him

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e.

my prayer meal  
o'ta'wite'-e'kuna  
sprinkling on it

yam ta'etona kã'cima pai'yan a'ikwi  
my father's water seat where it lay

ho' ye'li'ula'pa  
I stood beside it

ho'ma ta'tcu te'a'ona  
my father the one who is

ho'ma ya'fekã.  
me grasped

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi hom ta'kã animlakukã  
yonder to all sides me presenting he seated me

ho'ma ta'tcu te'a'ona  
my father the one who is

hom a'nimlakupa  
me having seated quietly

yam kã'cima po'n'e ye'lete'u'kona  
his water roll the one he had prepared

a'n'ulana  
drawing toward him

yam hot a's'ana'kã  
his grandmother taking him by the hand

a'nimkoskukã  
he seated her in the doorway

a'nimkoskuna  
having seated her in the doorway

a'witela'ma ci'pololon cu'lulutinan ana'pikwai'ikãna  
four times smoke sucking drawing it through

yam ce'lnakwi  
his body

ci'pololon ya'nha'kuna kwa'tok'ana  
smoke breath taking in

yam a'tatcu  
his fathers

ci'pololonak'ã a'wik'e'na te'liana  
smoke with their hearts adding to

ke'sic e'leta'pa  
now indeed this is well

u'wanamik' a'te'ona  
rain maker beings

ei yam ci'pololon yanha'kuna kwai''inan i'witcemana  
[that not] their smoke breath coming out withholding

a'team'e'tun'onak'ã  
that they might not be thus

yam a'tatcu  
his fathers

ci'pololonak'ã a'wik'e'na te'liakã.  
with smoke their hearts he added to

ho'ma leaḱḱā.

to me he handed it.

a'witela'ma ci'pololon eu'lulutina a'na'pikwai'ina

four times smoke sucking passing through

yam tēhuḱ ḱālnakwi

my body cavity warm (in)

ho' ci'pololon ya'nhaḱuna kwa'toḱāna

I smoke breath took in

yam a'tatcu

my fathers

ho' ci'pololon a'wike'na te'liakā.

I smoke their hearts added to

ḱe'sic e'letapa

now indeed this is well

u'wanamik' a'te'ona

rain maker beings

eḷ yam ci'pololon ya'nhaḱuna kwai''inan i'witcemana

(that not) their smoke breath coming out withholding

a'team'e un'onakā

that they might not be thus

ci'pololonakā ho' a'wike'na te'liakā.

smoke with I their hearts added to

lu'ḱakon i'te'tcapa

this being at an end

hon i'yanikikā.

we greeted one another.

ta'tcumo

father

ta'le pa'pa su'we ḱā'ḱā ḱā'se na'na to'cle a'li

son elder brother younger brother uncle nephew grandfather grandson great grandfather

u'wakā

great grandson

le'n hon i'yanikinapḱā.

thus we greeted one another

lu'ḱā le'n i'te'tcapa

this all being at an end

hom tēkohanana ta'tcili te'ona

my daylight father [having] the one who is

i'te'kunakā

questioned [me]

e' ma' la'ḱāma

yes now at this time

lo'na t'a'wona-e'lateḱā

us you on our roads have passed

hoḷ i'tiwana'a

sometime at the middle of the year

fo'ma le'n a'tatcu

your this many fathers

ko'n a'ntecemana

something desiring

ʔom a'nulanapkona  
 you the one they appointed  
 li'wan a'lahoan'kwini ta'na  
 hither to the south direction  
 yam a'tatcu  
 your fathers  
 u'wanam a'ciwan'i  
 rain maker priests  
 u'wanami pekwiwe  
 rain maker speakers  
 u'wanam a'pi'la'ci'wan'i  
 rain maker bow priests  
 a'wan kã'cima o'neala kwai'ina te'yapte  
 their water roads coming out valuable even there  
 te'liḡinan ko'tia'lewanante  
 prayer sticks badly made even  
 ho'nan'wan ʔo ʔekohanan ceman te'aḡa tekwi  
 for us you daylight asking have lived when  
 kes lu'kã yã'ton'e hai'tokwin te'tciḡa—  
 now this day the appointed time has arrived  
 ho' tatcili te'ona le'ciantikwaḡa.  
 I father having the one thus he said.  
 yam ta'tcili te'ona  
 my father the one  
 cu'la'witsi pe'kwin ci'wan'i  
 cu'la'witsi speaker priest  
 sai'yataca pi'la'ci'wan'i  
 long horn bow priest  
 hu'tutu pi'la'ci'wan'i  
 hu'tutu bow priest  
 ya'muhakt a'pi'la'ci'wan'i  
 stick carriers bow priests  
 ya'ntelia'na ho'i ya'kãna  
 impersonating making persons  
 a'wan ʔo'wacanan'e  
 their seeds  
 a'wan u'tenan'e  
 their clothing  
 a'wen ʔe'apḡunan'e  
 their offspring  
 ʔo'wacanan lu'ptsikwa te'a'ona  
 seeds the yellow ones  
 ʔo'wacanan li''akwa te''ona  
 seed the blue one  
 ʔo'wacanan ci'loakwa te''ona  
 seed the red one  
 ʔo'wacanan ko'hakwa te''ona  
 seed the white one  
 ʔo'wacanan ku'teuteukwi te''ona  
 seed the speckled one

kwín'akwa ío'wacónan te''óna  
black seed the one that is

co'tsító ío'wacónan te''óna  
sweet corn seed the one that is

no a'noti te'mla  
bean clans all

íowa kã'maliya te''óna  
ancient round fruit the one

íak'wíłpoť an kúkwí'we  
forest trees their seeds

kã'wula te'mla  
wild grasses all

yam kãmulukwia  
my navel

ío'wacónan ha'tapiya.  
seeds carrying around my waist

yam ik'ona  
my the ones I brought

yam íe'kóhanan ta'tcu  
my daylight father

yam íe'kóhanan tsi'ta  
my daylight mother

an kã'cima íe'li'tona  
their water inner room

hon ío'wacónan a'lakúna'we kesi.  
we seeds leave now.

hon a'witelin tsi'tili a'te'ona  
we earth mother [having] the ones

kã'kwi ya'nap te'lakwai'ikãpa  
replete with living water when it is spring

yam kã'cima te'atcina'kona  
your water fields all over

yam akã ci'natun'ona  
that with which you may have flesh

yam a'tsita  
your mothers

ío'wa te'mlanana  
corn all kinds

yam a'witelin tsi'tana  
your earth mother in

íon ti'nana kwa'tokãna'wapa  
you when you have laid them down inside

yam a'witelin tsit an kã'kwin akã  
their earth mother her living water with

tei'm'on ho'i ya'kãna  
anew persons making themselves

yam yã'toka ta'tcu  
their sun father



an te'kohanankwi

his daylight

i'luwakna kwai'ina

arising coming out

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi

yonder to all sides

kā'cima ceman a'sta'kāna'wapa

water asking their hands stretching out

ho'kānti'holi

from somewhere

kā'cima tci'm'on akā

water fresh with

a'wona-e'latena kāpa

on their roads having passed them

kā'cima tci'm'ona

water fresh

i'kā'kuna

drinking in

tca'l i'keckuna'wapa

their children clasping

te'apkunan o'naya'kāna'wapa

their offspring to the end of their roads having brought

yam he'coṭakwi

your houses to

a'wana'n-ulaṇa

taking them in

a'tapana

following them

tse''mak-te'ṭakwi ṭon te'wanan a'teaṭan'onak'ā

whither your thoughts bend you your time that you may live for this

yam te'kohanana a'tatcu

our daylight fathers

yam te'kohanana a'tsita

our daylight mothers

yam te'kohanana tea'we

our daylight children

a'wan kā'cima te'li'tona

their water inner room

yam ṭo'wacanan ha'taṭi i'k'ona

our seed (bundle) the one I brought tied about my waist

hon wo'tala'kunapka ke'si.

we set them down quietly now

ke'sic e'letaṭa

now indeed it is well

yam hecoṭana

your house

ko'wi ye'lana kwai'ikāna

a little ways standing going out

yam a'tatcu  
your fathers

a'wan te'apkunan'e  
their offspring

tom kã'cima pi'nan a'kã a'wulacon'ona le'anaããpa  
your water breath with the ones that wait around so called

kã'cima co'wita  
water deer

ha'liku te'ona  
mountain goat the one who is

ma'wi te'ona  
doe the one that is

o'holi te'ona  
buck the one that is

po'kã te'ona  
jack rabbit the one that is

o'kciã te'ona  
cottontail the one that is

ko'tei te'ona  
wood rat the one that is

i'skãn kwa kowi no'me tsa'napte  
then some small bug even the little ones

yam he'coãana  
your house

ye'lana kwai'iããna  
standing going out

a'wan ci'nan a'kã  
their flesh with

ton yu'yackwa'tea a'teatun'onakã  
you well nourished that you may be thus

ke'sic e'letaãa  
now indeed this is well

hon teãohanan tate i'laã a'te'ona  
we daylight father having the ones

an kã'cima te'li'tona  
his water inner room

u'tenan te'mãananakã  
clothing all kinds with

an he'coãa i'ke'natun'ona  
his house that it may have a heart

kow an a'wenakwinte  
a little in his doorway even

teu pe'wikoskwi  
corn spread before the door

no pe'wikio'skwi  
beans spread before the door

kã pe'wiko'skwi  
wheat spread before the door

ku pe'wiko'skwi  
nuts spread before the door

kow a'waktsik a'łana  
half-grown boys

kow a'k̄ätsik a'łana  
half grown girls

a'wona-we'kwinte  
even those whose roads go first

an he'cołana  
his house in

teap̄kunan u'łton kwai'ilen teałun'onak'ä  
his offspring jostling one another going out that it may be thus

an taḡowan i'tiwanana  
his ceiling middle

te'lik̄inan i'pateak'ä  
prayer sticks fastened together with

ho' an e'lete'uk̄ä  
I for him prepared it

hoł ko'n a'ntecemana  
sometime something desiring

te'wusu pe'na ya''kona  
prayer words the ones that are finished

te''tsinan'e  
winter

o'lo'ik̄anan'e  
summer

yä'tcu pi'lan'e  
the sequence of months

to'na'wan ho' te'kohanana ce'man te'ak̄ä te'kwi  
for you I daylight asking have lived when

lu'k̄ä yä'ton'e  
this day

kes ho' tse''makwin mo'la'k̄ä ke'si  
now I thought have straightened now

yam ta'tcili te''ona  
our father [having] the one who is

sai'yataca pi'łaci'wan'i  
long horn bow priest

a'ntelia'na ho''i yä'k̄ana  
impersonating a person having made himself

to'n ho' a'wona-e'latek̄ä  
you I on your roads have passed

yam ta'tcili te''ona  
your father [having] the one who is

k̄ä'pin ho''i  
raw person

an o'naya'nak̄ä pi''nan'e  
his life-giving breath

an la'ciak̄ä pi''nan'e  
his old age breath

- an ǰä'cima pi''nane  
his water breath
- an ǰo'wacunan pi''nan'e  
his seed breath
- an u'tenan pi''nan'e  
his clothing breath
- an ǰe'apkunān pi''nan'e  
his offspring breath
- an sa'wanikā pi''nan'e  
his power breath
- an tse'makwin ǰsume pi''nan'e  
his spirit strong breath
- an kwahoǰ te'ni ha'lowilin pi''nan i'li te'ona  
his everything good luck breath the one he has
- pi''nan ai'ncemana  
breath asking for
- yam ǰe'hul ǰä'lnakwi  
my body cavity warm in
- ho' pi''na ya'nhakuna kwa'toǰäna  
I breath breath taking in
- ǰo'na'wan ho' pi''nan te'liun'a ǰe'si'  
your I breath shall add to now
- eǰ tcuwa ǰon yam a'tatca'wa  
let no one you your fathers'
- pi''na ya'tcitanam'fona  
breath despise
- yam ce'lnakwi  
your body (in)
- pi''nan a'na'kwa'to'ǰäna  
breath drawing in
- hoǰ yam yä'tokä ta'tcu  
somewhere you sun father
- ceu o'neal kwai''lnakwi  
his road where it come out
- o'neala te''tcina  
(your) road reaching
- i'piyaǰsumepa  
holding hands strongly
- i'yakna lo'o  
grasping one another tight
- yam a'wona ya''tun'onak'ä  
that your roads may be finished
- ǰo'na'wan lo' pi''nan te'liun'a ǰe'si'  
for you I breath shall add to now
- e'pac ǰe'fohanana  
verily in the daylight
- hon i'yanikinaḡa  
we greeting one another
- e'pac ǰe'fohanana  
verily in the daylight

hon i'yona ya'kana-weñi'ya'na  
 we (for one another) would that we might finish our roads  
 e'pac tewusuke'na-we  
 verily we shall pray (for this)  
 tewuna' hom a'tatcu  
 finally my fathers  
 hom a'tsita  
 my mothers  
 hom tca'we  
 my children  
 i'o'na te'kohanan ya'niktcia't'u  
 to you life may it be given  
 i'o'n a'wona ya't'u  
 your roads may they be fulfilled  
 i'on a'facit'u  
 you may grow old  
 i'o'na kwa ai'nakā ya'niktcia't'u  
 to you some killing may it be given  
 hoł yam yā'tokā ta'tcu  
 somewhere your sun father  
 an o'naya'nakā o'nealan kwai'inakwi  
 his life giving road where it comes out  
 o'neal u'la  
 (your) road stretching  
 i'o'n a'wonaya'tunfi'ya'na.  
 your roads may be fulfilled [would that].

SAYATACA'S MORNING CHANT<sup>79</sup>

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
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| <p>             And now indeed it has come to pass.<br/>             This past day,<br/>             I stood beside the water-filled<br/>             ladder<br/>             Of my daylight fathers,<br/>             My daylight mothers,<br/>             My daylight children.<br/>             8 We who had stood there,<br/>             In the rain-filled room<br/>             Of our daylight fathers,<br/>             Staying quietly we came to day.<br/>             12 Now our dawn fathers,<br/>             Dawn old men,<br/>             Dawn youths,<br/>             15 Dawn boys,<br/>             Dawn old women,<br/>             Dawn matrons,<br/>             Dawn maidens,<br/>             Dawn girls,           </p> | <p>             no'miltakwa<br/>             te'eukwa yā'ton'e<br/>             yam te'kohanan a'tateu<br/>             yam te'kohanan a'tsita<br/>             5 yam te'kohanan tca'we<br/>             a'wan kā'eima ta'pela<br/>             hon i'luwa-yu'la'kō.<br/>             hon i'luwa-yu'la'kōna<br/>             yam te'kohanan a'tateu<br/>             10 a'wan kā'eima te'li'to'kōna<br/>             hon ti'nan la'ki te'wakānapkā<br/>             hon te'luwaiak' a'tate i'laḥona<br/>             te'luwaiak' a'faci<br/>             te'luwaiak' a'tsawaki<br/>             15 te'luwaiak' a'waktisi'ki<br/>             te'luwaiak' a'wak' a'faci<br/>             te'luwaiak' a'maki<br/>             te'luwaiak' e'wactoki<br/>             te'luwaiak' a'kātisi'ki           </p> |
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<sup>79</sup> At the first sign of dawn Sayataca with pekwin ascends to the roof of the house and unties the last knot in the counting string, as a sign that his year is ended. He chants the following prayer, stretching out the string at the end of each line. The prayer is afterwards repeated in the house.

- 20 Rising, standing at their sacred place,  
Have come to meet us now.  
My children,<sup>80</sup>  
There in the rain-filled rooms  
Of your daylight fathers,  
Your daylight mothers  
You have stayed throughout the night.
- 27 Finally, my children,  
Make haste now,  
Get ready now.
- 30 Yesterday our daylight fathers,<sup>81</sup>  
Whoever of them wished to grow old,  
Working on plume wands came to evening;  
Working on prayer feathers they came to evening.  
And furthermore our mothers,<sup>82</sup>
- 35 Whoever of them wished to grow old,  
In order to add to the hearts of their ancestors,  
Their children,<sup>83</sup>
- 40 Sitting weary by the fireplaces,  
They came to evening.  
With aching knees,  
With sweat running down their faces,  
With burned fingers,  
Sitting wearily they came to evening.
- 45 And whoever else wished to grow old,  
Preparing prayer meal<sup>84</sup>  
They gave it to us.  
Taking only that,  
The plume wands they gave us,
- 20 yam te'łaci-nakwi  
i'luwakna ƣe'atokna ho'n a'wona-  
elatenapƣä ƣe'si  
hom tea'we  
lalhok<sup>a</sup> yam te'ƣohanan a'tateu  
yam te'ƣohanan a'tsita  
25 a'wan ƣä'cima teli'to'kona  
ton ti'nan la'ƣi tewaƣānapƣä  
ƣe'si.  
te'wuna' tea'we  
he'ciƣāna'we ƣe'si  
ye'lete'ena'we ƣe'si.  
30 ho'na-wan te'ƣohanan a'tateu  
hol teuwa łacina tse'makona  
  
te'liƣinan leaƣa su'nhaƣānapƣä  
  
la'cowan leaƣa su'nahaƣānapƣä.  
  
le'stiklea ho-na-wan a'tsita  
35 hol teuwa łacina tse'makona  
  
yam a'łacina'we  
yam tea'we  
a'wiƣena telianakwi  
yam a'kliƣāna'a  
40 ti'na yu'te'tcina su'nhaƣānapƣä.  
ko'w o'ci lu'tsisona  
ko'w ha'kwilna kwei'ina  
  
ko'w a'simoyaltco tea'pina  
ti'na yu'te'tcina su'nhaƣānapƣä.  
45 hol teuwa la'cina tse'makona  
  
yam ha'lawo-tinan ye'lete'u'kona  
hon a'lea'uƣa.  
u'si te'tci le'aƣa  
ho' te'liƣinan a'lea'kona

<sup>80</sup> The other impersonators, including the Ca'łako, but not the Koyemci, who do not leave for six days. As a matter of fact, the dancing continues in all the houses until broad daylight. In Mrs. Stevenson's day this prayer closed the ceremonies.

<sup>81</sup> The priests and the men of the house and their close relatives (in 1927 several members of the clan of the house) make prayer sticks for all members of the Sayataca party.

<sup>82</sup> The women who cook for the feast, the women of the house, their blood relatives, members of their clan.

<sup>83</sup> Before the food is eaten in the night each of the seven impersonators takes a bit from each dish. All go out together and bury the food at Wide River, as an offering to a'łacina'we. (See M. C. Stevenson for a different account.) The food was not buried under the ladder in 1927.

<sup>84</sup> The gods are sprinkled with meal by all observers during their progress around the village in the afternoon of their entrance.



- 50 The food <sup>85</sup> which they cooked for  
us, and gave us to take along.  
Taking only that,  
We shall make our roads descend.<sup>86</sup>  
With the song cycles of our  
fathers,<sup>87</sup> yonder,  
Life-giving priests,  
55 Life-giving pekwinis,  
Life-giving bow priests,  
  
We danced the night away.  
Now at last, my children,  
60 Hasten now,  
Get ready now.  
At the new year  
All my fathers  
With their precious plume wand  
65 Appointed me.  
There to the south  
Following where come out the  
roads of my fathers,  
Rain-makers, priests,  
  
70 Even with my own poorly made  
plume wands,  
I continued to give my fathers  
plume wands.  
And when all the cycle of their  
months was at an end,  
75 At the place called since the first  
beginning Ayayaḡa <sup>88</sup>  
Meeting my fathers,  
  
I gave them plume wands.  
Their day count having been  
counted up,  
80 There to the west,  
Where my fathers' road comes in,  
I continued to give them plume  
wands.  
When all these days were past,  
  
85 The one who is my father  
Took hold of me;  
Where he had laid a seat  
Four times he sprinkled prayer  
meal upon it.

- 50 ho' i'tona'kona a'hane'lan'kona  
  
u'si te'tei le'apa  
hon o'neala pa'ni'ḡana'wa  
lahok' yam a'tatcu  
  
o'na'ya'naḡa a'ciwan'i  
55 o'na'ya'naḡa pe'kwi'we  
o'na'ya'naḡa a'pi'keciwan'i  
a'wan pi'clenan tena'pi'la na'k'ā  
hon i'talna te'waḡanapḡā.  
te'wuna' tea'we  
60 he'ciḡana'we ke'si  
ye'lete'ena'we ke'si  
hol i'tiwana  
homa le'w a'tatcu  
te'likina ya'n a'ḡā  
65 hom a'nulana'waḡa  
li'wan a'laho'ankwin ta'na  
yam a'tatcu  
u'wanam a'ciwan'i  
a'wan ḡā'cima o'neala' kwai'nai  
ta'pana  
70 te'likina ko'ti a'lewunante  
yam a'tatcu  
ho' te'liḡin a'lea'u teḡā.  
  
ḡes le'na a'wan ya'tcupi'la i'te'-  
teḡā tea'ana  
ḡā'ḡa te'i'niḡāḡā  
75 ai'yaya'ḡa le'aniḡanankwi  
ho' yam a'tatcu  
a'wona-elatena.  
ho' te'liḡinan a'leapa  
a'wa ya'lenan pi'laḡāḡa  
  
80 li'wan ḡālici'ankwin ta'na  
yam a'tatcu  
a'wan o'neal i'nakwi  
ho' te'liḡinan a'lean teḡā.  
ḡes le'na a'wan te'mia te'waḡā  
te'a'ana  
85 ho'ma ta'teu te'ona  
ho'ma ya'teḡā  
yam ḡācima pai'yan a'lkwi  
a'wite'la'ma  
ha'lawo'tinan a'wite'la'ma o'ta'-  
wite'-ya'itona

<sup>85</sup> The bowls of food from which the offerings are made during the night are immediately taken by the girls of the house to the houses of the impersonators, as a gift from the house. This is also done in the morning, when other gifts are also taken, a butchered sheep, piece of calico, and sometimes blankets.

<sup>86</sup> That is, go out. When they come in they "climb up" (the ladder).

<sup>87</sup> The choir of the medicine society that sang for them.

<sup>88</sup> The spring at which kohaḡito was made in 1927.

- 90 The top of my head  
Four times he sprinkled.  
Where his seat was laid  
He took hold of me.  
Presenting me to all the directions,  
He made me sit down.
- 95 Taking his grandson,  
Reed youth,  
Within his body,  
Four times he bored a hole going  
through.  
Four times drawing toward him  
his bag of native tobacco.
- 100 He put his hand in.  
Into the palm of his hand  
Four times he measured out  
tobacco.  
Into his body,  
Four times he stuffed the mist.
- 105 He took his grandmother by the  
hand,  
Four times inhaling he drew the  
mist through;  
Into his body  
He drew the misty breath,  
Yonder on all sides
- 110 With mist he added to the hearts  
of his fathers.  
He handed it to me.  
Four times inhaling I made the  
mist pass through.  
Into my body  
I drew the mist.
- 115 Yonder on all sides.  
With mist I added to the hearts  
of my fathers.
- This is well:
- 120 That the rain makers may not  
withhold their misty breath,  
  
With mist I added to their hearts.  
  
When all this was at an end,  
Then we greeted one another with  
terms of kinship:  
Father, son; elder brother, younger  
brother; uncle, nephew; grand-  
father, grandson, ancestor, de-  
scendant.
- 90 ho'man o'tsimowa'a  
a'witela'ma o'ta'wite'-yā'Hona  
yam ǰä'cima ǰai'yanana  
ho'ma ya'teka  
la'lhok' le'si te'kwi hom ta'k'āna  
hom a'nimlakūā
- 95 yam nan i'li te'ona  
la'ǰaia tsa'wak te'ona  
ai'ncelna'a  
a'witela'ma pu'suw a'mǰikwai'ina  
an'haitekā  
yam se'weke wō'βon a'witela'ma  
a'nulakā
- 100 a'skwatona  
yam a'stecokta'a  
a'witela'ma se'weke wō'laǰāǰa  
i'yānhaitekā  
ai'ncelna'a  
a'witela'ma ci'pololon u'teuna
- 105 yam hot a'sana'kū  
  
a'witela'ma ci'pololon eu'lulutina  
a'na'pikwai'ikākā  
yam ce'lnakwi  
ci'pololon ya'nhekuna kwa'toǰākā  
lathok' lesi te'kwi yam a'tateu
- 110 ci'pololon a'kā a'wike'na te'liākā  
  
ho'me le'aǰākā  
a'wi'la'ma ci'pololon eu'lulutina  
a'na'pikwai'ikākā  
yam celnakwi  
ho' ci'pololon a'letokā
- 115 la'lhok' le'si te'kwi  
yam a'tateu  
ho' ci'pololon le'si te'kwi a'wike'na  
te'liākā  
ǰe'sic e'letaǰa  
u'wanamik' a'te'ona
- 120 el yam ci'pololon ya'nhakunan  
kwai'inan i'witeamana a'te-  
ame ǰun'onakā  
ho' ci'pololon akā a'wike'na te'li-  
akā.  
lu'kakon le'n i'te'teǰa  
i'skon hon i'yānikikā
- ta'teu ta'le pa'pa su'we kākā  
ǰā'se na'na to'ele a'li u'waka

- 125 With this many words we greeted  
one another.  
When all this was at an end  
My father questioned me:  
"Indeed now it seems you will  
have something to say, some  
word that is not too long  
130 So finally, if you let me know it,  
I shall know it for all time."  
Thus my fathers spoke.  
135 "Yes indeed it is so.  
There to the south,  
Following where my fathers'  
watery roads come forth  
I have been asking for light for you.  
140 Yesterday we reached the ap-  
pointed time.  
Perpetuating the rite of the one  
who is our father,  
Sayataca, bow priest,  
And once more giving him human  
form  
145 I came out standing.  
I looked to the north,  
I looked to the west,  
I looked to the south,  
I looked to the east,  
150 Hither, toward the place of dawn,  
I saw four road going side by side.  
Along the middle road.  
Four times I sprinkled prayer meal.  
155 Then I made the sound of the  
water-filled breath of the rain-  
maker priest of the north.  
Taking four steps,  
Four times striding forward,  
The water filled woodpile  
Of my daylight father  
160 I stood beside.  
My father  
Four times sprinkled my head with  
prayer meal.
- 125 le'n hon i'yaniḱikā  
lu'kaḱon i'te'tcaḱa  
ho' tate i'li te'ona  
i'te'kunakā  
e'm'a' i'mat kwa'hol ḱe'na te'yu'-  
lanam'e ḱe'nan te'aḱāna  
130 te'wuna' u'son hom to' yu''-  
yaḱāpa  
u'hs ai'yuyana  
ho' te'wanan te'ḱāna  
ho'm a'tateu a'te'ona  
le'ciantikwakā  
135 ma' i'na milte  
li'wan a'laho'ankwin ta'na  
yam a'tateu  
a'wan ḱā'cima o'neala kwai'ina  
taḱana  
to'na'wan aḱ' ho' te'kohanana ce'-  
man te'aḱā  
140 te'eukwa yā'ton'e  
ḱes hai'tokwin te'tciḱa  
yam tate i'li te'ona  
sai'yataca pi''laci'wan'i te'ona  
a'ntelia'na ho' ho'i-yaḱāna  
145 ho' ye'lana kwai'iḱāḱā  
ho' pi'cle tu'natikā  
ho' ḱālici tu'natikā  
ho a'laho tu'natikā  
ho te'maḱo tu'natikā  
150 ḱālhok' teluwankwin ta'na  
a'witenana o'neala wo'ḱāpa ho'  
u'natikāḱā.  
i'tiw o'nealkowa  
yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
ho' a'witela'ma o'ta'wite'-yā'ltokā  
155 i'skon pi'cle u'wanam ci'wan an  
ḱā'cima ya'nhakunan ho'  
te'ha'tokā  
a'witela'ma te'tcunan ala'nana  
a'witela'ma ye'letelupna'na  
yam te'kohanana tate'i'li te'ona  
an ḱā'cima ta'pelakwi  
160 ho ye'li u'lakā  
hom ta'teu te'ona  
yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
a'witela'ma  
ho'man o'tsimowa'a

- 166 His rain filled woodpile,  
He sprinkled with meal.  
After him,  
170 I sprinkled my prayer meal on it.  
This night  
The thoughts of all my fathers,  
Whatever they wished  
When they appointed me with  
their precious plume wand,  
I have fulfilled.  
The breath of my father,  
Sayataca, bow priest,  
180 His life-giving breath  
His breath of old age  
His breath of waters,  
His breath of fecundity,  
His breath of seeds,  
185 His breath of riches,  
His breath of power,  
His breath of strong spirit,  
His breath of all good fortune  
whatsoever,—  
Asking for his breath,  
190 And into my body  
Drawing his breath.  
I add to your breath now.  
And furthermore, the yellow cloth-  
ing bundle of the priest of the  
north,  
The blue clothing bundle of the  
priest of the west,  
195 The red clothing bundle of the  
priest of the south,  
The white clothing bundle of the  
priest of the east,  
The many colored clothing bundle  
of the priest of the above,  
The dark colored clothing bundle  
of the priest of the below,  
All kinds of good fortune whatso-  
ever,—  
200 Asking for the breath of these,  
And into my warm body  
Inhaling their breath,  
I add to your breath.  
To this end, my children:  
205 May you be blessed with light;  
May your roads be fulfilled;  
May you grow old;  
Yonder to where the road of your  
sun father comes out,
- 165 o'ta'wite' yä'ltokä  
yam kâcima ta'pelakwi  
yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
o'ta'wite'-yä'ltokä  
i'ste yä'lu  
170 yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
ho' o'ta'wite' yä'ltokä  
lu'kä te'linan'e  
hom le'n a'tateu  
holko'n a'ntecemana  
175 te'likinan ya-nakä  
hom a'nulanapkowa  
ho tse'makwi' mo'la' ke'si  
yam tate i'li te'ona  
sa'yataca pi'laciwani te'ona  
180 an o'na'ya'nakä pi''nan'e  
an la'ciağa pi''nan'e  
an kâ'cima pi''nan'e  
an te'apKunan pi''nan'e  
an lo'wacanan pi''nan'e  
185 an u'tenan pi''nan'e  
an sa'wanika pi''nan'e  
an tse'makwin tsu'me pi''nan'e  
kwa'hol te'mla te'ni ha'lowilin  
pi''nan i'li te'ona  
pi''nan ai'neemana  
190 yam ce'lnakwi  
pi''nan a'letona  
to'na'wan ho' pi''nan te'liana'wa  
le'stiklea pi'cle ci'wan an u'ten-  
he'konan luptsina  
kâlici ci'wan an u'ten he'konan  
li''ana  
195 a'laho ci'wan an u'ten he'konan  
a'hona  
te'mako ci'wanan u'ten he'konan  
ko'hana  
i'yama ci'wan an u'ten he'konan  
tsi'lipana  
ma'nila'ma ci'wan an u'ten-  
he'konan cikâna  
kwa'hol te'mla te'ni ha'lowilin  
te'ona  
200 pi''nan yai'neemana  
yam te'hut kâlnakwi  
pi''nan ya'nhakunan kwa'to'kâna  
to'na'wan ho' pi''nan te'liuna  
te'wuna' tea'we  
205 to'na te'kohanan ya'nikticiatu  
to'n a'wonaya'tu  
fon a'facitu  
hol yam yä'tokä tateu  
an o'neala kwai''inakwi

- 210 May your roads reach  
 Together may your roads be  
 fulfilled.
- 210 o'neala te''tcina  
 a'nsam'o  
 to'n a'wonaya'tuntiy'o'na.

## NIGHT CHANT OF HEKĀPA'KWE CA'LAKO

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| <p><i>Host:</i><sup>52</sup> Father!<br/> <i>Ca'lako:</i> Son!<br/> <i>Host:</i> Elder brother!<br/> <i>Ca'lako:</i> Younger brother!<br/>         5 <i>Host:</i> Uncle!<br/> <i>Ca'lako:</i> Nephew!<br/> <i>Host:</i> Grandfather!<br/> <i>Ca'lako:</i> Grandson!<br/> <i>Host:</i> Great-grandfather!<br/>         10 <i>Ca'lako:</i> Great-grandson!<br/> <i>Host:</i><br/>         This night<br/>         The ones who are our fathers<br/>         Masked god priests,<br/>         All the masked gods.<br/>         15 At their precious mountain,<br/>         Their precious lake,<br/>         Perpetuating what has been since<br/>         the first beginning,<br/>         Have assumed human form.<br/>         Carrying your waters,<br/>         20 Carrying your seeds,<br/>         Making your roads come forth.<br/>         Making your roads come hither,<br/>         You have passed us on our roads<br/>         This night.<br/>         25 We see you,<br/>         From the soles of your feet<br/>         Even to the crowns of your heads,<br/>         Clothed in all fine things<br/>         You have passed us on our roads.<br/>         30 Looking at you<br/>         We know you have passed us on<br/>         our roads.<br/>         Surely because you have some-<br/>         thing to say, some word that is<br/>         not too long,<br/>         You have passed us on our roads.<br/>         If you let us know that</p> | <p>ta'teumo<br/>         ta'lemo<br/>         pa'pamo<br/>         su'wemo<br/>         5 kã'kãmo<br/>         kã'semo<br/>         na'namo<br/>         a'lemo<br/>         to'clemo<br/>         10 u'wakãmo<br/> <br/>         lu'kã te'linan'e<br/>         hon a'tate i'laßona<br/>         ko'kwa'ciwan'i<br/>         ko'ko te'mla<br/>         15 yam yã'la ya'na<br/>         yam kã'watulin ya'na<br/>         yam ko'nhol te'mi'kã'kona te'li-<br/>         a'na<br/>         ho'i ya'kãna<br/>         yam kã'cim i'leana<br/>         20 yam to'wacanan i'leana<br/>         o'neal kwi'i'kãna<br/>         o'neal i'kãna<br/>         ho'na ton a'wona-e'latenap'kã.<br/>         lu'kã fetinan'e<br/>         25 to'na hon u'nati'kãnap'kã<br/>         we'kwikwinte<br/>         o'tsinowakwi te''tcina<br/>         kwa'hol te'mla le'a i'yante'tcina<br/>         ho'na ton a'wona-e'latenap'kã.<br/>         30 to'na hon a'wunati'kãna'wapa<br/>         ho'na tona'wona-e'latenap'kã.<br/> <br/>         i'me' hintcol kwahol pe'nan teyu-<br/>         lanam'e pe'nan te'onakã<br/> <br/>         ho'na ton a'wona-e'latenap'kã.<br/>         u'son ho'na ton ai'yu'ya'kãna'-<br/>         wapa</p> |
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<sup>52</sup> The host sits opposite the impersonator, and together they smoke a cigarette of native tobacco, and passing the cigarette back and forth, exchange terms of relationship. There are certain peculiarities in the terms used. Talemō: tale, brother's son, any male whose father belongs to my clan, hence, "my son," man speaking. There is no term for son. tea'le, "child" is used in describing a relationship; tsawa:k "youth," in referring to a person. This is not a term of relationship. Alemo: used only in this connection. Ordinarily nana is used reciprocally for grandfather, grandson. Tolemo, uwakãmo used only in this connection. There are no equivalents. Possibly these, and alemo, are obsolete terms. They do not always appear in the same order in the texts. (See pp. 713, 732.) The vocative suffix, too, is used only thus. A man, in receiving a present, always in receiving a gift of tobacco, will say talemō or papamō, to which the answer is talemō or suwemo. To a woman he sometimes says kawumō (elder sister) or kukumō (father's sister). She answers hanimo (younger brother or sister) or ta'lemo (brother's son).

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| <p>35 Thinking of that, we shall always<br/>live,<br/>Is it not so?<br/><i>Guests:</i> It is so.<br/><i>Ca'lako:</i><br/>Now, indeed, it has come to pass.<br/>At the New Year<br/>All my fathers <sup>92</sup><br/>Prepared precious plume wands.</p> <p>5 When they were ready<br/>With sacred words,<br/>They commissioned them,<br/>When our sun father<br/>Had gone in to sit down at his<br/>ancient place,</p> <p>10 After a blessed night<br/>They came to day.<br/>Next day<br/>When our sun father</p> <p>15 Coming out standing to his ancient<br/>place,<br/>Passed us on our roads,<br/>Then our fathers<br/>Four times drew toward them<br/>The plume wands commissioned<br/>with their prayers.</p> <p>20 The one who is our father,<br/>Kāwulia Pautiwa,<br/>With their plume wands.<br/>Four times they held fast.<br/>Saying, "Let it be now."</p> <p>25 Carrying his fathers' plume<br/>wands,<br/>He made his road come forth.<br/>Over to the south<br/>He made his road go.</p> <p>30 Thinking, "Let it be here,"<br/>Perpetuating what has been since<br/>the first beginning,<br/>Once more he assumed human<br/>form.<br/>Carrying his father's plume wands</p> <p>35 He made his road come forth.<br/>Into Itiwana<br/>He made his road enter.<br/>Four times he made his road go<br/>round,<br/>Then into Itiwana</p> | <p>35 u'si tse''makuna<br/>hon te'wanan a'te'kāna.<br/>hatei'.<br/>hatei'.<br/><br/>e'ma no'miltakwa<br/>i'tiwana<br/>le' hon a'tate i'laḡona<br/>te'liḡina' ya'na ye'lete'unapka.<br/>5 ye'lete'una<br/>fewusu ya'nulana-waḡa<br/><br/>ho'na'wan yā'tokā ta'tcu<br/>yam te'acinakwi<br/>i'muna kwa'tokāḡa<br/>10 te'linan ko'kei<br/>a'wan fewakā.<br/>te'waḡ yā'tone<br/>hon yā'tokā tate ilaḡ a'te'ona<br/>yam te'acinakwi<br/>15 ye'lana kwai'iḡāna<br/>ho'n a'wona-e'lataḡa<br/>hon a'tate i'laḡona<br/>yam te'liḡinan te'wus ya'nula-<br/>napkowa<br/>a'witela'ma a'nulana<br/><br/>20 yam tate ilaḡ a'te'ona<br/>kā'wulia pa'utiwa<br/>te'lipinanakā<br/>a'witela'ma ya'ten-aḡsu'mekānapka<br/>kā'ḡi ke'si le'anak'āḡa<br/>25 yam a'tateu<br/>a'wan te'likinan i'leana<br/>o'nealan kwai'iḡāna<br/>li'wan a'lahoan'kwina ta'na<br/>o'neal a'ḡāḡa.<br/>30 hoḡ li'la le'hatina<br/>yam ko'nhol te'i'miḡākowa te'-<br/>lia'na<br/>tei'm'on ho'i ya'ḡāna<br/>yam a'tateu<br/>a'wan te'likinan ya'na i'leana<br/>35 o'nealan kwai'iḡāna<br/>i'tiwanakwi<br/>o'neal kwa'tokāna<br/>a'witela'ma o'neal u'lapḡāna<br/><br/>i'tiwanakwi</p> |
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<sup>92</sup> The priests of the council: The three priests of the north, the head priests of the east, west, and south, and the pekwin.



- 40 He made his road enter  
Wherever his children's roads come  
out,<sup>94</sup>  
His precious plume wands  
He laid down.  
After he had laid them down,  
To his own country
- 45 He made his road go forth.  
Then our fathers<sup>95</sup>  
Drawing toward them their plume  
wands,  
To their own houses  
Made their roads return.
- 50 Now this many days  
Eagerly they have awaited the  
time.  
Among all their ladder descending  
children<sup>96</sup>  
They looked about.  
And though we were ignorant  
(They sent for us<sup>97</sup>)
- 55 Then those who are our fathers  
Passed us on their roads.  
When they passed us on their  
roads  
Our fathers drew toward them
- 60 Their father's plume wand.  
Drawing it toward them  
They handed it to us  
That we might be the ones to im-  
personate our father,  
Ca'lako, bow priest;  
For this with their plume wand  
They held us fast.  
Carrying their plume wand  
We made our roads come forth.  
To our houses,
- 70 Our roads reached.  
This many are the days  
We have eagerly awaited the time  
When the moon who is our mother,
- 40 o'nealan kwa'to'kăna  
lahok<sup>94</sup> yam teap'kuna a'wan  
o'neala kwai'inapkowa  
te'likina ya'na wo'talakă.  
wo'tala'kuna  
yam u'lo'nakwi
- 45 o'neal a'kăpa  
hon a'tate i'laopna  
yam te'likinan a'n-uluna  
  
yam he'co fakwi  
o'nealan te'tci'kăna
- 50 le'si fewanane  
a'n'sume'na fewanan a'tea'pă  
  
le' le'tsilon pa'ni'nan tea'we  
  
a'wun-u'lapanpă  
te'kwante te'atipa
- 55 hon a'tate i'la'pona  
ho'na a'wona-elatekă  
ho'na a'wona-elatepa  
hon a'tate i'la'pona  
yam a'tateu
- 60 a'wan te'likinan a'n-ulanapă  
a'n-ulana  
ho'na le'akănapă.  
yam tate'ili te'ona  
ca'lako pi'laci'wan'i
- 65 a'ntelia'na hon ho'i tea'tun'onakă  
te'likinan a'kă ho'na ya'tena-tsu-  
mekănapă.  
te'likinan i'teana  
o'neala kwai'i'kăna  
yam he'cotakwi
- 70 o'neala te'tci'kăna  
le'si te'wanan'e  
a'n'sume'na  
hon te'wanan a'tea'kă.  
hon ya'onaka tsit i'la'p a'te'ona

<sup>94</sup> At the entrances to the kivas.<sup>95</sup> The dance directors or wwe of the kivas.<sup>96</sup> Human children.<sup>97</sup> The two impersonators, elder and younger brother. They take turns in wearing the mask. Both intone the prayer.

- 75 Yonder in the west,  
Had grown to maturity.<sup>88</sup>  
Carrying our fathers' precious<sup>89</sup>  
plume wand,  
To which we had fastened our own  
common<sup>1</sup> plume wand,
- 80 Carrying these plume wands,  
Yonder to the south,  
We made our roads go.  
At the place called since the first  
beginning  
Snow hanging,
- 85 We met our fathers on their roads.  
Where their watery roads come  
forth<sup>2</sup>  
We stood in the doorway.
- 90 There we gave our fathers plume  
wands,  
We gave them prayer feathers,  
We gave them rain-bringing ciga-  
rettes,  
We gave them prayer meal.  
Making their days,
- 95 Throughout the sequence of their  
months  
Eagerly we awaited our time.
- Whenever the time came,  
Yonder to the south,  
Throughout the sequence of the  
months of summer,
- 100 Wherever the roads of our fathers  
come out,  
We gave them plume wands.  
When all their springs were at an  
end,
- 105 Our fathers,  
For that which was soon to be  
Met all together in their water-  
filled room.  
With the flesh of their mother,

- 75 li'-wan kã'lici a'nkwin ta''na  
ho''i ya'kãka tea'ana  
yam a'tateu  
a'-wan te'liḡinan ya''na  
yam te'liḡinan ci'mato a'mpatcu'-  
kowa
- 80 te'liḡinan i'leana  
lehok<sup>9</sup> a'laho'a'nkwin ta''na  
hon o'neala a'kãnapkã.  
kã'kã te'i'mikaka  
u'hana'a le'anaḡana
- 85 yam a'tateu  
hon a'wona-e'latenapkã.  
a'-wan kã'cim o'nealan kwai''ina  
hon i'luwan i'koskwikã  
iskon yam a'tateu
- 90 hon te'liḡinan a'leana  
la'cowa a'leana  
kã'cima po'ne a'leana
- ha'lawortinan a'leana  
a'-wan te'wanan a'ena
- 95 a'-wan ya'teu pi'lana
- a'-wan te'wanan a'nĩsume'na  
hon te'wanan a'teakã.  
a'teakãtekwin li'wan a'laho'a'n-  
kwin ta''na  
yãteu pi''lan'e
- 100 o'lo'ik'anan'e  
yam a'tateu  
a'-wan o'neala kwai''ina'kowa
- hon te'liḡinan a'leanapkã  
a'-wan kã'nakwai''ina i'te'teapã
- 105 hon a'tate i'laḡona  
ke'sti te'atun'onak-ã  
yam kã'cima te'li'tokwi  
te'mlamo i'yona-e'latenapkã.  
yam tsit i'laḡ a'te'ona

<sup>88</sup> The 10 plantings at the springs to the south are generally at the full moon. If the moon is waxing at the New Year there may be 11 plantings (two at tolokna in midsummer). The first and last plantings may be when the moon is 6 days old. See p. 712, note.

<sup>89</sup> Literally "finished," i. e., with the paint brought by the priests from the underworld. This is part of the sacred paraphernalia of the priests and forms part of their altars at seasons of retreat. A tiny bit is scraped off and mixed with other paint.

<sup>1</sup> Painted with ordinary paint.

<sup>2</sup> At springs

- 110 Cotton woman,  
Even a roughly made cotton  
thread,  
A soiled cotton thread,  
And with beads,  
Even if only a single bead  
Borrowed somewhere from among  
all the village branches,<sup>3</sup>  
And with the pollen of their  
fathers,  
Their mothers,  
Their children,
- 120 The different kinds of corn,  
And with turquoise,  
Keeping it in their hearts,  
They gave their day count human  
form.  
Then our fathers,
- 125 Sayataca, bow priest,  
Molanhaktó,<sup>4</sup> house chief priest,  
  
Passed their fathers on their road.  
The day count to which they had  
given human form,
- 130 Four times drawing toward them,  
With their day count  
They took firm hold of their  
fathers.  
Carrying the day count,
- 135 They made their roads come forth.  
To their houses  
Their roads reached.  
Saying, "Let it be now,"  
Carrying the plume wands which  
they had prepared,
- 140 Carrying their father's day count,  
  
They made their roads go forth.  
There to the south,  
We made our roads go.
- 145 At the place called since the first  
beginning  
Ants-go-in <sup>5</sup>  
We passed our fathers on their  
roads.
- 110 pi'tsem o'kã  
an ci'nan'e  
pi'le ko'tinapte  
pi'le ci'kãnapte  
la'thok' le-w lu'walan ya'tciwe  
115 ho! yam to'pacoli  
lo'o i'lopi'kowa  
  
yam a'tatcu  
  
yam a'tsita  
yam tea'we  
120 to'wa a'wan o'neaw a'kã  
lo'o ak'ã  
i'wikena'wa  
yãlanan ho'i ya'kãkate'ana  
  
hon a'tcia ta'tcili a'te'ona  
125 sai'yataca pi'laci'wan'i  
mo'lanha'kto kã'kwemosi ci'-  
wan'i  
yam a'tatcu  
a'te a'wona-e'latefa  
yam ya'lanan ho'i ya'kãnapkowa  
130 a'witela'ma a'naulana  
yam a'tcia ta'tci'li te'ona  
yã'lanan a'k'ã  
a'tcia tsu'me ya'tenapka.  
yã'lanan i'leana  
135 o'neala kwai'ikãna  
yam he'cotakwi  
o'neala te'tci'kãna  
kã'kxi ke'si' le'ana'kãpa  
yam te'likinan ye'lete'ukowa  
i'leana  
140 yam a'tatcu  
a'wan ya'lanan i'leana  
o'neala kwai'ikãna  
lehok' a'laho'a'nkwin ta'na  
hon o'neal a'kãnapka.  
145 ka'kã tci'mikãkã  
  
ha'lon kwa'tona  
yam a'tatcu  
hon a'wona-e'latenapka.

<sup>3</sup> Zuñi is the center, the trunk of the tree, the other pueblos are the branches. The Zuñis do not classify the Hopis with the "village people," as they call the eastern pueblos.

<sup>4</sup> "Carrying squash (round things) on the head," the father of the Koyemci. The name is characteristically ambiguous, referring both to the knobs on the mask and the squash seeds in the knobs. All the Koyemci are called Molanhaktu in songs and prayers. Koyemci is merely a nickname. They are distinguished by name, Molanhaktu a wan atcu, molanhaktu a wan pekwin, molanhaktu ocotsi, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The ceremony no longer takes place at this spring, which is at the foot of Corn Mountain, and at the base of the Kákima, but at Ayayakya, on the west side of Kákima Canyon. (See p. 712 for the names of the springs visited.)

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| <p>150 There we gave them our father's<br/>plume wands;<br/>There with our father's day count<br/>We counted the sequence of the<br/>days.<br/>This many days,<br/>155 Anxiously we have awaited the<br/>time.<br/>Yonder to the west <sup>6</sup><br/>We gave our fathers plume wands.</p> <p>160 When the number of their days<br/>was at an end<br/>For that which was soon to be<br/>We again prepared plume wands.<br/>When our plume wands were<br/>ready,<br/>There to the west,<br/>At the place called since the first<br/>beginning</p> <p>165 Village of the masked gods,<sup>7</sup><br/>Where the gray mountain stands,<br/>And the blue mountain,<br/>Where their altar stands above,<br/>Where their altar lies beneath,</p> <p>170 Where our fathers abide,<br/>We met them on their roads.<br/>Where their water filled doorway<br/>opens outward,<br/>We stood in the doorway.</p> <p>175 There where our fathers' road<br/>comes out,<br/>At their water-filled woodpile,<br/>Four times we sprinkled prayer<br/>meal inside.</p> <p>180 Four times stepping down<br/>Standing we came in.<br/>Coming in standing,<br/>There our fathers,<br/>(Our ancestors) rain old men,</p> <p>185 We passed on their roads.<br/>(Our ancestors) rain old women<br/>We passed on their roads.<br/>We saw them.<br/>Not one of them was missing;</p> | <p>i'skōn yam a'tatcu<br/>150 hon te'likinan a'leana<br/>yam a'tatcu<br/>a'wa yā'lanan iskōn a'kā<br/>hon yā'lanan pi'lenapka.<br/>le'si te'wanan'e<br/>155 a'ntsume'na<br/>hon te'wanan a'teakā.<br/>li'wan kǎ'lici'a'nkwin ta'na<br/>yam a'tatcu<br/>hon te'likinan a'leana<br/>160 a'wan yā'lanan i'te'teap ke'sti<br/>te'atun'onakā<br/><br/>tem ta te'likina ye'lete'ukā.<br/>te'likina ye'lete'una<br/><br/>li'wan kǎ'lici'a'nkwin ta'na<br/>kǎ'kǎ tci'miḱākā<br/><br/>165 ko'luwala'wa<br/>yā'lan lo'ḱāna<br/>yā'lan li'ana<br/>te'lacina yā'to<br/>te'lacina pa'li<br/>170 yam a'tatcu<br/>i'nan ḱḱikwi<br/>hon a'wona-elatekā.<br/>a'wan kǎ'cima a'we'nan kwai'ina<br/>hon ye'li-ḱoskuna<br/>175 i'skōn yam a'tatcu<br/>a'wan o'nealan kwai'ina<br/>a'wan kǎ'cima ta'pela'a<br/>yam ha'lawa'tinan'e<br/>a'witela'ma o'ta'wite' kwa'to-<br/>ḱākā<br/>180 a'witela'ma we'piyāto<br/>ho' ye'lana kwa'toḱākā<br/>ho' ye'lana kwa'toḱāna<br/>i'skōn yam a'tatcu<br/>kǎ'cim a'wots a'laci<br/>185 hon a'wona'elatekā<br/>kǎ'cim a'wok' a'laci<br/>hon a'wona-elatena<br/>hon a'wunatiḱākā<br/>ei kwa teu'wa i'metcam'e</p> |
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<sup>6</sup> The plantings to the west (i. e., southwest) are at intervals of 10 days. They are not at springs. They are at the following places: Panitsime, anelawan tekyapoa, suskan acoktan'e (suma'cokta), akohana tinakwi. The last planting, at akohana tinakwi, is on the fortieth day, the day the Koyemci enter.

<sup>7</sup> The ceremony takes place at Ca'lako house, an inclosure on the west side of the hill surmounted by white rocks. The Ca'lako wo'le of each kiva impersonates the "father."

- 190 At the blessed place where they  
were all gathered together,  
We saw them.  
Then with our prayer meal  
Four times we sprinkled the tops  
of their heads.
- 195 This we did to all.  
When this was at an end,  
The one who is our father,  
Overhearing us,  
Prepared rain seats for us.
- 200 His prayer meal  
Four times he sprinkled upon us.
- Following him  
Our father's rain seats  
We stood beside.
- 205 Then the one who is our father  
Took hold of us.  
Presenting us to all the directions  
he made us sit down.  
We sat quietly;  
We waited for his words.
- 210 Our father four times drew toward  
him  
The rain cigarette which he had  
prepared.  
Taking his grandmother by the  
hand,  
He made her sit in the doorway.
- 215 Four times the mist passed through.
- With the mist,  
We added to the hearts of our  
fathers,  
Our beloved ones of all the  
directions,  
Asking for the waters  
Of our fathers of all the directions
- When all this was at an end,  
Into our bodies  
We drew the misty breath.
- 225 Drawing in our breath  
With the terms of kinship  
We greeted one another:  
Father, son; elder brother, younger  
brother; uncle, nephew; grand-  
father, grandson; great-grand-  
father, great-grandson,  
Thus we greeted one another.
- 190 te'mla ha'ḡona ḡo'keikwi  
hon a'wunatkikāā  
i'sḡon yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
a'witela'ma a'wan o'tsimowa'-  
kowa  
a'witela'ma o'ta'wite' la'kuna
- 195 lu'kaḡon i'te'teikā  
lu'kaḡon i'te'teapā  
ho'no tate i'li te'ona  
tomt ha'tian ha'nina  
yam ḡā'cima ḡai'yan e'lete'uḡā  
te'kwi
- 200 yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
a'witela'ma ho'na o'ta'wite'-  
u'laḡā  
i'ste yā'lu  
yam ta'teona ḡaiyan a'lkwi  
ho'no ye'li-u'laḡā
- 205 hon tate i'li te'ona  
ho'no ya' teḡā.  
le'se te'kwi ta'ḡāna ho'no a'nim-  
la'ḡuḡā.  
hon i'melaḡuḡā.  
hon se'weke i'cokyakā.
- 210 hon tate i'li te'ona  
yam ḡā'cima ḡo'ne e'lete'u'kowa  
a'witela'ma a'n-u'laḡā  
yam hoḡ as'a'naḡā
- a'mim ḡo'sḡuḡā
- 215 a'witela'ma ci'pololon a'na'pik-  
wai'liḡā  
la'lhok le'si te'kwi  
yam tse'mak-te'lakwi'kowa  
yam a'tateu  
ci'pololon a'kā  
220 a'wiḡe'na te'li'ana  
la'lhok le'si te'kwi  
yam a'tateu ḡā'cima yai'nee-  
mana  
lu'kaḡon i'te'teapā  
yam te'huḡwi ci'pololon ya'n-  
hakun kwatoḡāḡā
- 225 ya'nhakuna kwa'toḡāna  
yam hon a'kā i'yanikinaḡona  
i'sḡon hon a'kā i'yanikinapḡā.  
ta'teu ta'le pa'pa su'we ḡā'ḡā  
ḡā'se na'na to'cle a'le u'wa-  
ḡamo hon a'ḡi'yanikinapḡāo

- When all this was at an end,  
 230 The one who is my father  
 Questioned me:  
 "Yes, now, even now,  
 You have passed us on our roads.  
 Surely because of some words of  
 our fathers,  
 Spoken at the New Year,  
 235 Because of some words of importance,  
 some word that is not too long,  
 You have passed us on our roads.  
 So finally, if you let us know that,  
 Thinking always of that,  
 We shall pass our days."  
 240 Thus our father spoke to us, did  
 he not? <sup>8</sup>  
 —Even so.—  
 "Yes, indeed it is true.  
 This many days  
 Throughout the winter,  
 245 Throughout the summer,  
 There to the south,  
 We brought you plume wands,  
 Wherever your roads come out,  
 Though our plume wands were but  
 poorly made,  
 250 We brought you plume wands,  
 We brought you prayer feathers.  
 We brought you rain cigarettes.  
 When all this was at an end,  
 Now for that which is soon to be  
 255 We have passed you on your roads."  
 Thus we said to our father, did we  
 not?  
 —Even so.—  
 When we had spoken thus  
 (Our father spoke.)  
 260 "Indeed, these are your days.  
 Now that we have remembered  
 your days  
 You have come to us,  
 My two children."  
 Saying this,  
 Our father took hold of us.  
 From the soles of our feet  
 To the crowns of our heads,
- lu'kakon i'te'tcāpa  
 230 hom tate i'li te'ona  
 li'tkon i'te'kunaḱa:  
 e'h ma' la'kama  
 ho'na ton a'wona-e'lateḱa  
 i'me' la'lik i'tiwana hon a'tate  
 i'lapoua  
 235 ime' a'wan hi'ntcol kwa'hol  
 pe'nan teyulanam'e pe'nan  
 te'ona'ka  
 ho'na ton a'wona-e'lateḱa  
 te'wuna' u'son ho'na ton  
 ai'yur'ya'kana  
 u's i'tse'makuna  
 hon te'wanan a'teḱana  
 240 hon tate i'li te'ona  
 hate ho'na le'anikwana  
 hatci'  
 ma' no'milte  
 le'si te'wanane  
 te'tsinane  
 245 i'lo'ikanane  
 li'wan a'laho'a'nkwin ta'na  
 to'na hon te'liḱina a'leakā.  
 to'na'wan o'neala' kwai'na'kowa  
 ko'ti te'liḱinan a'lewanunte  
 250 to'na hon te'liḱina a'leakā.  
 to'na hon la'cow a'leakā  
 to'na hon kḱa'cima po'ne a'leakā.  
 kes le'na i'te'tcāpa  
 ke'sti te'atun'onakā  
 255 to'na hon a'wona-e'lateḱa.  
 yam tate i'li te'ona  
 hate hon le'anikwakā.  
 hatci'  
 hon le'anikwakā  
 e'ha  
 260 ma' to'na ho'n te'wanan to'a'ni  
 hon te'wanan ai'yur'ya'na a'teakwi  
 ho'na ton a'wona-e'lateḱa  
 hom tea'w a'tei  
 hom tate i'li te'ona  
 265 ho'na le'anikwana  
 ho'na ya'fekā  
 we'kwikwinte  
 o'tsimowakwinte

<sup>8</sup> The impersonator turns to his alternate for corroboration. He answers, "Hatci'."



- Clothing us with all things needful,  
 270 He made us ready.  
 When he had made us ready  
 Four times  
 With our cover of thin clouds \* he  
 fitted us.  
 When he had reached the end, (he  
 spoke):  
 275 "This is all.  
 With plain words  
 You have passed us on our road.  
 When our sun father  
 Has gone in to sit down at his  
 ancient place,  
 And when our night fathers,  
 Our mothers,  
 Over their ancient place,  
 Have raised their dark curtain,  
 285 All together  
 Our daylight fathers,  
 Our mothers,  
 Our children,  
 We shall pass on their roads."
- 290 Thus our father spoke to us,  
 Did he not?  
 —Even so.—  
 "Yonder, our daylight fathers,  
 Our children,  
 All of us shall pass on their roads."
- Thus our father said to us.
- Now that we four times have gone  
 ahead  
 Our fathers,  
 Even those with snow upon their  
 heads,  
 300 With moss upon their faces,  
 No longer upright but leaning on  
 canes,  
 Even all of them  
 305 Will pass us on our roads.  
 And furthermore the women,  
 Even those who are with child,  
 Holding another on the cradle,  
 With another going before
- kwa'hol'fe'mla le'a i'yante'tcina  
 270 ho''na an e'lete'ukā  
 ho''na an e'lete'una  
 a'witela'ma  
 ho''na su'lahaiyan po'yan i'yant-  
 te'teikā  
 i'yante'teik'ana
- 275 le'wi  
 yu''he'to pe'nan a'kā  
 ho''na ton a'wona-e'latekā  
 hon yā'tokā tate i'lapa te''ona  
 yam te'faci'nakwi  
 280 i'muna kwa'to'kāpa  
 hon te'liak' a'tate i'lapona  
 a'tsiit i'lapona  
 yam te'faci'nakwi  
 ko'w a'lan kēatokā te'a  
 285 kes te'mlamo  
 te'kohanan yam a'tateu  
 yam a'tsita  
 yam tea'we  
 kes te'mlamo hona a'wona-e'late-  
 na'fun'ona te'kāna  
 290 hon tate i'li te''ona  
 hate ho'na le'anikwakā.  
 hatei'  
 le'hok' yam te'kohanan a'tateu  
 hom teawe  
 te'mla hon a'wona-e'latena'fun-  
 'ona te'a'kāna  
 hon tate i'li te''ona  
 295 ho'na le'anikwakā  
 a'witela'ma  
 hon o'neal e'kukā tea'ana  
 ho'na'wan a'tateu  
 kow u'tcinan ha'kto'pa
- 300 po'hetei a'wiconapa  
 e'lemaknan i'natina  
 lapowan satili  
 kes te'mlamo  
 305 ho'n a'wona-e'latena'wa:  
 a'wok' a'teo'na  
 ya'nine'nante  
 to'pa le'mana yāto i'kēekuna  
 to'p e''kukā

\* The buckskin caps worn by the Ca'lako impersonators. They are the same as those worn by war chiefs. In the war dance the scalp is called kēcima po'yane (water cover).

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| <p>310 Leading one by the hand<br/>Even all of them<br/>Will come out to meet their fathers<br/>Their mothers<br/>Their children.</p> <p>Thus speaking to us,<br/>Our father took hold of us.</p> <p>Presenting us to all the directions</p> <p>320 He made us arise.<br/>On our heads<br/>Four times he sprinkled prayer<br/>meal,</p> <p>325 On his rain-filled woodpile<br/>He sprinkled prayer meal for us.</p> <p>After him,</p> <p>330 We sprinkled our prayer meal.<br/>Then the one who is our father<br/>His water-filled woodpile<br/>He sprinkled for us.<br/>Four times sprinkling prayer meal<br/>going out,</p> <p>335 Stepping up four times,<br/>We came out standing.<br/>Yonder toward all directions we<br/>looked.<br/>Hither toward Halona Itiwana,<sup>10</sup><br/>We saw four roads going side by<br/>side.</p> <p>340 Along the middle path sprinkling<br/>prayer meal before us,<br/>Hither we took our way.<br/>At the places,<sup>11</sup> called since the<br/>first beginning<br/>Great lake,<br/>Hanlipinkya,</p> <p>345 Cliff house,<br/>Last spring,<br/>Middle spring,<br/>Water-cress spring,<br/>Kolowisi's house,</p> | <p>310 ʈoʔ i'piyana<br/>ʔes ʈe'mlamo<br/>yam a'tateu<br/>yam a'tsita<br/>yam tea'we</p> <p>315 hon a'wona-e'latenan kwai''ina<br/>hon tate i'li te''ona<br/>ho''na le'anikwana<br/>ho''na ya' ʈeʔä<br/>la'lhok<sup>a</sup> le'si te'kwi<br/>ho'na ta''ʔäna</p> <p>320 hon ana'-e'lemaʔäʔä<br/>yam ha'lawo'tinan'e<br/>ho'n o'tsimowa'kowa<br/>a'wi'tela'ma<br/>o'ta'wite' ya'ʈtona</p> <p>325 yam ha'lawo'tinan'e<br/>yam ʔä'cima ʈa'pelakwi<br/>ho''nan o'ta'wite' u'laʔä<br/>i'ste yä'lu</p> <p>330 yam ha'lawotinan o'ta'wite' u'lana<br/>hon tate i'li te'ona<br/>yam ʔä'cima ʈa'pelakwi<br/>ho''nan o'ta'wite' kwai''iʔäʔä<br/>ʈem ʈa yam ha'lawo'tinan a'wite-<br/>la'ma o'ta'wite' kwai''iʔäna</p> <p>335 a'witela'ma we'pi yä'ʈto<br/>hon ye'lana kwai''iʔäna<br/>la'lhok<sup>a</sup> le'si te'kwi hon ʈunatiʔä</p> <p>ʔä'lhok<sup>a</sup> ha'lona i'tiwanakwi<br/>a'witenä'na hon o'neala u'natiʔä-<br/>napʔä.</p> <p>340 i'tiwa o'nakowa yam ha'lawo'tinan<br/>o'ta'wite' e''ʔuna<br/>ʔäl hon a'wona-ʔäʔa<br/>ʔä'ʔi tei'miʔäʔä</p> <p>ʔä'tulana<br/>ha'nlipinʔä</p> <p>345 he''iʔatciwa<br/>ʔä'näpa'ʈto<br/>ʔä'na'i'tiwa<br/>pi'ʔaia<br/>ko'lo'wisi ʔä'kwe'a</p> |
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<sup>10</sup> The places at which they stopped, after leaving Koluwala'wa in their wanderings in search of the center of the world. There are 29; two, ʔäpʔwenakwi (water coming out, Ojo Caliente) and watsita'nakwi (dog place), are omitted from the present version. They follow Rainbow Spring. The emergence myth (and Sayataca's talk) give the last three springs as ʈowa yallakwi (Corn Mountain), matsakya hepätina, ʔolinʔaiaakwi etsakya hepätina (sulphur spring, commonly called hepätina). The present account gives the three places where the impersonators deposit plumes on their way in: White rocks; Where the masked dancers come out (Grease Hill); Hepätina.

<sup>11</sup> Cushing translates this "The middle ant hill of the world." It is a bracketing of two names by which Zufii is known. Halonawa in a more restricted sense refers to the ruin on the south bank of the river.

- 350 The other Water-cress spring,  
Dripping spring,  
Bending grass,  
Ashes spring,  
Cat tail spring,  
355 Rainbow spring,  
Ca'lako place,  
Snow hanging,  
Rock wedge,  
Painted rock,  
360 Poison weed spring,  
Mesa wall spring,  
Toloknana,  
Evil smelling water,  
Sack of flour hanging,  
365 Bluebird place,  
Where ants go in,  
White rocks sitting,  
Where the masked dancers come  
out,  
Sulphur spring, otherwise called  
hepatina,  
(At all these places),  
370 We passed our fathers on their  
roads.  
Wherever their rain-filled door-  
ways open outward,  
Where their roads come out,  
Four times we gave them prayer  
meal.  
Yonder toward all directions we  
looked,  
Hither, toward Halona Itiwana,  
Our daylight fathers' fourfold road  
we saw.
- 380 And now, at last, it seems,  
Here we shall take our road,  
Thus we said to one another.  
Along the middle road four times  
sprinkling prayer meal before us  
Hither we took our way.  
385 Our daylight fathers'  
Our daylight mothers' watery  
roads coming out,  
We saw.  
Sprinkling prayer meal  
Where come forth the watery roads  
Of our daylight fathers,  
We sat down in the doorway,<sup>12</sup>  
Four times rising  
We came in.
- 350 to'pa pi'kaia  
ka'tsikana  
po'cowa  
lu'kana  
to'soluna kaia  
355 a'mitolan kana  
ca'lakona.  
u'hana'a  
a'hapatsi'a  
a'ksina'wa  
360 pi'cuk'aia  
ka'nula  
to'loknana  
ka'tetci'a  
o'pumpi'ya  
365 ai'yaya'ka  
ha'lonkwa'ton  
a'kohana tinawa.  
ko'm kwai'ikate'a  
  
ko'lin kaia e'tsakana he'patina  
  
370 yam a'tateu  
hon a'wona-e'latenapka.  
a'wan ka'cim a'wenan kwai'ina'a  
yam ha'lawo'tinan a'witela'ma  
o'neala kwai'ina  
375 hon a'wanhaiteka  
  
la'lhok le'si te'kwi hon tu'natikā  
  
ka'lhok ha'lona i'tiwanakwi  
te'kohanan yam a'tateu  
a'wan o'neala a'witenana a'wan  
o'neala hon u'natiakā  
  
380 i'me' honkwa  
ta li'ino hon a'wana'kan'a  
le'con i'yantikwana  
yam ha'lawo'tinan i'tiwa o'nakowa  
a'witela'ma o'ta'wite' e'kuna  
ka' hon a'wona'ka  
385 te'kohanan yam a'tateu  
yam a'tsita  
a'wan ka'cima o'nealan kwai'ina  
hon u'natiakanapka.  
yam ha'lawo'tinane  
390 yam te'kohanan a'tateu  
a'wan ka'cima o'neala kwai'ina  
hon i'tina ko'skwiā  
a'witela'ma  
hon i'luwakna kwatona

<sup>12</sup> The mask, borne aloft on a pole, with embroidered blankets held out by hoops concealing the bearer, is set down outside, while the two impersonators bless the house. When they are finished the mask is brought in and set down beside the altar while the prayer is chanted.

- 395 The water-filled room of our day-  
light fathers,  
Our daylight mothers,  
Our daylight children,  
Four times we rooted all about:<sup>13</sup>
- 400 The north root,  
The west root,  
The south root,  
The east root,  
The upper root,  
405 The lower root—  
This we brought to an end.  
When this was at an end,<sup>14</sup>  
Our daylight father,  
To where his rain seat had been  
spread  
410 Four times he threw out prayer  
meal.  
Our daylight father took hold of us;  
Presenting us to all directions  
He made us sit down.  
415 We sat down quietly  
We waited for his words.  
Our daylight father  
Four times drew toward him his  
water roll.  
Taking his grandmother by the  
hand  
He made her sit in the doorway.  
Four times into his body  
He drew the mist.  
With mist he added to the hearts  
of his fathers.  
425 That so long as we enjoy the light  
of day we may greet one another  
as kindred  
We now greeted one another.  
Fathers,<sup>15</sup>  
Sons;  
Elder brother, younger brother;  
uncle, nephew; grandfather,  
grandson; great-grandfather,  
great-grandson.  
With this many words we greeted  
one another.
- 395 yam te'kohanan a'tateu  
yam te'kohanan a'tsita  
yam te'kohanan tea'we  
a'wan k̄acima te'li'tona  
a'witela'ma hon la'kwimona  
i'yante'teik̄anap̄k̄a  
400 hon pi'ele la'kwimona  
hon k̄alici la'kwimona  
hon a'laho la'kwimona  
hon te'mako la'kwimona  
hon i'yama la'wimona  
405 hon ma'nila'ma la'kwimona  
lu'kak̄on i'te'teik̄a  
i'te'teap̄a  
hon te'kohanan tatei'li te'ona  
yam k̄a'cima pa'yan e'lete'a'k̄a-  
tekwi  
410 yam ha'lawo'tinan a'witela'ma  
ho'n o'ta'wite' u'la'k̄a  
hon te'kohanan tate i'li te'ona  
ho'na ya'tek̄a  
le'si te'kwin ta'k̄ana  
ho'na a'nimla'k̄uk̄a  
415 hon i'mila'k̄uk̄a  
hon se'weke i'cokya'k̄a  
hon te'konanan tate i'li'te'ona  
yam k̄a'cima ðone  
a'witela'ma a'na'ula'k̄a  
420 yam hot as'a'na'k̄a  
a'nimko'sk̄uk̄a.  
a'witela'ma ci'pololon yam te'-  
hulkwi a'na'kwatok̄a  
yam a'tateu  
ci'pololon a'k̄a a'wike'na te'li'aka  
425 te'kohanan yam a'k̄a i'yanik̄ina-  
ðona  
hon a'yanik̄inap̄k̄a.  
ta'teuwe  
ta'lewe  
pa'pamo su'wemo k̄a'k̄amo k̄a'-  
semo na'namo a'limo to'clemo  
u'wak̄amo hon a'k̄a i'yanik̄ina

<sup>13</sup> The marking of the walls with corn meal. The roof and floor are not marked.

<sup>14</sup> The text makes no mention of the deposit of plume wands in the roof and of seeds in the floor. This, presumably, is an omission, since the rite is performed as in the Sayataca house, and is fully described in the Sayataca chant.

<sup>15</sup> For the first two terms, plurals are used tateuwe, talewe (the regular plural of tateu is a'tateu). Tale is the usual word for brother's son, or any male "child" of one's clan. This explains its use instead of the expected teal'e.

- 430 Then we made an end of this.  
Now that this is at an end,  
The ones who are our fathers  
From their abode set with moun-  
tains,  
Set with lakes,  
435 Making their roads come forth,  
Making their roads come hither,  
They have passed you on your  
roads.  
This night,  
Bringing all their good fortune,  
440 They have passed you on your  
roads.  
Their seeds of corn: the yellow  
ones,  
The blue ones,  
The red ones,  
The white ones,  
445 The speckled ones,  
The black ones,  
The sweet corn seeds;  
All the different clans of beans,  
The yellow beans,  
450 The blue beans,  
The red beans,  
The white beans,  
The many colored beans,  
The black beans,  
The string beans,  
The small beans,  
The little spotted beans,  
All the different tiny beans;  
With all these seeds bundled about  
our waists,  
460 We have passed you on your roads.  
And then also the seeds of all the  
forest trees:  
The seeds of the piñon tree,  
The seeds of the oak tree,  
The seeds of the first-flowering  
shrub,  
465 The seeds of all the small shrubs;  
And then all the ancient round  
ones:  
The striped squash,  
The crooked-neck squash,  
The watermelons,  
470 The sweet melons,  
The gourds;  
The seeds of the large yucca,  
The seeds of the small yucca,  
The seeds of the cactus,
- 430 lu'ka'kon i'te'tcikā  
i'te'tcāpa  
hon a'tate i'la'pona  
yam yā'la ya'na  
  
yam k̄ā'wutuli ya'na  
435 o'neala kwai'k̄āna  
o'neal i'k̄āna  
to'na a'wona-e'latenapkā  
  
lu'kā te'tinan'e  
yam kwa'hol te'mla te'n'i ha'-  
lowilin i'leana  
440 to'na a'wona-e'latenapkā.  
yam to'wacanan luptsikwa te'ona  
  
hi'akwa te'ona  
ci'lowakwa te'ona  
ko'hakwa te'ona  
445 ku'teuteuki te'ona  
kwi'nakwa te'ona  
co'tsito te'ona  
no' a'ntoti te'mla  
no' lu'ptsina  
450 no' hi'ana  
no' ci'lowa  
no' ko'hakwa  
no' i'topana'nan'ona  
no' kwin'a  
455 la'piyakā  
no' tsā'na  
no' ci'he' te'ona  
tsi'k̄āpuli te'mla  
to'wacanan i'hatapiyana  
  
460 to'na hon a'wona-e'latenapkā  
tem ta ta'kwil po'ti a'wan ku'-  
kwin'e  
he'co'ta'tan an ku'kwin'e  
ta'wi ta'tan an ku'kwin'e  
ke'la ci'wuna la'tsan an ku'kwin'e  
  
465 ta'kwi la'tsan an ku'kwin'e  
tem ta to'wa k̄amoliya  
  
mo'teala  
mo'kisi  
mo'laknana  
470 me'lu'na  
co'pa  
ho'kap ho'tan an ku'kwin'e  
ho'tsan ho'tan an ku'kwin'e  
me'tan an ku'kwin'e

475 All of these.

With these tied about our waists,  
Provided with this bundle over our  
navels,

We have passed you on your roads.  
For you we leave these seeds.

480 This is all.

Thus with plain words  
We have passed you on your roads.  
Here for you we leave these seeds.

When in the spring,  
Your earth mother is wet,  
In your earth mother  
You will bury these seeds.  
Carefully they will bring forth  
their young.

Bringing them back,

490 Toward this your thoughts will  
    bend.

And henceforth, as kindred,  
Talking kindly to one another,  
We shall always live.<sup>15</sup>  
And now indeed it has come to  
pass.

The thoughts of our fathers,  
Who at the New Year  
With precious plume wands ap-  
pointed us—  
Their thoughts we now have ful-  
filled.

500 Always with one thought

We shall live.

This is all.

Thus with plain words  
We have passed you on your roads.

505 This our father's waters,

His seeds,  
His riches,  
His power,

510 His strong spirit,  
All his good fortune whatsoever,

We shall give to you.  
To the end, my fathers,  
My children,

515 Verily, so long as we enjoy the  
    light of day,  
We shall greet one another as  
    kindred.

475 le'wi

i'hatapi'yana  
ḡa'mulukwia pe'han i'yante'tei

to'na hon a'wona-e'latenapka.  
to'na to'wacanan hon a'lakuna

480 le'wi

le'wi yu''he-to pe'nanaka  
to'na hon a'wona-e'latenapka.  
to'na wan li'ino to'wacanan  
a'lakuna

hon a'witelin tsit i'laḡ a'te'ona

485 te'kina te'lakwai'ina

yam a'witelin tsi'tana  
toṅ to'wacanan a'paluna'wa  
e'letokna teap'kuna'wa

a'wana' u'lana

490 i'skon tse''mak-te'lakwi

i' yanikinaḡa  
ya'cuwa kōkei  
hon a'tekāna  
no' mitte

495 hol i'tiwana'a

hon a'tate i'laḡona  
te'liḡinan ya'na a'ḡā  
ho'na a'nulanapkowa  
a'wan son tse''makwin mo'laḡā.

500 to'pint i'tse'makuna

hon te'wanan a'tekān'a  
le'wi  
le' yu''he-to pe'nan a'ḡā  
to'na hon a'wona-e'latenapka.

505 lu'ḡā hon tatei'li

lu'ḡā an ḡā'cima  
an to'wacanan'e  
an u'tenan'e  
an sa'wanika

510 an tse''makwin tsu'me

an kwa'hoi te'mla te'ni ha'lowi-  
lin'e

to'na hon ya'nhaiten'a.

te'wuna' hom a'tateu  
hom tea'we

515 e'pac hon te'kohanan hon i'yani-  
    ḡinaḡa

<sup>15</sup> A passage of double meaning. It refers to the relationship between man and corn and the speaker and the household which has welcomed him.



|                                                           |                                                     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Verily, we shall pray that our<br>roads may be fulfilled. | c'pac ho'n a'wonaya''antia'na<br>hon te'wusa'ken'a- |
| To where your sun father's road<br>comes out              | hol yam yā'tokā ta'tcu<br>an o'neal kwai''ina       |
| May your roads reach.                                     | 520 o'neala te'tcina                                |
| May your roads be fulfilled.                              | te'mla ton a'wonaya't'fu                            |

### WASHING THE HEAD OF CA'LAKO IMPERSONATOR

The female head of the house washes the head of the Ca'lako impersonator at the close of the all-night ceremonies, at about 8 o'clock in the morning. The other women present sprinkle water on his head.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| This day,<br>My two children,<br>With our clear water<br>We shall hold you fast.                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | lu'kā yā'ton-e<br>homtea'wa-tei <sup>17</sup><br>yam kā'cima kō'kei<br>to'n a'kā hon ya'tena-tsu'me'kāna                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 5 My child,<br>In order that your road may be fulfilled,<br>Reaching yonder to where the road<br>of our sun father comes out,<br>For this with our clear water,                                                                                                                                              | 5 hom tea'le<br>hol yam yā'tokā ta'tcu<br>an o'neal kwai''inakwi o'neal te''-<br>tcina<br>to' o'naya'tun'ona'kā<br>yam kā'cima kō'kaka                                                                                                                                               |
| 10 We hold you fast.<br>Somehow because of the thoughts of<br>our fathers,<br>The ones who appointed you with<br>their plume wand,                                                                                                                                                                           | 10 tom hon ya'tena-tsu'me'kā.<br>hol yam a'tatcu<br>a'wan tse''makwin a'kā<br>a'wan te'likinan a'kā<br>tom a'nu'ana'kowa                                                                                                                                                             |
| 15 Throughout the winter,<br>Throughout the summer,<br>Yonder to the south<br>Wherever the roads of our fathers<br>come out,                                                                                                                                                                                 | 15 te''tsinan'e<br>o'lo'ik'ānan'e<br>li'wan a'laho'a'nkwin ta''na<br>yam a'tatcu<br>a'wan o'neala kwai''ina'kowa                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 20 With your plume wands<br>You have asked continually for life<br>for us.<br>This day<br>You have fulfilled their thoughts.<br>With our waters<br>We hold you fast.<br>Our child,<br>Always talking together kindly,<br>So long as we still can see one<br>another,<br>That thus our roads may be fulfilled | 20 yam te'likinan a'kā<br>ho'na'wan to' te'kohanan co'man-<br>te'a'kā<br>lu'kā yā'ton-e<br>to' tse''makwi mo'la'u'pa<br>yam kā'cim a'kā<br>25 tom ho' ya'tena-tsume'kā.<br>ho'na'wan tea'le<br>i'celte'ma ya'cuwa'ko' kei<br>te'mla i'yuna'pa'te<br><br>yam hon a'wonaya'tun'on a'kā |
| 30 For this, with our waters<br>We have bound you fast.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 30 yam kā'cim a'kā<br>tom hon ya'tena tsu'me'kānapkā                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

<sup>17</sup> The dual, used in the first sentence, should be used consistently to the end, because the prayer is supposedly addressed to the two impersonators. After the first sentence, the singular is used.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>The thoughts of your fathers<br/>You have fulfilled.</p> <p>35 Do not forget your house.<br/>Here in your own house<br/>You will go about happily.<br/>Always talking together kindly<br/>We shall pass our days.</p> <p>40 Our child,<br/>Your road will be fulfilled;<br/>Your road will reach all the way to<br/>Dawn Lake.<br/>May your road be fulfilled;<br/>May you grow old;<br/>May you be blessed with life.</p> | <p>yam a'taten<br/>a'wan to' tse'makwi mo'la'kä<br/>el yam he'cofan'e<br/>35 to an to'miyona'ma<br/>li'lonhol yam he'cofa'kowa<br/>ke'tsanici to a'luna.<br/>i'celtema<br/>ya'cuwa ko'kci hon a'te'kän'a<br/>40 ho'na'wan tea'le<br/>to' o'naya''ana<br/>te'luwaiyan käi'akwi o'neala te''<br/>teina<br/>to' o'naya't'u<br/>to' laci'u<br/>45 tom te'kohanana a'nikciat'u.</p> |
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"WASHING" THE KOYEMCI

The Koyemci are actually bathed in the house of the priests, and each receives a gift of food from each of the women who participate in the ceremony, the wives and daughters of priests of the council. Later at the houses of their "aunts" they are also "washed." Here the rite is entirely symbolic. Corn meal is sprinkled on the head and gifts are presented. This, too, is called "washing." Ritual washing of the head is always the function of the paternal aunt.

*The wives of the priests:*

This day, my fathers,

Mo'lanhaktö, priests  
You have passed us on our roads.  
With our clear water  
We hold you fast.  
My children,  
May your roads reach to Dawn  
Lake,  
May your roads be fulfilled;  
May you grow old.  
In order that you may grow old,  
With our clear water  
We have bound you fast.

lu'kä yä'ton'e  
hom a'taten  
mo'lanhakt a'ciwan'i  
ho'na ton a'wona-e'latenapkä  
5 yam kä'eima ko'kci  
a'ka to'na hon a'wiyaten tsu'me  
hom tea'we  
te'luwaiyan käi'akwi o'neala te'tei-  
nan  
ton a'wona-ya''ana  
10 ton a'lacian'a  
ton a'lacitun'on a'kä  
yam kä'eima ko'kci  
to'na hon a'wiyaten tsu'mekä-  
napkä.

In the ancestral house of his father, meal is sprinkled on his head by his paternal aunt and all the women of his father's clan with the following prayer. The two women's prayers are characteristically brief.

My father,  
This day,  
With our clear water  
We have held you fast.  
May your road reach to Dawn Lake  
  
May your road be fulfilled,  
May you grow old,  
6066°—32—50

hom ta'teu  
lu'kä yä'ton'e  
yam kä'eimakä  
tom hon ya'tena-tsu'mekänapkä.  
5 te'luwaiyan käi'akwi o'neala te''-  
teinan  
to' o'na-ya''ana  
to' la'ci'an'a.

His father's brother hands him a bundle of prayer sticks made for him by male members of the clan.

*The uncle:*

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>This many are the days<br/>Since our fathers,<br/>Priests of the masked gods,<br/>Cula-witsi, pekwin, priest<br/>5 Sayataca, bow priest,<br/>Hututu, bow priest,<br/>Yamuhaktu, bow priests,<br/>Ca'lako, bow priests,<br/>All the masked gods<br/>10 Made their roads come hither.<br/>Wherever perfect plume wands had<br/>been left for them,<br/>They made their roads ascend.<br/>Sitting down quietly they came<br/>to day.<br/>Next day,<br/>15 Laying down all their gifts—<br/>Their seeds,<br/>Their riches,<br/>All that they had brought tied about<br/>their waists—<br/>20 Back to their own country<br/>They took their way.<br/>Leaving their children<sup>15</sup> to stay<br/>quietly<br/>They took their way.<br/>25 And wherever plume wands had<br/>been left for them<br/>Their children<br/>With their words issuing forth,<br/>With their sighing breath,<br/>Stayed in our houses.<br/>All their days being past<br/>30 This day<br/>For the one who is our father,<br/>Molanhakto,<br/><br/>We have prepared plume wands.<br/>35 Our children,<br/>Whoever of them wished to grow<br/>old,<br/>Upon the plume wands which they<br/>had prepared<br/>Breathed their sacred words.<br/>Here to our house</p> | <p>le'si fe'wanan'e<br/>ho'na'wan a'tateu<br/>kokwa'ciwan'i<br/>eu'la-witsi pe'kwin ci'wan'i<br/>5 sai'yataca pi'laci'wan'i<br/>hututu pi'laci'wan'i<br/>ya'muhakt a'pi'la'ci'wan'i<br/>ca'lako pi'laci'wan'i<br/>ko'ko te'mla<br/>10 o'neal i'k'ana<br/>yam te'likinan ya'na wo'tala'gi-<br/>kowa<br/>o'neal ye'mak'ana<br/>i'finan la'kinan a'wan'ewak'a.<br/><br/>fe'wapi ya'ton'e<br/>15 yam kwahol temla<br/>yam to'wacanan'e<br/>yam u'tenan'e<br/>a'hatapiya a'wi'kowa<br/>wo'tala'kuna<br/>20 yam 'ulo'nakwi o'neal a'k'ana<br/><br/>yam te'apkuna'we<br/>ti'nan lakuna.<br/>o'neal a'k'ana'wapi<br/>a'wan te'apkuna'we<br/>25 hol yam te'likinan wo'tala'gi<br/>te'a'kowa<br/>yam pe'nan kwai'finan ak'a<br/>yam he'ciatinan a'ka<br/>he'co'a'an a'teak'a.<br/>a'wan te'mla fe'wapi<br/>30 lu'ka ya'ton'e<br/>yam tate i'li te'ona<br/>mo'lanhakt<br/>an hai'to<br/>hon te'likina ye'lete'unapka.<br/>35 ho'na'wan tea'we<br/>hol teu'wa la'eina tse'makowa<br/><br/>te'likina ye'leteukowa<br/><br/>fe'wusu ya'nulana<br/>ho'na'wan he'co'akwi</p> |
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<sup>15</sup> The kateinas, who remained behind to dance in all the Ca'lako houses.

- 40 With these we pass you on your road.  
This day with these our plume wands  
We hold you fast.  
With these plume wands
- 45 We hold one another fast.  
Whenever our father,  
Saying let it be now,  
Makes his road go forth,  
Then also reinforcing with your words,  
The prayers which we have laid upon our plume wands,  
To our fathers  
You will give the plume wands.  
Our fathers' day has been made.
- 55 Their waters eagerly awaiting  
We pass our days.  
My child,  
Verily at the new year,  
Our fathers appointed you with their plume wand,  
The perfect plume wand which they had prepared.  
This many days  
Anxiously awaiting your time  
We have passed our days.
- 65 Throughout the cycle of our fathers' months,  
Throughout the summer,  
Yonder toward the south,
- 70 Wherever the roads of our fathers come forth,  
Even with your poorly made plume wands  
You have been asking for life for us.  
Now this day,  
We have reached the appointed time.
- 75 Holding this plume wand,  
Anxiously you will pass the day.  
When our sun father  
Has gone in to sit down at his sacred place
- 40 hon a'ka a'wona-e'latenapkowa  
lu'kä yä'tone  
te'likinan a'kä  
tom lo ya'tena-tsu'me'käkä.  
te'likinan a'kä
- 45 hon i'wiyaten-tsume'käkä.  
hol kä'ki ke'si' le'ani'käpä  
yam tate i'li te'ona  
an o'neal a'käna  
tem fa ho'no ko'n hon te'likinan  
te'wusu a'nulanapka te'a'kowa
- 50 i'sno'kon pe'na yälto  
yam a'tateu  
to' te'likinan a'lea'u  
ho'na-wan a'tateu  
a'wan te'wana yo'äpa
- 55 a'wan kä'cim antsume'na  
hon te'wanan a'te'käna  
hom tea'le  
no'mitte hol i'tiwan'a  
ho'na-wan a'tateu
- 60 te'likinan ya'na ye'lete'unapkowa  
te'likinan a'kä  
i'yanulana  
le'si te'wanane  
a'ntsume'na hon te'wanan a'te'kä
- 65 yam a'tateu  
a'wa yä'teu pi'lan'e  
o'lo'ikānan'e  
li'wan a'laho'a'nakwin ta'na  
yam a'tateu
- 70 a'wan o'neala kwai'ina'kowa  
ko'ti te'likinan a'lewuna  
ho'na-wan ton akä te'kohanan  
ce'mana a'teakowa  
lukä yä'tone  
kes le'n hai'tokwin te'teikä
- 75 lu'kä te'likinan i'leana  
to a'ntsume'na yä'ton te'käna.  
hon yä'tokä tate ilapona  
yam te'lacinakwi  
i'muna kwato'käpa

|    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 80 | Saying, Let it be now,<br>You will make your fathers' road go<br>forth.<br>Then again reinforcing with your<br>own words<br>The prayers which we have laid<br>upon these plume wands,<br>To your fathers<br>Give these plume wands.<br>With them you shall ask for life for<br>us. | 80 | kä'xi kesi' le'aniḡāḡa<br>yam a'tateu<br>a'wan o'neal a'ḡān'a<br>tem ta<br>te'liḡinan hon te'wusu a'nulanapḡā<br>te'a'kowa<br>85 i'snokon ḡe'nan yā'tona<br>yam a'tateu<br>to te'liḡinan a'lea'u<br>a'ḡā ho'na'wan to' te'kohanan<br>ce'man'a. |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

The Koyemci takes the prayer sticks and thanks the giver, invoking on those present all the blessings of the gods. The prayer sticks are planted with his own at night.

#### DISMISSAL OF THE KOYEMCI

The Koyemci remain all day in the plaza in attendance on the various sets of dancers. At nightfall the last of the dancers, the Molawia, have departed. Then the Koyemci in pairs visit every house in the village, to invoke upon it the blessings of the gods. At each house they receive gifts of food from the female inhabitants. Returning to the plaza, they take their prayer sticks out to plant. They return to the house of their father late at night, and removing their masks for the first time all day give them to their father to return to the house where they are kept. When he comes back, he thanks his children for their year of work, and sets them free. Then for the first time since the preceding evening they drink, and after eating and bathing, return to their homes. Their retreat, fifteen days, is the longest in Zuñi ritual. The following is the prayer of the father of the Koyemci, setting them free.

|                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| This many are the days,<br>My children,<br>Since with their plume wand they<br>appointed us.                                                                 | le'si te'wan'e<br>hom tea'we<br>te'liḡinan a'ḡā<br>ho'na ya'nulaḡā                                                                                              |
| 5 Throughout the winter,<br>And the summer<br>Anxiously we have awaited our<br>time.<br>Hither toward the south<br>We have given our fathers plume<br>wands. | 5 te'tsinan'e<br>o'lo'ik'ānan'e<br>a'ntsume'na<br>hon te'wanan a'teaḡā<br>yam a'tateu                                                                           |
| For all our ladder descending chil-<br>dren<br>We have been asking for life.                                                                                 | 10 a'wan te'liḡinan'e<br>li'wan a'laho'a'nkwin ta'na<br>hon te'liḡinan a'teaḡā<br>le' yam le'ts'lon ḡa'ni'nan tea'we<br>hon a'wan te'kohanan ce'mana<br>a'teaḡā |

- 15 Now we have reached the appointed time.  
This night  
We have fulfilled the thoughts of our fathers.  
Always with one thought
- 20 We shall live.  
My children,  
This night  
Your children,  
Your families,  
Happily you will pass on their roads.  
Happily we shall always live.  
Even though we say we have fulfilled their thoughts  
No indeed
- 30 Anxiously awaiting until we shall again come to our appointed time  
We shall live henceforth.  
My children,  
Thus I have finished my words for you.
- 35 To this end, my children:  
May you now go happily to your children.
- 40 Asking for life from my fathers  
Yonder on all sides,  
Asking for my fathers' life-giving breath,  
Their breath of old age,  
And into my warm body,  
Drawing their breath,  
I add to your breath.  
To this end, my children  
May your roads be fulfilled;  
May you grow old;  
May you be blessed with life.
- 15 hai'tokwin te'teikā  
luḱā te'linan'e  
yam a'tateu  
hon a'-wan tse'makwin mo'la'nap-kā.  
topint i'tse'makuna  
20 hon te'wanan a'teḱān'a  
hom tea'we  
lu'ḱā te'linan'e  
yam tea'we  
yam i'-yaniḱinan'e  
25 ḱe'tsanici  
ḱon a'-wona-e'latenawa.  
ḱe'tsanici hon te'wanan a'teḱān'a  
e'te hon tse'makwi mo'la'na'we  
le'kwapte  
e'la  
30 hol ḱā-ḱi hai'tokwinḱ te'teitun  
te'kwi  
an'sume'na  
hon te'wanan a'teḱān'a.  
hom tea'we  
le' ḱo'na'wan ho' ḱe'nan ya'-  
ḱāḱā  
35 te'wuna' hom tea'we  
ḱe'tsanici  
yam tea'we  
toms a'-wona-e'latenawa  
la'lhok le'si tekwi yam a'tateu  
40 te'kohanan yai'nceinana  
yam a'tateu  
a'-wan o'na ya'naḱā ḱi'nan'e  
a'-wan ka'ciaḱā ḱi'na'ne yai'nae-  
mana  
yam te'hul ḱā'lnakwi  
45 ḱi'nan ana'kwatoḱāna  
ḱo'na'wan ho' ḱi'nan te'lia'ana  
te'wuna' hom tea'we  
ton a'-wona ya'tu  
ḱon a'lacitu  
50 ḱo'na te'kohanan ya'nikcia'tu.



## VII. PRAYERS OF THE MEDICINE CULT

### THE GREAT FIRE SOCIETY CHIEF SETS UP HIS ALTAR

The Great Fire Society convenes for the first time in November at the full moon. Before sunset the male members assemble at their ceremonial house. The women bring food to the house and leave their sacred corn fetishes to be placed on the altar. The tablet altar has been set up against the west wall of the room. At sunset the choir begins to sing very softly a set of eight songs known as "For Pouring in the Water." At the beginning of the fourth song two men go out to offer food in the river. The society *pekwin* rises and makes the meal painting and sets up the corn fetishes. At the fifth song the society chief takes the bowl for the medicine water, at the sixth he mixes the medicine, at the seventh he puts in sacred colored pebbles, during the eighth he "smokes" the altar. The following prayer is spoken in a low voice by the society chief while performing these rites.

The procedure is followed whenever the society altar is set up. It is followed by a rite of exorcism which leads into the main body of the ceremony. It is about the same for all societies. The peculiar style of the following prayer may be due to the fact that it is accompanied by song.

This many are the days  
Since our moon mother  
Yonder in the west,  
As a small thing became visible.  
Now yonder in the west,  
Standing fully grown against the sky  
She makes her days.  
Our spring children,<sup>1</sup>  
Whoever wished to grow old,  
Carrying prayer meal,  
Carrying shells,  
Yonder, with prayers,  
One by one they made their roads go  
forth.  
Yonder they met those  
Who since the first beginning  
Have been given the world,<sup>2</sup>  
The forests,  
The brush.

At the feet of some lucky one  
Offering prayer meal,  
Shell,  
Among their finger tips,  
They looked about.  
Breaking off the young shoots  
Of some fortunate one,  
And drawing them toward them,  
These very ones who stayed there  
quietly,  
Bearing their long life,  
Bearing their old age,  
He brought back.  
Into the rain filled rooms  
Of his daylight fathers,<sup>3</sup>  
His mothers,  
His children,  
He made their roads come in.  
This many days the divine ones<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Members of the society, who have drunk from the sacred "spring"; the bowl of medicine water that stands on the altar.

<sup>2</sup> The shrubs whose wood is used for prayer sticks.

That is, human. The ceremonial room of the society.

<sup>4</sup> *Kāpin a'ho'i*, literally "raw persons," as distinct from the "daylight people" "who are cooked" through having been born on a bed of warm sand.

Have remained with us their children.

Now this very day

For the rite of our fathers,

Beast priests,<sup>5</sup>

We have prepared plume wands.

When yet a little space remained,

Ere our sun father

Went in to sit down at his sacred place<sup>6</sup>

Coming to my earth mother,

Have I offered 'plume wands to my fathers,

And returned to my house.

Then yonder from all sides

Those who are my fathers,

The divine ones,<sup>7</sup>

With none among them lacking,

Will make their roads come forth,

Hither they will come.

Then having made my fathers' massed cloud house,<sup>8</sup>

Having spread out their mist blanket,

Having sent forth their life giving road,

Having laid down their rainbow bow,

Having laid down their lightning arrow,

I shall sit down quietly.

I shall set down my white shell bowl.<sup>9</sup>

Then from afar on all sides

You, my fathers,

Will come.

Yonder from the north,

The rain maker priests,<sup>10</sup>

Bringing their waters,

Will make their roads come hither.

Where lies my white shell bowl,

Four times they will make their road come in.

Yonder from the west

The rain maker priests,

Bringing their waters,

Will make their roads come hither.

Where lies my white shell bowl,

Four times they will make their road come in.

Yonder from the south,

The rain maker priests,

Bringing their waters,

Will make their roads come hither.

Where lies my white shell bowl,

Four times they will make their road come in.

Yonder from the east

The rain maker priests,

Bringing their waters,

Will make their roads come hither.

Where lies my white shell bowl.

Four times they will make their roads come in.

Yonder from the above

The rain maker priests,

Bringing their waters,

Will make their roads come hither.

Where lies my white shell bowl,

Four times they will make their roads come in.

Yonder from below

The rain maker priests,

Bringing their waters,

Will make their roads come in.

Where lies my white shell bowl,

Four times they will make their roads come in.

When you have all sat down quietly

Our young ones<sup>11</sup>

Will refresh themselves with your waters.

Then to dawn lake reaching,

Their roads will be fulfilled.

And furthermore, yonder in the north,

You who are my father,

Mountain lion,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> We'ma-a'-ciwan'i, the special protectors of the medicine societies and the source of life, medicine power, and witchcraft.

<sup>6</sup> Late afternoon, the usual hour for making offerings of prayer sticks.

<sup>7</sup> The beast gods, who are present in spirit throughout the ceremonies.

<sup>8</sup> The meal painting on the altar; the "house" is the terraced outline, the "blanket" the filling of fine meal, the "road" the line of meal, generally crossed at four points, leading from the altar to the door at the farther end of the room.

<sup>9</sup> For mixing the medicine water.

<sup>10</sup> U'wanam-i—during this invocation he pours the water with a gourd, four gourds of water.

<sup>11</sup> Te'apKuna-we—children, also domesticated and game animals. The word is used as a general term for fecundity. Here specifically the members of the society.

<sup>12</sup> He now invokes in turn the beast gods of the six directions, meanwhile adding pulverized roots with medicinal properties.

You are life-giving society chief;  
 Bringing your medicine,  
 You will make your road come hither.  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in,  
 Watch over my spring.  
 When you sit down quietly  
 We shall be one person.<sup>13</sup>

And, furthermore, yonder in the west  
 You who are my father, bear,  
 You are life-giving society chief;  
 Bringing your medicine,  
 You will make your road come hither.  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in,  
 Watch over my spring.  
 When you sit down quietly  
 We shall be one person.

And, furthermore, yonder in the south  
 You who are my father, badger,  
 You are life-giving society chief;  
 Bringing your medicine,  
 You will make your road come hither.  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in,  
 Watch over my spring.  
 When you sit down quietly  
 We shall be one person.

And, furthermore, yonder in the east  
 You who are my father, wolf,  
 You are life-giving society chief;  
 Bringing your medicine,  
 You will make your road come hither.  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in,  
 Watch over my spring.  
 When you sit down quietly,  
 We shall be one person.

And furthermore, yonder above  
 You who are my father, knife-wing,  
 You are life-giving society chief.  
 Bringing your medicine,  
 You will make your road come hither.  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,

Four times making your road come in,  
 Watch over my spring.  
 When you sit down quietly  
 We shall be one person.

And furthermore, yonder below  
 You who are my father, gopher,  
 You are life-giving society chief.  
 Bringing your medicine,  
 You will make your road come hither.  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in,  
 Watch over my spring.  
 When you sit down quietly  
 We shall be one person.

And furthermore, yonder in the north  
 On all the mossy mountains,  
 On the tops of the mountains,  
 And along their slopes,  
 Where the ravines open out,  
 You hold the world in your keeping;  
 Ancient yellow stone,<sup>14</sup>  
 You will make your road come hither  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in,  
 You will sit down quietly.  
 Then with your living waters  
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;  
 Reaching to Dawn Lake  
 Their roads will be fulfilled.

And furthermore, yonder in the west  
 On all the mossy mountains,  
 On the tops of the mountains,  
 And along their slopes,  
 Wherever the ravines open out,  
 You hold the world in your keeping;  
 Ancient blue stone,  
 You will make your road come hither  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in  
 You will sit down quietly.  
 Then with your living waters  
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;  
 Reaching to Dawn Lake  
 Their roads will be fulfilled.

<sup>13</sup> During the final ceremony of the societies at the winter solstice when the sick are cured the identification is felt to be complete for those who have esoteric knowledge. At that time there is a complete change of personality; the shamans rush about uttering the cries of animals. They are very much feared. It is especially the prerogative of the bear to give this power of magical impersonation.

<sup>14</sup> He adds small round pebbles believed to have been brought from the underworld at the time of emergence. As a matter of fact any curiously shaped or colored pebble that may be picked up is believed to have magical properties. A collection of these forms part of every shaman's equipment. There are prayers and simple rituals for each one.

And furthermore, yonder in the south  
 On all the mossy mountains,  
 On the tops of the mountains,  
 And along their slopes,  
 Wherever the ravines open out,  
 You hold the world in your keeping;  
 Ancient red stone,  
 You will make your road come hither,  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in  
 You will sit down quietly.  
 Then with your living waters  
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;  
 Reaching to Dawn Lake  
 Their roads will be fulfilled.

And furthermore, yonder in the east  
 On all the mossy mountains,  
 On the tops of the mountains,  
 And along their slopes,  
 Wherever the ravines open out,  
 You hold the world in your keeping;  
 Ancient white stone,  
 You will make your road come hither.  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in  
 You will sit down quietly.  
 Then with your living waters  
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;  
 Reaching to Dawn Lake  
 Their roads will be fulfilled.

And furthermore, yonder above  
 On all the mossy mountains,  
 On the tops of the mountains,  
 And along their slopes,  
 Wherever the ravines open out,  
 You hold the world in your keeping;  
 Ancient many colored stone,  
 You will make your road come hither.  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in  
 You will sit down quietly.  
 Then with your living waters  
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;  
 Reaching to Dawn Lake  
 Their roads will be fulfilled.

And furthermore, yonder below,  
 On all the mossy mountains,  
 On the tops of the mountains,  
 And along their slopes,  
 Wherever ravines open out,  
 You hold the world in your keeping;  
 Ancient dark stone,  
 You will make your road come hither.  
 Where lies my white shell bowl,  
 Four times making your road come in  
 You will sit down quietly.  
 Then with your living waters  
 Our young ones will nourish themselves;  
 Reaching to Dawn Lake  
 Their roads will be fulfilled.<sup>15</sup>

kā'linon'akā fe'wusu  
 pouring in water for prayer

ma'le'si fe'wanan'e  
 now this many days

hon ya'onakā tsit i'lap a'teona  
 we moon mother having the ones

li'wan kaliciankwin ta'na  
 yonder the west to direction

ko'wi la'na ye'tsa'kana  
 somewhat large becoming visible

li'wan fe'luwankwin ta'na  
 yonder to the east direction

i'tiulana ho'i ya'kūnakā fe'wanan a'capa  
 standing against (the horizon) person finishing day making

ho'na'wan kāk'nakwe'nan tca'we  
 our spring children

ho' tca'wa la'cina tse'makona  
 whoever growing old the ones who think

<sup>15</sup> This is followed by the rite of "smoking" the altar. The prayer for this was withheld from me.

ha'lawotinan i'leana

prayer meal taking

lo' i'leana

shell taking

le'hok<sup>u</sup> te'wus a'kä

yonder prayer with

o'neala kwai'ilenapkä

roads made go out severally

hoł tci'mikana'käpa

somewhere at the First Beginning

ulo'na ya'niktci'a'kona

world those who were given

la'kwil-pö'ti

the brush

fa'kwil-pö'ti

the forest

a'wonna-e'latena

on their roads passing them

hoł tcu'wa ha'lowili'kona

whoever the lucky one

an sa'kwi'a

his feet (at)

ha'lawotinan'e

prayer meal

lo''o

shell

a'leakna

giving

a'si kãtsowakwin'te

finger tips even there

i'yun u'lapnapkä

they looked about among them

hoł tcu'wa ha'lowili'kona

whoever the one who is lucky

a'kãwulkwi'nakna

the young shoots pulling

a'wana' u'la'k'äpa

drawing them toward them

hoł yam lu'wala'ki'konate

wherever their staying quietly even where it is

yam o'naya'nakä le'a'pa

their long life holding

yam la'ciakä le'a'pa

their old age holding

o'neal i'käna

road making come

yam te'kohanan a'tatcu

their daylight fathers

yam a'tsita

their mothers

yam tca'we

their children

a'wan k̄ä'cima fe'li'tokwi

their water inner room (to)

o'neala kwa'tok̄āna

road making enter

le'si fe'wanan'e

this many days

k̄ä'pin a'ho'i

raw persons

ho' tca'wilaḡa

us children having

fe'wanan a'teak̄a te'kwi

days they lived when

tei'mte yä'ton'e

even this day

we'ma' a'ciwan'i

beast priests

a'wan hai'to

for them ordained

hon te'likinan ye'lete'unap̄k̄a.

we prayer sticks prepared.

hon yä'tok̄a tate i'laḡ a'te'ona

we sun father having the ones

yam fe'lacinakwi

his sacred place

i'muna kwa'tok̄atun te'kwi

sitting down about to go in when it is

ko'w a'nfe'wetcikwi

a little space remained for him when

ho'man a'witelin tsit o'na-e'latena

my earth mother on her road passing

yam a'tatcu

my fathers

te'likinan a'leana

prayer stick giving to them

yam he'coḡakwi

my house to

o'neal i'k̄āna

road making come

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi

yonder this many places

fo'na ho' a'tate i'laḡa

you I fathers having

k̄ä'pin a'ho'i

raw persons

eḡ kwa teu' i'metcam'e

do not someone be (not) missing



o'neala kwai'i'kăna  
     road      making come forth  
 yam a'tateu  
     my          fathers  
 a'wan a'wehuyan kă'kwe ya'kăna  
     their      cloud      house      finishing  
 a'wan ci'pololon pe'wuna  
     their      mist      blanket spread out  
 o'naya'nağa o'nealan a'kăna  
     life giving      road      making go  
 a'wan a'mitolan pi'lan a'una  
     their      rainbow      bow      putting down  
 a'wan wi'lolonan co'l a'una  
     their      lightning      arrow      putting down  
 ho' i'mila'kuna  
     I      sitting down quietly  
 yam ko'hakwa sa'l a'nimla'kuna  
     my      white shell      bowl      setting down quietly  
 la't hoku le'si te'kwi  
     yonder      so many      places  
 ū'n hon a'tate i'li.  
     you      we      fathers have.

||:li'wan piclankwin ta'na  
     yonder      to the north      direction  
 u'wanam a'ciwan-i  
     rain maker      priests  
 yam kă'cim i'leana  
     your      waters      carrying  
 o'neal i'kăna  
     road      making come  
 yam ko'hakwa sa'l a'la  
     your      white shell      bowl      lying  
 a'witela'ma  
     four times  
 o'nealan kwa'to'kăna. ||:  
     road      will make come in.

The foregoing section is repeated as follows:

li'wan kă'liciankwin ta'na . . .  
     yonder      to the west      direction  
 li'wan a'lahoankwin ta'na . . .  
     yonder      to the south      direction  
 li'wan ū'luwankwin ta'na . . .  
     yonder      to the east      direction  
 li'wan i'yamakwin ta'na . . .  
     yonder      to the above      direction  
 li'wan ma'ni'kăkwin ta'na . . .  
     yonder      to the below      direction

fon i'finan-la'ki'kăpa  
you having sat down quietly

fo'na'wan kăcina  
your waters

ho'na'wan te'apkuna'we  
our children

i'kă'kuna  
drinking in

te'luwaian kăi'akwi  
dawn lake to

o'neal te''cina  
road reaching

a'wona ya''an'a.  
their roads will be fulfilled.

le'st'kleapa  
furthermore

||li'wan pi'clankwin ta''na  
yonder to the north direction

tom ho' tate i'li  
you I father have

ho'ktita'cana  
mountain lion (tail long)

o'naya'nakă  
life giving

fo' ti'kămo'siye  
you are society chief

yam a'kwan i'leana  
your medicine carrying

fo' o'neal i'kăna  
you road will make come

yam ko'hakwa sa'l a'la  
your white shell bowl lying

a'witela'ma  
four times

o'nealan kwa'to'kăna  
road will make come in

homan kă'nakwai'in'e  
my spring

yai'yupatei  
watching

fo' i'mila'kuna  
you sitting down quietly

hon to'pint ho'i.::|  
we one person.

The foregoing section is repeated as follows:

li'wan kăliciankwin ta''na  
yonder to the west direction

tom ho' tate i'li  
you I father have

ai'nce . . . .  
bear

li'wan a'lahoankwin ta''na  
yonder to the south direction

tom ho' tate i'li  
you I father have

to'naci . . .  
badger

li'wan te'luwankwin ta''na  
yonder to the east direction

tom ho' tate i'li  
you I father have

yu'nawiŋo . . .  
wolf

li'wan i'yamakwin ta''na  
yonder to the above direction

tom ho' tate i'li  
you I father have

a'tciala'tapa . . .  
knife wing

li'wan ma'niŋäkwın ta''na  
yonder to the below direction

tom ho' tate i'li  
you I father have

ŋä'lutsi . . .  
gopher

||li'wan pi'clankwin ta''na  
yonder to the north direction

a'wico yä'la'kona  
moss mountain along

yä'la ŋätsowa'kona  
mountain point along

te'lete i'tiwa'kona  
slope middle along

a'kwe kwai'ina'kona  
ravine opening along

ton 'u'lo'n i'lapa  
you world having

a'taci lu'ptsina  
ancient yellow  
stone

o'nealan i'ŋäna  
road making come

yam ŋohakwa sa'l a'ŋkwi  
your white shell bowl where it lies

a'witela'ma  
four times

o'neala kwa'toŋäna  
road making enter

ĩon i'tinan-ila'kiĩäpä  
you having sat down quietly

ĩo''na'wan ĩä''kwĩ'e  
your living water

ho'n ĩe'apĩunan'e  
our child

i'ĩä'kuna  
drinking in

ĩe'luwaian ĩai'akwi  
dawn lake to

o'neal te''tcina  
road reaching

a'wona ya''ana.::||  
their roads will be fulfilled.

The foregoing section is repeated for the six directions as above, naming for each direction a stone of appropriate color, as follows:

. . . a'łaci ĩ'ana . . .  
ancient stone blue

. . . a'łaci a'hona . . .  
ancient stone red

. . . a'łaci ĩohana . . .  
ancient stone white

. . . a'łaci i'to'panana . . .  
ancient stone many colored

. . . a'łaci ciķana . . .  
ancient stone dark

le'stikleäpä  
furthermore

#### SUMMONING A SHAMAN

When anyone is sick and it is decided to call a shaman to cure him, the family decide whether or not they consider the case sufficiently serious to warrant summoning one of the societies to come as an organization to perform its curing ritual. This is done only when they believe death is threatened and it is felt that the full power of the society is needed to save the patient's life. In such cases the patient is given to the society, and the family undertakes to see that he is initiated within a reasonable time. This is a last resort, since the expense of initiation is very great.

In less serious cases a shaman is summoned to practice as an individual. In such a case the shaman may ask assistance of some colleague who owns an especially potent song or medicine, but the society as a whole does not participate, nor is the patient initiated. However, at the following New Year he goes to the house of the society with which his doctor is affiliated and his head is washed at their altar,

and he becomes their "child." Each year at the winter solstice his society father, the shaman, makes a prayer stick for him to plant.

Before the physician is summoned the patient's relatives decide what they will offer him for his services. The gift is held ready. Then the patient's father or some other mature male relative prepares prayer meal, which he wraps in a corn husk. Into this he puts some bit of the gift for the physician—a thread from a robe, or a bit of the fringe if it is a shawl. This is for the Beast Gods, their "clothing." With this he goes to the house of the shaman. The two men sit down, remove their headbands and moccasins, clasping hands over the package of meal. The patient's father repeats the following prayer, to which the shaman replies in like spirit:<sup>16</sup>

|                                                                    |                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| This day,                                                          | lu'ka ya'tone                          |
| Because of the ill will of the foolish ones, <sup>17</sup>         | ho'n'an te'apkunane                    |
| Our child wears out his spirit.                                    | yu'yarnam a'wan tse'makwin a'ka        |
| 5 Among all our fathers,                                           | tse'mek te'na hon a'teaiye.            |
| Life-giving priests, <sup>18</sup>                                 | 5 le'yam a'tateu                       |
| Life-giving pekwins.                                               | o'na'ya'naka a'ciwan'i                 |
| Life-giving bow priests,                                           | o'na'ya'naka pe'kwi'we                 |
| We have looked about.                                              | o'na'ya'naka a'p'la'ciwan'i            |
| 10 When all unexpectedly,                                          | 10 te'kwant te'a'fipa                  |
| The divine ones chose you                                          | ka'pin a'ho'i                          |
| We, in the daylight                                                | tom a'naw'ana-wapka'te'a               |
| Also chose you.                                                    | te'kohanana                            |
| 15 Now that we have let you know of it,                            | 15 tom hon u'naw'ana                   |
| Yonder in their house, <sup>19</sup>                               | tom hon yu'ya'kana-wapa                |
| The divine ones have passed you on your road,                      | hol yam he'cofane                      |
| With the roads of the divine ones going ahead,                     | ka'pin a'ho'i                          |
| 20 Into our house                                                  | tom o'na-e'latenapka.                  |
| You will make your road enter.                                     | ka'pin a'ho' a'wan o'nealan-e'kwi'kowa |
| Having sat down quietly,                                           | 20 ho'na'wa he'cofakwi                 |
| This day,                                                          | to o'neal kwa'tokana                   |
| With the flesh of the white corn,                                  | ton i'tinan la'ka'fipa                 |
| 25 Prayer meal,                                                    | lu'ka ya'tone                          |
| With ground shell,                                                 | to'wa kohan an ci'nan'e                |
| We have taken firm hold of our fathers,                            | 25 ha'lawa'tinan lo''o te'a'ona        |
| Life-giving priests;                                               | hon yam a'tateu                        |
| With prayer meal held in the hollow of the left hand <sup>20</sup> | o'na'ya'naka a'ciwan'i                 |
|                                                                    | a'wan we'ci'ka a'stecokta              |
|                                                                    | ha'lawa'tinan a'ka                     |

<sup>16</sup> Dictated by one of the headmen of the Wood Society.

<sup>17</sup> The witch, whose ill will has caused the sickness.

<sup>18</sup> Society chiefs. The choice of a shaman is believed to be inspired by the Beast Gods.

<sup>19</sup> The ceremonial house of the society.

<sup>20</sup> The left hand is used in all curing rituals. Also in the rites of the scalp dance.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>30 We held one another fast.<br/>With prayer meal,<br/>With riches,<br/>With shell,<br/>With these we hold one another fast.</p> <p>35 The ones who are our fathers,<br/>Life-giving priests,<br/>Will hold our child,<br/>Our child who has been bewitched</p> <p>Because the heart of someone became angry.</p> <p>40 Our fathers,<br/>Life-giving priests,<br/>Beast priests,<br/>With your hands,<br/>With your breath,</p> <p>45 Hold him fast.<br/>The power of the two hearted one,<br/>The one who has bewitched our child,<br/>The foolish one,<br/>His power<sup>21</sup> they will cause to stand out<br/>In the daylight of our sun father.<br/>Then our child's breath will become well.<br/>His spirit will become well.<br/>Desiring this<br/>With prayer meal,</p> <p>55 With shell,<br/>We have held one another fast.<br/>Taking his prayer meal,<br/>You will make your road go out.<sup>22</sup></p> <p>60 Yonder, with prayers, you will direct your road.<br/>Somewhere on your earth mother,<br/>Your fathers,<br/>The divine ones,<br/>You will pass on their roads.</p> | <p>30 hons i'wiyatena-tsu'mekākā<br/>ha'lawo'tinan'e<br/>u'tenan'e<br/>ho''o<br/>hon a'kā i'wiyatena-tsu'mekākā.</p> <p>35 ho''na'wan te'apkunan'e<br/>hon a'tate i'lapona<br/>o'na'yanak' a'ciwan'i<br/>ho! teu'wa kwa'ho! a'ka i'ken<br/>i'samutina<br/>ho''na'wan te'apkuna a'natsuma-<br/>'kowa</p> <p>40 hon a'tate i'lapona<br/>o'na' ya'nak' a'ciwan'i<br/>we'ma' a'ciwan'i<br/>yam a'sin a'kā<br/>yam ya'nhakunan a'kā</p> <p>45 ya'tena tsu'mekā<br/>ho! teu'wa kwil i'ke'na<br/>ho''nan te'apkunan a'natsum'a-<br/>kowa<br/>yu''ya'nam'e an sa'wanikā<br/>yam yā'tokā ta'teu</p> <p>50 an te'kohanankwi lu'wanakwai''-<br/>ikāna<br/>ho''na'wan te'apkunan an ya'nha-<br/>kunan i'kokuḱān'a.<br/>an tse''makwi i'kokuḱān'a.<br/>lu'kā a'nteecemana<br/>ha'lawo'tinan a'kā</p> <p>55 ho' a'kā<br/>hon i'wiyatena-tsu'makākā<br/>luk' an ha'lawo'tinan i'leana<br/>o'neala kwai''ikāna.<br/>le'hok' te'wus a'kā</p> <p>60 ton o'neal a'kāna<br/>ho! yam a'witelin tsi'tana<br/>yam a'tateu<br/>kā'pin a'ho'i<br/>ton a'wona-e'laten'a</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

<sup>21</sup> Sawanikā, weapons, also, abstractly, power. There is a double meaning to these lines. The shaman will actually remove from the patient's body foreign matter which the witch has injected, and which is the direct cause of the sickness. Also, by revealing the means the witch has employed, he strips him of his power. For this reason torture formerly was used to extract confessions from those suspected of witchcraft. If a witch once reveals the source of his power he becomes helpless. Any prayer or ritual loses its potency when it is told, the power passing to the new owner. See pp. 493-494.

<sup>22</sup> The prayer meal which the medicine man receives is offered to the spirits at a point east of the village.



- 65 Then once more taking my prayer  
meal,  
My riches,  
My shell,  
Those on which I have breathed  
my prayers,  
Even thus will be your words upon  
them.  
To those who once were alive,<sup>23</sup>  
To those who used to be with us,  
And furthermore, our fathers,  
The beast priests,  
The life-giving priests,  
75 To them you will give the prayer  
meal,  
The shell,  
The riches.  
80 Our fathers will take the prayer  
meal,  
The shell,  
The riches.  
When you have given it to them,  
And when they have accepted it,  
85 Anxiously they will await evening.  
When our sun father  
Has gone in to sit down at his  
sacred place,  
Somewhere the divine ones will  
pass you on your road.  
90 They will come to their child;  
The divine ones will come to their  
child.  
Our fathers,  
Life-giving priests,  
95 Life-giving pekwins,  
Life-giving bow priests,  
Perpetuating their rite from the  
first beginning,  
Sitting down quietly among us,  
100 Will look over their child,  
  
Our child, whose spirit failed,  
Because of some evil thing.  
  
Beast priests,  
With your hands,  
With your breath,
- 65 tem fa ho'no ha'lawo'tinan'e  
  
u'tenan'e  
lo''o  
ho' fewusu ya'nulaka te'a'kowa  
  
i'snokon pe'nan to' yam a'tateu  
li'ho te'kan'a.  
70 a'ho' a'tea'kowa  
ho'n i'li a'tea'kowa  
le'stiklea yam a'tateu  
we'ma' a'ciwan'i  
o'na'ya'na'ka a'ciwan'i  
75 ha'lawo'tinan'e  
lo''o  
u'tenan'e  
to' a'lea'u'pa  
ho'na'wan a'tateu  
80 ha'lawo'tinan'e  
lo''o  
u'tenan i'leana  
to' a'lea'u'pa i'leana  
  
85 a'ntsume'na su'nha'kana'wa  
ho'na'wan ya'toka ta'teu  
yam te'tacinukwi i'muna kwafo-  
ka'pa  
ka'pin a'ho'i  
hol tom o'na-e'latena'wa.  
90 yam te'ap'kunan'e  
ka'pin a'ho'i  
yam te'ap'kunan o'na-e'latena'wa  
ho'na'wan a'tateu  
o'na'ya'na'ka a'ciwan'i  
95 o'na'ya'na'ka pe'kwi'we  
o'na'ya'na'ka a'pi'la'ci'wan'i  
yam ko'lehol tci'mi'ka'kowa  
te'li'na  
i'tinan la'kiknan  
yam te'ap'kunan'e  
100 un-u'lapna'wa.  
ho'na'wan teap'kunan kwa'hol  
a'ka tse'makwin i'na'ina  
te'a'kowa  
we'ma' a'ciwan'i  
yam a'sin a'ka  
yam ya'nhakunan a'ka

<sup>23</sup> Deceased shamans, united in death with their protectors and patrons, the Beast Gods. Only those members of medicine societies who have shamanistic powers, that is, the power to invoke and impersonate the bear, are so honored in death.

105 The power of the foolish one  
 You will make stand forth.  
 Then our child's spirit will become  
 well,  
 His breath will become well.  
 Then that you may be the ones  
 whom his spirit will embrace,  
 110 There at your house <sup>21</sup>  
 With your clear water  
 You will bind your child fast.  
  
 In order that it may be thus  
 We give you our child.

105 yu''ya'nam an sa'wanikā  
 ton lu'wana kwai''iḡāna'wa  
 ho''nan te'apḡunan an tse''mak-  
 wi'kōkeuk'āna  
 an ya'nhakunan i'kōkeukḡāpa.  
 i'skōn tse''mak te'lakwi yam  
 a'teatun'on aḡā  
 110 hol yam he'coḡakwi  
 yam te'apḡunan'e  
 yam ḡācina ko'ke a'ḡā  
 to' ya'tena ts'u'mekāna'tun'on  
 aḡā  
 tom ho'u te'apḡunan a'nikte'a'u.

#### THE SOCIETY FATHER SUMMONS THE NOVICE FOR HIS INITIATION

If the patient has been given to the society he is expected to complete his initiation as soon as economic obligations permit. Should he fail in this he is troubled with bad dreams as a warning of the fate that will overtake him. Initiation is in no sense a propitiatory rite; it is, rather, an access to power. The preliminary ceremonies held at his sick bed secured him a stay, but in order finally to triumph over the disease, the patient must place himself under the protection of the Beast Gods and receive from them a new heart. Should he not do this, he will be troubled in spirit until he sickens and dies. Worry is the most serious of all illnesses, it is the sickness of the spirit caused by supernatural agencies.

Frequently many years elapse before a man is in a position to meet the expenses of initiation. Whenever he is ready his family notify the society father, who is the man who received him as a patient. At the first fall meeting of the society the date for the initiation is set at the full moon of the month at which that society customarily initiates.

Four days before the full moon the ceremonial father goes after sunset to the house of the novice to notify him that the initiation ceremonies are about to begin. Here the boy's family are assembled and waiting for him. After formal greetings are exchanged, the man sits down, removes his head band and moccasins and prays.<sup>21a</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The house of the society. Had the man been offering the child for initiation into the society he would say instead of "at your house," "in your spring."

<sup>21a</sup> Dictated by a member of the Great Fire Society, a man who has initiated many children into his society.

- This many are the days  
 Since some evil thing  
 Made our child sick.  
 His breath failed.
- 5 Because of this from among all our fathers,  
 Life-giving priests,  
 Life-giving pekwins,  
 Life-giving bow priests;  
 All the society priests,
- 10 Society pekwins,  
 Society bow priests,  
 Unexpectedly  
 The divine ones chose me.
- 15 Their daylight children  
 Revealed themselves to you,  
 And choosing me,  
 You let me know.  
 Taking prayer meal,
- 20 Far off to the east,  
 With prayers, I made my road go forth.  
 Where our fathers' road comes in <sup>25</sup>
- 25 I passed them on their road.  
 Standing facing them,  
 I offered them prayer meal.  
 The divine ones' road preceded;
- 30 Their road preceding,  
 Following them  
 Hither with prayers.  
 We brought our roads
- 35 Into their daylight children's rain-filled rooms,<sup>26</sup>  
 The divine ones brought their road.
- They sat down quietly  
 And we of the daylight
- 40 Met one another.  
 Our prayer meal,  
 Shells,<sup>27</sup>  
 Riches,  
 On which I had breathed our prayers,
- le'si te'wanan'e  
 ho'na'wan te'ap'kunan'e  
 i'mat kwa'tik we'akāka  
 ya'nhakun i'natina
- 5 yam a'te'on a'kā le' yam a'tatcu  
 o'na ya'nakā a'ciwani  
 o'naya'nakā pe'kwiwe  
 o'na ya'nakā a'pi'la'ci'wani  
 le' ti'kā a'ciwani
- 10 ti'kā pe'kwiwe  
 ti'kā a'pi'la'ci'wani  
 te'kwant te'atīpa  
 k̄a'pin a'ho'i  
 yam a'nawana'wapa
- 15 te'kohanan an tea'we  
 tom ya'nlitona  
 hom a'nawana  
 hom yu'ya-kāna'wapa  
 ha'lawo'tinan i'leana
- 20 le'hok' te'luwankwin ta'na  
 te'wus a'kā  
 ho' o'neal k̄ai'i'k̄āka  
 yam a'tatcu  
 a'wan o'neal i'nakwi
- 25 a'wona-e'latena  
 ya'nikto'nan ye'lana  
 ho' ha'lawo'tinan a'lea'uḡa  
 k̄a'pin a'ho'i  
 o'neal e'kuna'wapa
- 30 a'wan o'neal e'kwikuna  
 e'la yā'lu  
 k̄alhok' te'wus a'kā  
 hon o'neal a'k̄anap̄kā  
 yam te'kohanan tea'we
- 35 a'wan k̄a'cima te'li'tokwi  
 k̄a'pin a'ho'i  
 o'neal kwa'tokāna  
 i'tinan i'lakikapa  
 te'kohanana
- 40 hon i'yona-e'latena.  
 yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
 ho'o  
 u'tenank'e  
 yam te'wusu ya'nula'kona

<sup>25</sup> The eastern road. The Beast Gods dwell at Cipapolima, in the east. All curing rituals are oriented toward the east, as all katcina are oriented toward the southwest.

<sup>26</sup> The house of the patient.

<sup>27</sup> The prayer meal contains bits of ground shell or turquoise and a few threads pulled from the garment offered to the medicine man in payment for his services in curing.

- 45 Four times drawing them toward  
me,  
Here in the hollow of the life-giving  
left hand  
Of my fathers,  
Life-giving priests,  
50 I laid the prayer meal,  
The shells,  
The riches.  
  
Then taking the prayer meal,<sup>28</sup>  
55 The shells,  
The riches,  
Yonder to the east,  
For the second time  
With prayers  
60 I made my road go forth.  
Where my father's life-giving road  
comes in  
Standing facing them,  
I offered them prayer meal.  
65 Thus anxiously waiting,  
We have passed our days.<sup>29</sup>  
Then when all their days were  
past,<sup>30</sup>  
After our moon mother,  
At her sacred place,  
70 Still small, appeared,  
And now yonder in the east  
Standing fully grown makes her  
days,<sup>31</sup>  
Now our spring children,  
75 Whoever truly desires in his heart  
to grow old,  
Taking prayer meal,  
Taking shell,  
Taking corn pollen,  
Yonder with prayers

- 45 a'witela'ma  
a'wana' u'lana  
hon a'tate i'laḡona  
o'naya'nakā a'ciwan'i  
li'wan a'wan we'ciḡa o'na  
ya'nakā a'stecokta'a  
50 ha'lawo'tinan'e  
lo''o  
u'tenan'e  
i'tiulaḡaḡa  
ha'lawo'tinan'e  
55 lo''o  
u'tenan i'leana  
le'hok' te'luwankwin ta''na  
kwiliḡanana  
te'wusa'ḡa  
60 ho' o'neal kwai'iḡākā  
yam a'tateu  
a'wan o'naya'nakā o'neal i'nakwi  
ya'nikto'na ye'lana  
ha'lawo'tinan a'lea'uḡa  
65 a'ntsume'na  
hon te'wanan a'teaḡā  
lokwa le'wi te'waḡā te'a'ana  
  
hon ya'onakā tsit i'laḡa'a'te'ona  
yam te'laci'nakwi  
70 ko'wi tsa'na ye'tsaḡāna  
li'wan te'luwankwin ta''na  
i'tiulana ho'i ya'ḡānakā te'-  
wanan a'caḡa  
ho''na'wan ḡā'nakwe'nan tca'we  
ho' teuw hi'yawoluena  
75 la'cina tse'ma'kona  
ha'lawo'tinan i'leana  
lo'' i'leana  
o'nean i'leana  
le'hok' te'wus a'ḡā

<sup>28</sup> The patient expectorates into the package of meal. Thus his sickness is removed, and the father "takes it out to the east."

<sup>29</sup> The four days during which the society holds its ceremonies of curing in the home of the patient. Only the officers and possessors of esoteric knowledge are present. The sacred paraphernalia of the society is set up, songs are sung, the Beast Gods are invoked, and finally the agency of sickness is withdrawn from the patient. The ceremonies are held for four consecutive nights, and last from midnight until dawn.

<sup>30</sup> The days of waiting until the novice was ready to assume his obligations.

<sup>31</sup> The time is now approaching the full moon. The ceremonies of initiation will begin with the making of prayer sticks by all members of the society on the day following the visit of the father to the home of the novice.

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| <p>80 One by one shall make their roads<br/>go forth.<sup>32</sup><br/>Yonder where they have stood<br/>since the first beginning<br/>Our fathers,<br/>The forest,<br/>The brush,<br/>Those who have been given do-<br/>main</p> <p>85 Yonder on all the mossy moun-<br/>tains,<br/>There we passed them on their<br/>roads.<br/>At the feet of some lucky one,</p> <p>90 Offering prayer meal,<br/>Shells,<br/>Corn pollen,<br/>Even among their sharp fingers<br/>'We looked about.</p> <p>95 Breaking off the straight green<br/>shoots of some lucky one,<br/>We drew them toward us.<br/>Even those standing there quietly,<br/>Holding their long life,</p> <p>100 Their old age,<br/>Their waters,<br/>Their seeds,<br/>The divine ones made their roads<br/>come hither.<br/>Near by into the house of our<br/>fathers,</p> <p>105 Our mothers,<br/>The clan of the sun,<sup>33</sup><br/>Into their house the divine ones<br/>brought their road</p> <p>110 And there sat down quietly.<br/>This many days,<br/>Anxiously waiting<br/>With us, their children, they passed<br/>their days.<br/>And now that their appointed time<br/>had come,</p> | <p>80 o'neal kwai'ileḡāna'wa<br/><br/>hoł tei'miḡāna'ḡāḡa<br/><br/>hon a'tate i'laḡona<br/>ḡa'wil-ḡo'ti<br/>la'kwil-ḡo'ti</p> <p>85 la'lhok<sup>a</sup> a'wico yā'la'kona<br/>u'lo'na ya'niktēia'kona<br/>a'wona-e'latena<br/>hoł teuw ha'lowi'li'kona<br/>an sa'kwia</p> <p>90 ha'lawo'tinan'e<br/>lo'o<br/>o'nean a'leakna<br/>a'si ḡā'tsowakwinte<br/>i'yun'ulapnaḡā.</p> <p>95 hoł teuw ha'lowi'li'kona<br/>a'ḡāwulkwinaḡa<br/>a'wana'-u'laḡāḡa<br/>yam lu'wala'ḡi'konate<br/>yam o'naya'naḡā</p> <p>100 yam la'ciaḡā<br/>yam ḡā'eima<br/>yam ḡo'wacōnan le'aḡa<br/>ḡā'pin a'ho'i o'neal i'ḡāna</p> <p>la'lik hon a'tate i'laḡona</p> <p>105 hon a'tsit i'laḡona<br/>yā'tok' a'nota<br/>a'wan he'coḡakwi<br/>ḡā'pin a'ho'i<br/>o'neal kwa'toḡāḡa</p> <p>110 i'tinan la'ḡikna<br/>le'si ḡe'wanan'e<br/>a'ntsume'na<br/>ho'na te'a'wilaḡa ḡe'wanan a'te-<br/>aḡā te'kwi<br/>ḡe's le'n hai'tokwin te'tēiḡa</p> |
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<sup>32</sup> The frequent changes of tense in the following passages are confusing, but have been retained in the translation because they are so characteristic a feature of the poetic style. It reflects the very slight importance attached to clarity and coherence.

Willow sticks may be gathered at any time, and kept by a man in the house in which he lives until ready for use. He must have them in readiness for the prayer-stick making, which starts shortly after sunrise the following day.

<sup>33</sup> An attempt on the part of the speaker to conceal his identity. He was neither a member of the Sun clan nor living in a Sun clan house.

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| <p>115 Next day,<br/>After our fathers,<br/>Our ancestors,<br/>Those who here had belonged to societies,<br/>The divine ones,<br/>120 After they first had taken hold of their plume wands,<br/>We of the daylight,<br/>Meeting one another,<br/>With our warm human hands,<br/>Embraced them.<br/>125 For our fathers,<br/>Our children,<br/>Those who here belonged to societies,<br/>For their ceremony<br/>We shall give our plume wands human form.<br/>130 With the massed cloud robe of our grandfather,<br/>Male turkey,<br/>With eagle's mist garment,<br/>With the striped cloud wings<br/>And massed cloud tails<br/>Of all the birds of summer,<br/>With these four times wrapping our plume wands,<br/>We shall give them human form.<br/>With the one who is our mother,<br/>Cotton woman,<br/>140 Even a roughly spun cotton thread,<br/>A soiled cotton thread,<br/>With this four times encircling them and tying it around,<br/>With hanging rain feather,<br/>145 We shall give our plume wands human form.<br/>Saying, let it be now,<br/>Taking our child's prayer meal,<br/><br/>Wherever we think, let it be here,<br/>150 Our earth mother<br/>We shall pass on her road.<br/>Offering our plume wands,<br/>We shall make their days.<sup>34</sup><br/>When there remains a little space,</p> | <p>115 <i>te'wan yā'ton'e</i><br/><i>hon a'tate i'laḡona</i><br/><i>ho''na'wan a'laei'na'we</i><br/><i>li'Ino ti'kān i'lapkona</i><br/><br/><i>kā'pin a'ho'i</i><br/>120 <i>ke'la yam te'liḡinan ya'tena</i><br/><i>tsu'mekānapkā te'a'ana</i><br/><i>te'kohanana</i><br/><i>hon i'yona-e'latena</i><br/><i>yam a'sin kā'lnakā</i><br/><i>a'wiya'ten tsu'mekānapkā</i><br/>125 <i>yam a'tatcu</i><br/><i>yam tea'we</i><br/><i>li'In ti'kān i'lapkona</i><br/><br/><i>a'wan hai'to</i><br/><i>hon te'liḡinan a'ho' a'ya-kāna'wa</i><br/>130 <i>yam nan i'li te'ona</i><br/><br/><i>ton ots an a'weluyan ḡa'in'e</i><br/><i>kā'kāl an ci'pololon u'teun'e</i><br/><i>la'lhok' o'lo'iḡaiaḡā wō'we</i><br/><i>a'wan la'pīhanan la'tawe</i><br/>135 <i>a'wan a'weluyan' kāten a'kā</i><br/><i>a'kā a'witela'ma</i><br/><i>te'liḡinan a'ḡa'un a'ho' a'ya-kāna</i><br/><i>yam tsit i'li te'ona</i><br/><i>pi'tsem o'kā</i><br/>140 <i>ko'ti pi''lenapte</i><br/><i>pi''le ci'kānapte</i><br/><i>a'k' a'witela'ma</i><br/><i>pa'nulapnan i'kwian te'tcina</i><br/><i>kā'cima la'cowa</i><br/>145 <i>te'likinan ho'i ya'kāna-waḡa</i><br/><br/><i>hol kā'ḡi ke'si' le''anaḡaḡa</i><br/><i>yam te'apḡunan ha'lawo'tinan'e</i><br/><i>i'teana</i><br/><i>ho'li-la le''hatina</i><br/>150 <i>yam a'witelin tsī'ta</i><br/><i>ho' o'na-e'latena</i><br/><i>hon te'liḡinan a'teana</i><br/><i>hon a'wan te'wanan a'cna-waḡa</i><br/><i>hon yā'tokā tate i'lap a'te'ona</i></p> |
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<sup>34</sup> The four-day retreat, which begins when the prayer sticks are planted shortly before sunset on the day following this speech. The novice has prayer sticks made for him by his ceremonial father. In the afternoon he is summoned to the ceremonial house of the society to receive them. He then goes with his father and officers of the society to plant in a shrine at Badger place, about 2 miles southeast of Zuñi. From the time of the planting until the conclusion of the ceremonies he must do no work, especially lift no heavy weights. He eats and sleeps very little and is untouchable, like one who has had contact with the dead. At the same time other members of the society plant in their fields or at Red Earth and after their supper return with their bedding to the society house for a four nights' retreat. The days are spent in preparation for the great ceremony of the last night.



- Ere our sun father goes in to sit  
down at his sacred place
- Then our father <sup>25</sup>
- 160 Will spread out his fathers' mist  
blanket,  
Their perfect cloud house he will  
prepare,  
Their rainbow bow he will lay  
down,  
Their lightning arrow he will lay  
down,  
And there will sit down quietly.
- 165 Far off from all directions  
Our fathers will make their roads  
come forth.  
Making their roads come hither  
They will sit down quietly.
- 170 Sitting behind them
- This many days,  
Anxiously waiting  
We shall pass our days.
- 175 When we reach their appointed  
time,<sup>26</sup>  
Yonder from all directions  
The ones who are our fathers,  
Life-giving priests,  
Life-giving pekwins,  
180 Life-giving bow priests,  
All the Beast Priests,  
The divine ones,  
With no exceptions,  
All will make their roads come  
hither.
- 185 Near-by, into the rain-filled rooms  
Of their daylight fathers,  
Their daylight children,  
They will bring their roads.  
At the place where they sit down  
quietly,
- 190 Our child will pass his fathers on  
their road.
- Into a being like themselves <sup>27</sup>  
They will transform him.
- 155 yam te'laei'nakwi  
i'muna kwa'tokātun te'kwi  
ko'w a'nē'we'teikwi  
hon tate i'laḡ a'teona  
yam a'tateu  
160 a'wan ci'pololan ḡe'wuna  
a'wan a'weluyan ḡā'kwen ya'na  
ye'lete'una  
a'wan a'mitolan pi'lan a''una  
a'wan wi'lolonan co'l a''una  
ḡi'nan la'ḡuḡa  
165 la'lhok<sup>28</sup> le'si te'kwi  
hon a'tate i'laḡona  
o'neal kwai'iḡāna  
o'neal i'ḡāna  
i'tinan i'laḡiḡāḡa  
170 a'wan ma'si'a  
i'miḡana  
le'si te'wanan'e  
a'nḡsume'na  
hon te'wanan a'teḡāna  
175 ho' a'wan hai'tokwin te''teiḡa  
la'lhok<sup>28</sup> le'si te'kwi  
hon a'tate i'laḡona  
o'naya'naḡa a'ciwan'i  
o'naya'naḡa ḡe'kwi'we  
180 o'naya'naḡ' a'pi'la'ci'wan'i  
le' we'm a'ciwan'i  
ḡā'pin a'ho'i  
kwa teuw i'metcam'e  
o'neal i'ḡāna  
185 la'lik yam te'kohanan a'tateu  
yam te'kohanan tea'we.  
a'wan ḡā'cima te'li'tonankwi  
o'neala kwa'toḡāna  
i'tinan i'laḡiḡā te'kwi  
190 ho''na'wan te'apḡunan'e  
yam a'tatcu  
a'wona-e'lateḡa  
yam ko'nho' ho''i te''ona  
ho''i ya'ḡāna'waḡa

<sup>25</sup> The pekwin of the society, who sets up the altar and makes the meal painting. This is done before the novice is summoned to plant his prayer sticks.

<sup>26</sup> The fourth night of the retreat, when the ceremony of initiation takes place.

<sup>27</sup> The painting of the face and the body of the novice. There is power inherent in body paint.

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| <p>195 Then sitting among his fathers,<br/>Even at their valuable place,<br/>Throughout a blessed night.<br/>With us, their children,<br/>They will come to day.</p> <p>200 Next day, when yet a little space<br/>remains<br/>Ere our sun father<br/>Comes out standing to his sacred<br/>place,</p> <p>205 Then with that through which our<br/>roads are fulfilled,<br/>With clear water,<br/>We shall add to the breath of our<br/>child.<sup>28</sup></p> <p>For since our breath is valuable,</p> <p>210 Our child<br/>Into his body<br/>Will inhale our breath.<br/>At the very place where he sees our<br/>spring<br/>He will sit down as one of us.</p> <p>215 That his road may be fulfilled,<br/>Seeking that,<br/>With our thoughts bent to that,<br/>We shall always live.<br/>Anxiously awaiting the time or-<br/>dained for this,</p> <p>220 We shall pass our days.<br/>For even while I call myself poor,<br/>Yonder on all sides,<br/>Asking for life from those whom<br/>my thoughts embrace,</p> <p>225 I shall add to your breath.<br/>From the priest of the north,<br/>From the priest of the west,<br/>From the priest of the south,<br/>From the priest of the east,</p> <p>230 From the priest of the above,<br/>From the priest of the below,<br/>Asking their long life,<br/>Their old age,<br/>All their good fortune whereof they<br/>are possessed,</p> <p>Asking for their breath,<br/>And into my warm body.<br/>Drawing their breath,<br/>I shall add to your breath.</p> | <p>195 yam a'tateu<br/>a'wan te'ya fewapte<br/>i'me a'kcuna<br/>te'linan ko'kei<br/>hon tea'wilaß a'wanfe'wana<br/>200 te'wap ya'ton'e<br/>hon ya'tokä tate i'laß a'te'ona<br/>yam te'lacinakwi<br/>ye'lana kwai'ikätun te'kwi<br/>ko'w a'nfe'we'teikwi<br/>205 yam a'k i'yona-ya'känawona<br/><br/>kää'cima koke a'kä<br/>yam te'apkunane<br/>ho'nän pi'nän te'liuna-waßa<br/>ho'na'wan pi'nän te'yaßa<br/>210 ho'na'wan te'apkunane<br/>yam ce'lnakwi<br/>pi'na ya'nhakuna kwa'tokäna-wa<br/>hol yam künakwe'nän tu'nakä<br/>te'a<br/>im a'kcite<br/>215 o'naya'akä a'ntapana<br/><br/>tse'mak-te'lakwi<br/>hon a'tekän'a<br/>te'wuna' leKon hai'to<br/>a'ntsume'na<br/>220 hon te'wanan a'tekän'a<br/>ta'teic te'wuko'liya le'kwanante<br/>la'lhok le'si te'kwi<br/>yam tse'mak-te'lakwi'kona<br/>ho' te'kohanan yai'ncemana<br/>225 to'na'wan ho' pi'nän te'liana-wa<br/>piel a'ciwan-i<br/>käläci a'ciwan-i<br/>a'laho a'ciwan-i<br/>te'mako a'ciwan-i<br/>230 i'yan a'ciwan-i<br/>ma'nilam a'ciwan-i<br/>a'wan o'naya'nakä<br/>a'wan la'ciakä<br/>a'wan kwa'hol te'mla te'n-i<br/>ha'lowilin'e<br/>235 i'laß a'te'ona<br/>pi'na yai'ncemana<br/>yam te'huß kää'lnakwi<br/>pi'na yanhakuna kwa'tokäna<br/>to'na'wan hon pi'nän te'liana-wa</p> |
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<sup>28</sup> At dawn the head of the novice is washed by two sisters of his ceremonial father. During the washing of the head his society name is called in a song. Thus his rebirth is symbolized.

240 To this end,  
May you be blessed with life.

Now we go.<sup>39</sup>

240 te'wuna' to' te'fohanan a'nik-  
teia'tu.

son a'wa' ne'

#### THE SOCIETY FATHER BLESSES THE NOVICE AT THE CLOSE OF HIS INITIATION

On the following morning the members of the society make prayer sticks at their society house. They plant late in the afternoon and go into retreat in their ceremonial room. The novice has prayer sticks made by his ceremonial father, with whom he goes to plant at Badger Place. He observes a strict retreat in his own house. Each night he is brought to the society room to practice dancing and to be purified for his initiation.

Each member of the society makes prayer sticks for the novice to plant the last day. His father prepares his mi'le, the feathered ear of corn which will be his personal fetish, his medicine bag, and the eagle feathers that form part of his regalia. He makes or purchases the hand-woven blue breechcloth which forms his ceremonial costume. At the boy's house preparations for the feast are under way.

On the fourth night he is summoned by his father. At the society house he is clothed and his face and body are painted with sacred paint. Then he is brought into the ceremonial room to meet his fathers, the Beast Gods. He dances all night with two women of the clan of his ceremonial father. At dawn the two women wash his head at the altar, while the choir calls his new name. At the conclusion of this the ceremonial father hands the boy the medicine bag, eagle feathers, four ears of corn which have been lying on the altar, the mi'le, and the bundle of prayer sticks. They clasp hands over these sacred objects while the father repeats a long prayer, reviewing the events which have led up to this moment. At the conclusion all inhale the blessing of the newly consecrated mi'le.

The boy takes his sacred possession to his house and returns to the society room, where his relatives serve a sumptuous feast. About noon he goes with his ceremonial father and the head of the society to a shrine on Badger Place where he plants the bundle of prayer sticks. Then for four days he must abstain from animal food in addition to the usual requirements of sexual continence and gentleness. On the fourth morning his father takes him out toward the east and removes from his hair the downy feather which he has worn as a pledge of his abstinence. He takes the boy to his house, where his head is washed by his wife. On this day there are elaborate exchanges of

<sup>39</sup> The man leaves at once. The women of the boy's family immediately start preparations for his initiation, including the preparation of food for the two great feasts they must provide, and the grinding of meal to be given to his ceremonial father.

gifts of food between the women of the boy's family and those of the father's.

The following prayer, dictated by a member of the Great Fire Society, is said by the ceremonial father at the presentation of the m'le, at the moment when he receives the novice into full membership in the society.

Now this many are the days  
 Since something made our child sick.  
 When his spirit failed  
 And his breath failed,  
 That by which we live,  
 That of which is made the flesh of  
     these, my children,  
 The flesh of the white corn,  
 Prayer meal,  
 You prepared.  
 And taking shells,  
 The flesh of our mother, white shell  
     woman,  
 Who, though abiding far off, in the west,  
 In all the village branches,<sup>40</sup>  
 Saying, "Let it be here,"  
 Has washed the cuticle from her body,  
 Taking even a single borrowed shell,  
 The shell,  
 The rich clothing.  
 You sent forth with prayers.<sup>41</sup>  
 Among all your fathers,  
 Life-giving priests,  
 Life-giving pekwins,  
 Life-giving bow priests,  
 Society priests,  
 Society pekwins,  
 Society bow priests  
 You looked about.  
 Now since nothing was clear to you,  
 The divine ones  
 Chose me from all.  
 Then my daylight children revealed  
     themselves to you  
 And you also chose me from among  
     them all  
 And let me know of it.  
 When my fathers had come out one by  
     one  
 From wherever they abide,

Taking my prayer meal,  
 Yonder toward the east  
 I made my road go forth.<sup>42</sup>  
 Standing facing my fathers  
 I offered them prayer meal.  
 The divine ones took my prayer meal.  
 Then they leading,  
 I following at their backs,  
 With prayers we made our roads come  
     hither.  
 Here into the rain-filled rooms  
 Of their daylight children  
 The divine ones entered.<sup>43</sup>  
 They sat down quietly.  
 Here we of the daylight met one another  
 I sat down quietly.  
 Taking up our prayer meal,  
 Our shells,  
 Our rich clothing,  
 Upon which we had breathed our  
     prayers,  
 In the hollow of the life giving left hand  
 Of my fathers, life giving priests,  
 I placed the prayer meal,  
 The shells,  
 The rich clothing,  
 Then when my fathers took hold of  
     their prayer meal,  
 Their shells,  
 Their rich clothing,  
 We of the daylight  
 With the prayer meal,  
 With the shells,  
 With the rich clothing,  
 We held one another fast.  
 Desiring our fathers' long life,  
 Desiring their old age,  
 Desiring their medicine,  
 Sending forth our prayers for these,  
 With prayer meal,

<sup>40</sup> The pueblos to the east, whence shells and turquoise are secured by trade. Wherever White Shell Woman bathes she leaves the rubbings from her body, the white olivella shells, which are ground down for wampum.

<sup>41</sup> Literally, "to set up before the door," used of any person or object appointed to intercede with outside forces.

<sup>42</sup> With the package of meal received from the patient's family, the shaman goes to the east to pray for divine help.

<sup>43</sup> The first visit to the patient.

With shells,  
 With rich clothing  
 We held one another fast.  
 Taking my child's prayer meal,  
 His shells,  
 His rich clothing,  
 Yonder toward the east,  
 With prayers I made my road go  
 forth.<sup>44</sup>  
 Where the life-giving road of my fathers  
 comes in,  
 I passed them on their road.  
 With my child's prayer meal,  
 With his shells,  
 With his rich clothing  
 For my child  
 I asked for life.  
 Then I returned to my own house.  
 As the sacred words of the divine ones  
 circulated,<sup>45</sup>  
 We in the daylight,  
 Letting one another know,  
 Anxiously waiting we came to evening.  
 Following after those whom our  
 thoughts embrace,<sup>46</sup>  
 The ones who were to have their days,  
 Male willow,  
 Female willow,  
 Breaking off straight young shoots,  
 Of whichever ones were lucky,  
 And drawing them toward us,  
 With our warm human hands  
 We held them fast.  
 With the massed cloud robe of our  
 grandfather,  
 Male turkey,  
 With eagle's mist garment,  
 With the striped cloud wings  
 And massed cloud tails  
 Of all the birds of summer,  
 Four times with these wrapping the  
 plume wands  
 We gave them human form;  
 With our mother,  
 Cotton woman,  
 Even a roughly spun cotton thread,

Four times encircling them and tying it  
 around,  
 With a rain-bringing hair feather,  
 We gave them human form;  
 With the flesh of our two mothers,  
 Black paint woman,  
 Clay woman,  
 Clothing their plume wands with their  
 flesh,  
 We gave them human form;  
 With the mucous of our fathers,<sup>47</sup>  
 Life-giving priests,  
 We gave them human form.  
 Saying, "Let it be now,"  
 And taking our plume wands,  
 The divine ones leading,  
 We following at their backs,  
 Hither with prayers  
 We brought our roads.  
 Into the rain-filled rooms  
 Of our daylight children<sup>48</sup>  
 The divine ones entered;  
 With their hands  
 They removed the source of sickness  
 from our child,  
 The one who had been suffering from  
 some evil sickness.  
 Then our child  
 With his spittle  
 Finished their plume wands.  
 Taking the plume wand,  
 After having removed the sickness  
 from our child,  
 The one who had been suffering with  
 some evil sickness,  
 Taking the plume wand,  
 We made our road go forth.  
 Saying, "Let it be here,"  
 I met those who are our fathers,  
 Life-giving priests,  
 Life-giving pekwins,  
 Life-giving bow priests;  
 And furthermore our ancestors,  
 Those who here belonged to societies,  
 Those who were society chiefs,  
 Those who were society pekwins,

<sup>44</sup> He goes out to the east a second time, "to take out the sickness."

<sup>45</sup> He notifies important members of the society that the society has been summoned to cure, while at the same time the supernaturals assemble.

<sup>46</sup> Heads of the society go after willow sticks of which to make prayer sticks. In the text of the following passage all pronouns are omitted, implying a third person subject. They have been restored in the translation in the interest of intelligibility. Such changes of person are characteristic.

<sup>47</sup> Medicine roots which are used on prayer sticks for special occasions. The use of these medicines, the way of making these prayer sticks, and the prayers which give them power are some of the most carefully guarded secrets in Zuñi ritual.

<sup>48</sup> The second visit to the patient. The physician rubs his body with the medicated prayer stick. The patient expectorates on it. The physician takes it out immediately.

Those who were society bow priests,  
 Those who with thoughts embracing,  
 Held in their keeping our world;  
 And furthermore our ancestors,  
 Those who had knowledge of how to  
     care for us,  
 And the Beast Priests.  
 Where they were all fittingly gathered  
     together,  
 None being absent,  
 There I passed them on their roads.  
 I gave them the plume wands.  
 My fathers took firm hold of my plume  
     wands.  
 Yonder at the place of their first  
     beginning,  
 At Cipapolima,  
 While Iyatiku Poceyanki <sup>49</sup>  
 By means of my plume wands sent  
     word about,  
 Anxiously waiting  
 They came to evening.  
 When our sun father  
 Had gone in standing to his sacred  
     place,  
 And our night fathers,  
 Our night mothers,  
 Coming out rising to their sacred place,  
 Passed us on our roads,  
 Saying, "Let it be now,"  
 Our father,  
 Our mother,  
 The perfectly robed ones <sup>50</sup>  
 Both of them we made arise.  
 They leading,  
 Near by into the rain-filled rooms of our  
     daylight fathers,  
 Our roads entered. <sup>51</sup>  
 Sitting down quietly,  
 Again for the second time  
 Taking our child's prayer meal,  
 And giving it to our fathers,  
 Here in the hollow of their life-giving  
     left hand,  
 The prayer meal,  
 The shell giving to them,  
 We held one another fast.

Saying, "Let it be now,"  
 Our father,  
 Our mother,  
 The perfectly robed,  
 We made arise.  
 With these leading,  
 Far off to the east,  
 With prayers we made our road go  
     forth. <sup>52</sup>  
 Where our fathers' life-giving road  
     comes in,  
 We passed them on their roads.  
 Standing face to face  
 Our child's prayer meal,  
 His shells,  
 We gave to our fathers.  
 And adding my own words  
 In accordance with whatever had al-  
     ready been said to make the prayer  
     meal a being potent in prayer,  
 I asked for life for my child.  
 There we met our fathers,  
 Life-giving priests;  
 And furthermore, our ancestors,  
 Those who here belonged to societies,  
 The ones who had attained the far off  
     place of waters;  
 And furthermore our relatives,  
 Those who used to know how to care  
     for us;  
 Where none were missing  
 But where all abide holding their long  
     life,  
 Holding their old age,  
 We passed them on their roads;  
 All the Beast Priests  
 Holding their weapons <sup>53</sup>  
 We met;  
 With these all leading,  
 We following at their backs,  
 Hither with prayers we came. <sup>54</sup>  
 Into their daylight children's water-  
     filled rooms,  
 Their seed-filled rooms,  
 The divine ones entered.  
 After they had sat down quietly  
 We, the daylight people,

<sup>49</sup> Described as a single individual with two names. "Some one who knows about medicine." Iyatiku is the "mother corn" of the Keres. Po'ciyanki is the culture hero of all the eastern Pueblos.

<sup>50</sup> The m'le "and something else." What, could not be learned.

<sup>51</sup> The first night visit to the patient.

<sup>52</sup> He goes out with corn meal for the second time to pray for divine help.

<sup>53</sup> Sa'wani'ká, any weapon including the claws of animals, and, abstractly, power.

<sup>54</sup> He returns to the house of the patient.



Met one another.  
 Sitting down quietly,  
 Our fathers, life-giving priests,  
 Built<sup>55</sup> with their hand their massed  
     cloud house,  
 Spread out their mist blanket,  
 Sent forth their life-giving road,  
 Prepared their perfect spring.  
 Sitting down quietly,  
 These, the divine ones,  
 Looked over their child.  
 Then also these same ones  
 Let their hands go first,  
 Their breath go first  
 While our hands followed.  
 For among all the corn priests' ladder  
     descending children,  
 Among all the little boys and little  
     girls,  
 And those whose roads go ahead,<sup>56</sup>  
 Was one, who even though a valuable  
     person,  
 Because he became angry over some-  
     thing,  
 Used his power to harm our child.  
 The power of this foolish one,  
 Our fathers, the divine ones,  
 The Beast Priests,  
 Brought forth standing  
 Into the daylight of our sun father.<sup>57</sup>  
 Then with his fathers' water of life,  
 With their flesh,<sup>58</sup>  
 Our child nourished himself.  
 When the day had advanced a little,  
 When the night had advanced a little,  
 Our child's sickness grew less,  
 His breath became better.  
 That his road may be fulfilled  
 Reaching to where the road of his sun  
     father comes out,  
 That he may stand firmly upon his  
     earth mother,  
 Hoping for this we shall live.  
 When he said, let it be now.<sup>59</sup>  
 And after our moon mother,  
 Yonder in the west still small,  
 Had first appeared,

And when a little space yet remained  
 Until, standing against the eastern sky,  
 She should come to maturity.  
 At that time our spring children,<sup>60</sup>  
 Whoever of them had thought to grow  
     old,  
 Taking prayer meal,  
 Taking shells,  
 Taking corn pollen,  
 Made their roads go forth.  
 Wherever they met their fathers of the  
     bush,  
 At the feet of the lucky one  
 Prayer meal, shell,  
 Corn pollen,  
 They offered.  
 Breaking off the straight young shoots  
 Which they drew toward them,  
 With their warm human hands,  
 They held them fast.  
 With the massed cloud robe of our  
     grandfather,  
 Male turkey,  
 Eagle's mist garment,  
 And the striped cloud wings  
 And massed cloud tails  
 Of all the birds of summer,  
 With these four times wrapping their  
     plume wands,  
 They gave their plume wands human  
     form.  
 With the one who is our mother,  
 Cotton woman,  
 Even a roughly spun cotton thread,  
 Four times encircling the plume wand  
 And tying it around,  
 And with a rain-bringing hair feather,  
 They gave their plume wands human  
     form.  
 With the flesh of our two mothers,  
 Black paint woman,  
 Clay woman,  
 Clothing their plume wands with flesh,  
 They gave their plume wands human  
     form.  
 Saying, "Let it be now,"  
 And taking our plume wands,

<sup>55</sup> The altar is set up in the patient's room.

<sup>56</sup> The aged.

<sup>57</sup> The cause of sickness is drawn from the body of the patient. (See p. 531.)

<sup>58</sup> The patient drinks from the medicine bowl on the altar an infusion of medicine roots in water. The ceremony described above is repeated on four consecutive nights.

<sup>59</sup> When the patient decided to fulfill his pledge of membership.

<sup>60</sup> The members of the society start their preparations for the initiation ceremonies. The final ceremonies take place at the full moon.

And taking our child's prayer meal,<sup>61</sup>  
 Yonder with prayer  
 One by one we made our roads go forth.  
 Meeting our earth mother,  
 And meeting our ancestors,  
 Our children,  
 Those who here belonged to societies,  
 And furthermore our fathers,  
 The Beast bow priests,  
 We offered them plume wands.  
 When there remained yet a little space.  
 Ere our sun father,  
 Went in to sit down at his sacred place,  
 From far off on all sides  
 Our fathers,  
 Life giving priests,  
 The divine ones,  
 With not one missing,  
 Making their roads come forth,  
 They made their roads come hither.  
 Into the rain-filled rooms of their day-  
 light mothers,  
 They made their roads enter.<sup>62</sup>  
 Perpetuating their rite  
 According to the first beginning,  
 They fashioned their cloud house,  
 They spread out their mist blanket,  
 They sent forth their life-giving road,  
 They fashioned their spring,  
 They spanned their rainbow bow,  
 They set their lightning arrow,  
 They sat down quietly,  
 And at their feet we sat down.  
 This many days  
 Anxiously we have waited.<sup>63</sup>  
 Now, indeed, when the last of all their  
 days was past,  
 Our child having made his road come  
 in,<sup>64</sup>  
 Even where the precious road of his  
 fathers enters,  
 Into a being like themselves  
 Our fathers transformed <sup>65</sup> their child.  
 Then a blessed night they spent  
 With us who are their children.  
 Next day,

While yet a little space remained  
 Ere our sun father  
 Should come out standing to his sacred  
 place,  
 With our clear water,  
 With that by which we have being,  
 With this we took hold of our child.<sup>66</sup>  
 After the divine ones first added their  
 breath,  
 Then also praying in the same words,  
 We added to the breath of our child.  
 Our child taking his fathers' breath,  
 Into his body will draw their breath.  
 And since our breath is valuable,  
 Where he sees our spring,  
 Even there he will sit down among us;  
 Then seeking always the ways of pro-  
 longing life,  
 With thoughts bent on this, we shall  
 live.  
 Then also, that on following this we  
 may bend our thoughts,  
 For this in plain words I sent forth my  
 prayers.  
 He give us this child  
 That for a long time  
 In bonds of affection  
 We may live together,  
 These clear words were spoken,<sup>67</sup>  
 And to your fathers,  
 Wherever they stay,  
 You sent your clear words forth.  
 Indeed, even while I call myself poor,  
 Far off on all sides,  
 I have as my fathers life-giving priests.  
 Asking for their life-giving breath,  
 Their breath of old age,  
 Their breath of waters,  
 Their breath of seeds,  
 Their breath of riches  
 Their breath of fecundity,  
 Their breath of strong spirit,  
 Their breath of power,  
 Their breath of all good fortune whereof  
 they are possessed,  
 Asking for their breath,

<sup>61</sup> As soon as the altar is set up in the society room the father or uncle of the novice is summoned. He again gives the boy's ceremonial father a packet of prayer meal, thanking him for having cured his child. This meal is later distributed among all present.

<sup>62</sup> The retreat of the society begins. Their room becomes taboo to outsiders because of the presence of the divine ones.

<sup>63</sup> Three nights.

<sup>64</sup> On the fourth night.

<sup>65</sup> The novice is clothed and painted.

<sup>66</sup> His head is washed.

<sup>67</sup> By the man who first summoned the society for the curing rites

Into our warm bodies taking their  
breath,

We shall add to your breath.

Then also far off on all sides

I have fathers:

Priest of the north,<sup>68</sup>

Priest of the west,

Priest of the south,

Priest of the east,

Priest of above,

Priest of below;

Our sun father,

Our moon mother,

The sky,

The Milky Way,

The Great Bear,

The Pleiades,

The seed stars,<sup>69</sup>

And all the little sparkling stars,

Priests,

Asking for their life-giving breath,

Their breath of old age,

Their breath of waters,

Their breath of seeds,

Their breath of fecundity,

Their breath of riches,

Their breath of strong spirit,

Their breath of power,

Their breath of all good fortune whereof  
they are possessed,

Asking for their breath,

Into our warm bodies taking their  
breath,

We shall add to your breath.

Do not despise the breath of your  
fathers,

But draw it into your body.

That our roads may reach to where the  
life-giving road of our sun father  
comes out,

That, clasping one another tight,

Holding one another fast,

We may finish our roads together;

That this may be, I add to your breath  
now.

To this end:

May my father bless you with life;

May your road reach to Dawn Lake,

May your road be fulfilled.

ma' les'i fe'wanan'e

now this much time

ho'na'wan fe'upkunan'e

our child

i'me' kwa'tikoł we'aḡākā

perhaps some kind sickness because of

tse''mak i'natina

spirit failing

yan'hakun i'natina

breath failing

ton yam a'teonaḡā

ton your means of being

hom lu'knio tca'we

my these children

yam a'k-ā a'ci'na ya'na ḡowa kohan an ci''nan'e

their with it flesh completed corn white its flesh

ha'lawo'tinan'e

prayer meal

ye'lete'unapḡā

(you) prepared

li'wan ḡā'liciankwin ta'na

hither in the west direction

<sup>68</sup> The title "priest" seems to be applied to anyone endowed with the means of securing or bestowing blessings, regardless of whether they are human or immortal. The reference here is to supernaturals.

<sup>69</sup> Un unidentified constellation.

hon tsit i'laṗa

we mother having

ko'hakw o'kā

white shell woman

ho'tomacko'na i'miaḱinte

far off even though she stays permanently

le' lu'walan ya'tci hol li'la le''hatina

all village branches wherever here thus thinking

lo' i'cuḱāna'kona

shell which was rubbed off from her

to'pacol yam lo' i'loṗi'kona

just one your shell the one which was borrowed

lo'o

shell

u'tenan'e

clothing

ṭe'wus ya'nuḷana

prayer appointed

le' yam a'tatcu

all your fathers

o'na'ya'naḱä a'ciwan'i

life-giving priests

o'na'ya'naḱä ṗe'kwi'we

life-giving speakers

o'na'ya'naḱä a'pi'la'ci'wan'i

life-giving bow priests

le' ti'kā a'ciwan'i

all society priests

ti'kā ṗe'kwi'we

society speakers

ti'kā a'pi'la'ci'wan'i

society bow priests

ṭon a'wunu'lapnapkā.

you looked about among them

ḱes kwa'hol yu''he-tonan te'amapa

now something clear not being

ḱä'pin a'ho'i

raw persons

hom le'n a'nawana'wapa

me thus having guessed

ṭe'ḱoha'nan hom tca'we

daylight my children

ṭom ya'ni'to'na

to you revealing

hom le'n a'nawana'wapa

me thus having guessed

hom yu''ya-ḱāna'wapa

me having let know

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> hom a'tatcu  
 yonder my fathers  
 ho' yam ti'nan-la'ki'kona  
 wherever where they stay quietly  
 o'neala' kwai'ile-ka'ana-wapa  
 roads having made come out severally  
 yam ha'lawo'tinan i'leana  
 my prayer meal taking  
 lehok<sup>u</sup> te'luankwin ta'na  
 yonder to the east direction  
 ho' o'neal a'ka'ka.  
 I road made go  
 yam a'tatcu  
 my fathers  
 ya'nikto'na ye'lana  
 face to face standing  
 ho ha'lawo'tinan a'lea'upa  
 I prayer meal having given to them  
 ka'pin a'ho'i  
 raw persons  
 ho'man ha'lawo'tinan i'leana  
 my prayer meal taking  
 o'neal e'kuna-wapa  
 road going ahead  
 a'wa ma'sikwin e'layalu  
 their back (at) following  
 ka'lhok te'wus'a'ka hon o'neal a'kanapka.  
 hither prayer with we road made go  
 li'i yam te'kohanan tea'we.  
 here their daylight children  
 a'wan ka'cima te'li'tonankwi  
 their water room in  
 ka'pin a'ho'i  
 raw persons  
 o'neala' kwa'to'kana  
 roads making come in  
 i'tinan-la'ki'ka'pa  
 having sat down quietly  
 hon te'kohanana  
 we daylight in  
 i'yonan-e'latena  
 one another meeting  
 ho i'mila'ku'pa  
 I having sat down quietly  
 yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
 our prayer meal  
 lo''o  
 shell  
 u'tenan'e  
 clothing

yam fewusu ya'nula'kona  
our prayers the ones that were appointed

a'wana'u'lana  
drawing toward (us)

hon a'tate i'laḡona  
we fathers the ones [we] have

o'naya'naḡä a'eiwan'i  
life-giving priests

li'wan a'wan we'ciḡä o'naya'naḡä a'stecokta'a  
here their left life-giving palm

ha'lawo'tinan'e  
prayer meal

lo''o  
shell

u'tenan'e  
clothing

i'tiulaḡä tea'ana  
placed against when it was

hon a'tate i'laḡona  
we fathers the ones [we] have

yam ha'lawo'tinan'e  
their prayer meal

lo''o  
shell

u'tenan'e  
clothing

ya'tena-tsu'meḡänapḡä te'a'ana  
they held fast when it was

fe'kohanana  
in the daylight

hon ha'lawo'tinan aḡä  
we prayer meal with

lo' aḡä  
shell with

u'tenan aḡä  
clothing with

hon i'wiya'tent'su'meḡäḡä  
we one another held fast.

yam a'tatcu  
our fathers

a'wan o'naya'naḡä a'ntecemana  
their long life desiring

a'wan laḡiaḡä a'ntecemana  
their old age desiring

a'wan a'kwa'n a'ntecemana  
their medicine desiring

fewusu penan kwai'iḡäna  
prayer words sending out

ha'lawo'tinan aḡä  
prayer meal with



lo'' ak'ä  
shell with

u'tenan ak'ä  
clothing with

hon i'wiyaten-tsu'mekäkä.  
'we one another held fast.

yam teapkun an ha'lawo'tinan i'leana  
our child his prayer meal taking

lo'' i'leana  
shell taking

u'tenan i'leana  
clothing taking

le'hok te'luankwin ta'na  
yonder to the east direction

te'wusak'ä ho' o'nealan kwai'ikäkä  
prayer with I road made go out.

yam a'tatcu  
our fathers

a'wan o'naya'nakä o'nealan i'na'a  
their life-giving road coming in

ho' a'wona-e'latena  
we on their roads passed.

yam te'apkun an ha'lawo'tinan ak'ä  
our child his prayer meal with

an lo'' ak'ä  
his shell with

an u'tenan ak'ä  
his clothing with

yam te'apkun'e  
our child

ho' an te'kohanan ce'mana  
I for him life asking

yam he'cofakwi  
my house to

ho' o'neal i'käkä.  
I road made come.

käpin a'ho'i  
raw persons.

a'wan te'wusu pe'nan i'tulohapa  
their prayer word having gone around

te'kohanana i'yu'ya-käna  
in the daylight letting one another know

a'n'sume'na hon su'nhakänapkä.  
anxiously we came to evening.

tem fa a'tapana  
then again following them

tse'mak-te'akwi  
where our thoughts touch

yam tewanan i'liitun'ona  
their days the ones who are to have

pi'lotsi te'ona

willow male being

pi'loka te'ona

willow female being

hoł tcu w ha'lowi'li'kona

whoever the lucky one

a'kewulkwi'nakna

shoots pulling

a'wana-u'laḡāna

drawing them toward him

yam a'sin ḡānak'ā

his hand warm with

a'wiyaten-tsu'meḡāka.

he held them fast

yam nani'li te'ona

his grandfather the one who is

to'n'ots an a'wetuyan ḡa'in'e

turkey male his cloud robe

ḡā'ḡāl an ci'pololon u'teun'e

eagle his mist garment

lalhok o'lo'iḡaiakā wo'we

yonder summer birds

a'wan la'pihanan la'tan'e

their striped cloud wing

a'wan a'wetuyan ḡā'ten ak'ā

their cumulus cloud tail with

a'witela'ma

four times

te'liḡinan a'ḡa'una

prayer stick wrapping them

a'ho a'ya'ḡāna

persons finishing them

yam tsit'ili te'ona

our mother the one who is

ḡi'tsem oḡā

cotton woman

ḡo'ti ḡi''lenapte

rough cotton cord even

a'k'ā a'witela'ma ḡa'nulap i'kwian-te''cina

with it four times going around belt reaching

ḡā'cima la'cowa

rain hair feather

ho'i ya'ḡāna'wāḡa

person finishing it

yam tsit't i'lite'ona

our mother the one who is

ha'kwin o'ḡā

black paint woman

he'teł o'ḡā

clay woman

a'tcian      ci'nanak'ä  
           their            flesh with  
 a'k'ä    te'likinan    i'ci'nana  
           with it        prayer stick    giving it flesh  
 ho'ä    ya'kākā  
           person        he finished it.  
 yam a'tatcu  
           our            fathers  
 o'na'ya'nakä    a'ciwan'i  
           life-giving            priests  
 a'wan    pi'kän    a'kä    ho'i    ya'kāpa  
           their        mucous        with    person    having finished it  
 ho!    kāk'i    ke'si    le'anaḱāpa  
           whenever            now            having said  
 te'likinan    i'leana  
           prayer stick        taking  
 kāk'pin    a'ho'i  
           raw            persons  
 o'neal    e'kuna'waḱa  
           road            going ahead  
 a'wa    ma'sikwi    e'layälu  
           their        back        at        following  
 kāk'hok<sup>u</sup>    te'wusak'ä  
           hither            prayers with  
 hon    o'neal    a'känapkä.  
           we        road            made go.  
 yam    te'kohanana    tea'we  
           their        daylight        children  
 a'wan    kāk'cima    te'li'tonankwin  
           their        water            inner room (to)  
 kāk'pin    a'ho'i  
           raw            persons  
 o'neala    kwa'toḱāna  
           roads            making come in  
 yam    a's'in    ak'ä  
           their        hand        with  
 yam    te'apḱunan'e  
           their            child  
 kwa'ho!    we'akä    sa'mu    a'kä    ho'i    te'a'kona  
           some        sickness        evil        with    person    the one who had been  
 la'pana'na'waḱa  
           having drawn out  
 ho''na'wan    teapḱunan'e  
           our            child  
 yam    pi'kän    akä  
           his        mucous        with  
 te'likinan    ya'kāpa  
           prayer stick        having finished  
 te'likinan    i'leana  
           prayer stick        taking

yam te'apfunan'e

our child

kwa'ho! we'akā sa'mua-k'ä ho'i te'a'kona  
something sickness evil with it person the one who had been

la'pana'na

drawing out

te'likinan i'leana

prayer stick taking

hon o'neala kwai'ik'änapkä.

we road made go out.

ho! li'la le'hatina

wherever here thinking

hon a'tate i'lapona

we fathers the ones [we] have

o'naya'nakä a'ciwan'i

life-giving priests

o'naya'nakä pe'kwi-we

life-giving speakers

o'naya'nakä a'pi'la'ci'wan'i

life-giving bow priests

le'stiklea ho'na'wan a'lacina'we

furthermore our ancestors

li'la ti'kän i'lapkona

here societies the ones who belonged to

ti'kän a'mosi'kä

society they were chiefs

ti'kän pe'kwi-tea'ka

society speakers they were

ti'kän pi'la'ci'wan'ikäka

society bow priests they were

i'tsemak te'lakwi u'lo'ni'lap a'te'ona

their thoughts touching the world holding the ones who are

le'stiklea ho'na'wan a'lacina'we

furthermore our ancestors

ho' a'nilik' a'wanikwa'kona

people holding the ones who knew how

we'ma' a'ciwan'i

beast priests

kwa tcuw i'metcame ha'pona ko'kcikwi

not anyone left behind gathered together well where

ho a'wona-e'latena

I on their roads passing them

ho te'li'kinan a'leapa

I prayer stick giving to them

hom a'tateu

my fathers

ho'man te'likinan ya'tena-tsu'mekäna

my prayer stick holding fast

leho! yam teimi'kä'atekwi

there their the place of the first beginning

ci'papo'limakwi

at Cipapollma

i'yätiku po'ceyāṅṅi

ho'man te'likīnanak'ä

my prayer stick with

ya'eu' i'tulo'ḡāna

talk sending around

a'nisume'na su'nhaḡānapḡä

anxiously they came to evening.

hon yä'toḡä tate i'laḡ a'te'ona

we sun father having the ones who are

yam te'lacinakwi ye'lana kwa'toḡāpa

his ancient place standing having gone in

hon te'ḡaḡ' a'tate i'laḡona

we night fathers the ones (we) have

hon te'ḡaḡ' a'tsit i'laḡona

we night mothers the ones (we) have

yam te'lacinakwi i'luwakna kwai'ina

their ancient place arising coming out

ho'n a'wona-e'latena'wāpa

us on our roads having passed

hoḡ ḡä'ḡi ḡersi le'anaḡāpa

whenever now saying this

yam tate i'li te''ona

our father having the one

yam tsit i'lite'ona

our mother the one who is

ḡa''i ya'na

robed completely

a'tciana e'lemaḡāna

both making arise

a'tci o'neal e''kwiḡāna

their road going ahead

la'lik yam te'ḡohanan a'tatcu

near by our daylight fathers

a'wan ḡä'cima te'li'tokwi

their water room to

hon o'neal kwa'toḡāna

we road making go in

i'tinan-la'ḡikna

sitting down quietly

tem ta yam te'apḡunan an ha'lawo'tinan'e

and also our child his prayer meal

kwi'likānana

the second time

li'wanem yam a'tatcu

hither our fathers

a'wan we'ciḡ' o'naya'nak' a'stecokta

their left life-giving hollow of the hand

## ha'lawo'tinan'e

prayer meal

lo' ak' iyanhai'tena' i'wiyaten-tsu'mekāna  
 shell with presenting to one another holding one another fast

hoi k̄ā'ki ke'si le'aniḱāpa  
 whenever now saying

yam tatc i'li te'ona  
 our father having the one who is

yam tsit i'li te'ona  
 our mother having the one who is

pā'i ya'na  
 robed completely

a'teiana e'lemakāna  
 both making arise

a'teiana o'neal e'ḱwiḱana  
 their road going ahead

lehok te'luankwin ta'na  
 yonder to the east direction

te'wus a'ḱā hon o'neala kwai'iḱānapḱā.  
 prayers with we roads made go out.

hoi yam a'tatcu  
 where our fathers

a'wan o'naya'naḱā o'nealan i'nakwi  
 their life-giving road where it comes

a'wona-e'latena  
 on their roads passing them

ya'nikto'na ye'lana  
 face to face standing

yam te'apḱunan an ha'lawo'tinan'e  
 our child his prayer meal

lo'o  
 shell

yam a'tatcu hon a'leana  
 our fathers we giving to them

tem ta homoko'lea ha'lawo'tinan tewus' a'nuḱ ho'i ya'ḱā  
 and also whatever prayer meal prayer appointed person made

te'a'kona  
 one it was

pē'na yaḱtona  
 word laying on top.

yam te'apḱunan'e  
 our child

hon an te'kohanan ce'mana  
 we for him life asking

ho'na'wan a'tatcu  
 our fathers

o'naya'ḱa a'ciwan'i  
 life-giving priests

le'stiklea ho'na'wan a'ḱacina'we  
 furthermore our ancestors



li'ino ti'kän i'lapkona  
 here society the ones who had  
 lehok<sup>u</sup> k̄ä'cima te''wok̄änapk̄äna  
 yonder water place the ones who won  
 le'stiklea ho''na'wan i'yanik̄ina'we  
 furthermore our relatives  
 ho' a'nilik' a'wanikwa'kona  
 us looking after the ones who knew how  
 kwatcu'wa le'w i'metcame  
 no one so many missing  
 yam o'naya'nak̄ä le'apa  
 their long life carrying  
 yam la'ciağa le'apa  
 their old age carrying  
 ho'n a'wona-e'latena'wapa  
 us on (our) roads having passed  
 le'w we'ma a'pi'la'ci'wan'i  
 all beast bow priests  
 yam sa'wanik̄ä le'apa  
 their weapons carrying  
 ho'n a'wona-e'latena'wapa  
 us on (our) roads having passed  
 lu'kniak̄on o'neala e''kuna'wapa  
 these roads making go first  
 a'wa ma'sikwi e'layä'lu  
 their back at following  
 k̄ä'thok<sup>u</sup> te'wus ak̄ä  
 hither prayers with  
 hon o'neal a'k̄änapk̄ä  
 we road made go.  
 yam te'k̄ohanan tca'we  
 their daylight children  
 a'wan k̄ä'cima te'li'tonankwi  
 their water inner room (in)  
 a'wan to'wacanan te'li'tonankwi  
 their seed inner room (in)  
 k̄ä'pin a'ho'i  
 raw persons  
 o'neala kwa'tok̄äna  
 roads making come in  
 i'tinan-i'la'k̄ik̄ä te'a'ana  
 they sat down quietly when it was  
 te'k̄ohanan a'k' a'ho'i  
 daylight with persons  
 hon i'yona-e'latena  
 we one another meeting  
 i'tinan i'la'k̄ikna  
 sitting down quietly  
 hon a'tatc i'lapona  
 we fathers the ones [we] have

o'naya'nakā a'ciwan-i

life-giving priests

yam a's'in a'k'ā

their hand with

yam a'wehuyan k'ā'kwe ya'k'āna

their cloud house having completed

ci'pololon pe'wuna

mist blanket spread out

o'naya'nakā o'nealan a'k'āna

life-giving road sending out

k'ā'nakwe'nan ya'na ye'lete'una

spring complete having prepared

i'tinan la'kikna

sitting down quietly

lu'kniako k'ā'pin a'ho'i

these raw persons

yam te-apkunan'e

their child

u'nulapna'wapa

having looked all over

tem ta lu'kniakonte

and also these here

a'wan a's'in e'kwikuna

their hand going ahead

a'wan ya'nhakuna e'kwikuna

their breath going ahead

hon a'was-yā'luka.

our hands followed.

le'w to'wa ci'wan an le'tsilon pa'ni'nan tcawe

all corn priest his ladder descending children

ko'w a'ktsik la'na

somewhat boy large

ko'w k'ā'tsik la'na

somewhat girl large

a'won-e'kwinte te'ya ho'i te'ante

even those whose valuable person even though he is  
roads go ahead

kwa'tikol a'k'ā i'ken i'samuṭina

something because of heart becoming angry

yam sa'waniḱākā

his weapons with

ho'na'wan te'apkunan'e

our child

a'natsuma'kona

the one who injured (him)

k'ā'pin a'ho'i

saw persons

yu''ya'nam an sa'waniḱā

foolish one his weapons

hon a'tatc i'laḥona

we fathers the ones [we] have

we'ma a'pi'la'ci'wan-i

beast bow priests

yam yā'tokā ta'tcu an te'kohanakwi

their sun father his daylight (in)

lu'wana kwai'ikana'wapa

standing having made come out

ho''na'wan te'apkunan'e

our child

yam a'tatcu

his fathers

a'wan k̄ā'kwine

their living water

a'wan ci''nan'e

their flesh

i'k̄ā'kupa

drinking in

ko'wi yā'ton a'naḥa

little day having gone

ko'wi te'ḥinan a'naḥa

little night having gone

ho''na'wan te'apkunan'e

our child

an we'aḥā k̄ā'suana

his sickness decreasing

an ya'nkaḥunan i'kokcuḥāna

his breath becoming better

yam yā'tokā ta'tcu an o'nealan kwa''inakwi o'na ya'na'a

his sun father his road where it comes out [his] road completed

yam a'wiḥelin tsi'tana

his earth mother (on)

e'layälto lo''otipa

standing up strong

a'ntsume'na hon tewanan a'teḥāna

eagerly we time shall live

ho! k̄ā'ḥi ke'si le''anaḥāpa

whenever now having said

hon ya'onakā tsit i'lap a'teona

we moon mother having the ones

li'wan k̄ā'liciankwin ta''na

hither to the west direction

ko'wiṣa'na ye'ṣaḥāna

very small making herself visible

te'luankwin ta''na i'tiulana

(in) the east direction standing against

ho'i ya'ḥātunte'kwi ko'w a'nte'we'tcikwi

person about to become complete little space still remained for her

ho''na'wan k̄ä'nakwe'nan tca'we  
our spring children

holtcu'wa la'cina tse''makona  
whoever growing old the ones who thought

he'lawo'tinan i'leana  
prayer meal taking

lo' i'leana  
shell taking

o'nean i'leana  
corn pollen taking

o'neala kwai''ikāna  
roads making go out

ho! yam a'tatcu  
where their fathers

la'kwil pōi  
brush full of

a'wona-e'latena  
on their roads passing (them)

hotcuw' ha'lowi'li'kona  
whoever the one that was lucky

an sa'kwia  
his feet

ha'lawo'tinan lo''o  
prayer meal shell

o'nean'e  
corn pollen

a'leakna  
giving to them

a'kewulkwi'nakna  
the young shoots pulling

a'wana-ula'kona  
the ones he drew toward him

yam a's'in k̄ān ak'ā  
his hand warm with

a'wiya'ten-īsu'mekāna  
holding one another fast

yam nan i'li te''ona  
his grand father the one who is

ton ots an a'weluyan pa'in'e  
turkey male his cumulus cloud robe

k̄ä'k̄äl an ci'pololon u'tcun'e  
eagle his mist garment

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> o'lo'ik̄aiak̄ä wo'we  
yonder summer birds

a'wan la'pihanān la'tane  
their stepped cloud wing

a'wan a'weluyan k̄ä'ten'e  
their cumulus cloud tail

a'k' a'witela'ma  
with them four times

te'liḡinan a'ḡa'una  
prayer stick clothing (them)

a'ho' a'ya'ḡāna  
persons completing them

yam tsit i'li te'ona  
their mother having the one who is

ḡi'tsem oḡā  
cotton woman

ḡo'ti ḡi'lenapte  
even a rough cotton cord

a'witela'ma pa'nulapna ikwian-te''tci'na  
four times going around tied around reaching

ḡā'cima la'cowa  
water hair feather

te'liḡinaw' ho'i ya'ḡāna'wapa  
prayer sticks having made them into persons

yam tsit i'li te'ona  
their mothers having the one who is

ha'kwin o'ḡā  
black paint woman

he'tet o'ḡā  
clay woman

a'teian ci'nān te'liḡinan i'ci'nana ho'i-ya'ḡāpa  
their flesh prayer stick getting flesh into persons having made them

hol ḡā'ḡi ḡe'si le'anaḡāpa  
whenever now having said

te'liḡinan i'leana  
prayer sticks taking

yam teapḡunan an ha'lawo'tinan i'leana  
our child his prayer meal taking

le'hok<sup>u</sup> te'wus a'ḡā  
yonder prayer with

hon o'neala kwai'ileḡāna'wapa  
we roads having made go out severally

yam a'witelin tsit o'na-elatena  
our earth mother on her road passing

yam a'lacina'we  
our ancestors

yam tca'we  
our children

li'ḡno tik'ān i'lapkona  
here societies the ones who belonged to

le'stiklea yam a'tatcu  
furthermore our fathers

we'ma a'ḡi'la'ci'wan'i  
beast bow priests

hon a'wona-e'latena  
we on their roads meeting them

|                     |                    |                                  |                            |                |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| hon                 | te'liḡinan         | a'leana'wapa                     |                            |                |
| we                  | prayer stick       | to them                          | having given               |                |
| hon                 | yā tokä            | tate                             | i'lap'a'te'ona             |                |
| we                  | sun                | father                           | having the ones who are    |                |
| yam                 | te'iaci'nakwi      | i'muna                           | kwa'tokäuntewi             |                |
| his                 | ancient place      | sitting down                     | about to go in when it was |                |
| ko'w                | a'nte'we'teikwi    |                                  |                            |                |
| little              | space              | yet remained for him             |                            |                |
| la'ḡok <sup>u</sup> | le'si              | te'kwi                           |                            |                |
| under               | so many            | directions                       |                            |                |
| ho'na'wan           | a'tateu            |                                  |                            |                |
| our                 | fathers            |                                  |                            |                |
| o'naya'nakä         | a'ciwan'i          |                                  |                            |                |
|                     | life-giving        | priests                          |                            |                |
| ḡä'pin              | a'ho'i             |                                  |                            |                |
| raw                 | persons            |                                  |                            |                |
| kwa                 | le'nhol            | teuw                             | i'metcame                  |                |
| not                 | of all             | no one                           | left behind                |                |
| o'neala             | kwai'iḡäna         |                                  |                            |                |
| roads               | making come out    |                                  |                            |                |
| oneat               | i'ḡäna             |                                  |                            |                |
| road                | making come        |                                  |                            |                |
| yam                 | te'kohanan         | a'tsita                          |                            |                |
| their               | daylight           | mothers                          |                            |                |
| a'wan               | ḡäcima             | te'li'tonankwi                   | o'neala                    | kwa'toḡäna     |
| their               | rain               | inner room (in)                  | road                       | making come in |
| yam                 | ko'                | tcimiḡä'kowa                     | te'lia'na                  |                |
| their               | something          | according to the first beginning | imitating                  |                |
| a'weluyan           | ḡä'kwe             | ya'ḡäna                          |                            |                |
| cumulus cloud       | house              | making                           |                            |                |
| ci'pololon          | pe'wuna            |                                  |                            |                |
| mist                | blanket spread out |                                  |                            |                |
| o'naya'nakä         | o'nealan           | a'ḡäna                           |                            |                |
| life-giving         | road               | sending out                      |                            |                |
| ḡä'nakwai'inan      | ya'ḡäna            |                                  |                            |                |
| spring              | making             |                                  |                            |                |
| yam                 | a'mitolan          | pi'lan                           | a'una                      |                |
| their               | rainbow            | bow                              | putting down               |                |
| yam                 | wilolonan          | co'l                             | a'una                      |                |
| their               | lightning          | arrow                            | putting down               |                |
| i'tinan-ila'ḡiḡäpa  |                    |                                  |                            |                |
| having sat down     | quietly            |                                  |                            |                |
| a'wan               | sa'kwia            | i'mi                             | alana                      |                |
| their               | feet at            | sitting down                     | on it                      |                |
| le'si               | te'wanan'e         |                                  |                            |                |
| this much           | time               |                                  |                            |                |
| a'ntsume'na         | hon                | te'wanan                         | a'teḡäna                   |                |
| eagerly             | we                 | time                             | living                     |                |
| ḡes                 | le'nhol            | a'wan                            | te'mla                     | te'ewaḡa       |
| now                 | all                | their                            | everything                 | time past      |
|                     |                    |                                  |                            | when it is     |



ho'na'wan te'apkunan'e

our child

yam a'tateu a'wan o'nealan kwa'tona te'yapte

his fathers their road coming in even being valuable

o'neala kwa'to'kapa

roads making come in

hon a'tate i'lapona

we fathers the ones [we] have

yam ko'nhoi ho'i te'ona

their some kind person being

yam te'apkunan'e

their child

ho'i- ya'k'ana'wapa

having made him into a person

te'linan ko'kei

night good

ho'na tcawilaḡ a'wan'ewana

us children with coming to day

te'wapa ya'ton'e

the next day

hon ya'toka tate i'lap a'te'ona

we sun father having the ones

yam te'lacinakwi

his ancient place

ye'lana kwai'ikatekwi

standing came out when it was

ko-w' a'nte'wetcikwi

little space was left for him

yam ka'cima ko'kca'ä

our water clear with

yam ak' o'nawi'lap a'teona

our with it living the ones who are

hon a'ka yam te'apkuna ya'tena-tsumekana'wapa

we with it our children having held fast

ka'pin a'ho'i ke'la yam pinan te'lianapka te'a'ana

saw persons first their breath added when it was

tem ta lukniakonte

and also these here

te'wus a'pekana

prayers speaking

yam te'apkunan hon an pi'nan te'liana'wapa

our child we his breath having added (to)

yam a'tateu

his fathers

a'wan pi'nan a'na'na

their breath taking to him

yam ce'nakwinte pi'nan a'le'ton'a

his inside his body breath inhaling

ho'na'wan pi'nan te'yaḡa

our breath being valuable

holyam kã'nakwe'nan tũ'nağa te'a'ante  
 wherever spring he saw even where it is

i'mi-a'kcikna  
 sitting down among [us]

o'na-ya'akũ a'nĩapana  
 prolonging life following

hon te'tse'ma' te'lakwiĩan'a  
 we shall be bending our thoughts (to it)

tem ĩa hon a'tapana tse''mak-te'lakwiĩu'n'ona'kã  
 and also we following [this] in order that it may be that toward which our thoughts bend

yu''he'to te'wusu pe'nan kwai'i'ĩkãkã  
 plain prayer words came forth

ho'n te'apĩunan i'yanhaiteğa  
 to us child he gave

ta'canakwi ya'cuwa k'o'kci  
 for a long time talking together kindly

yam a'teaĩun'onakã  
 in order that it may be thus

yu''he'to te'wusu pe'nan kwai''ina  
 plain prayer words coming forth

yam a'tatcu a'tekwi  
 your fathers where they are

ĩom te'wusu pe'nan kwai'i'ĩkãnapkã.  
 for you prayer words sent forth.

ta'teic te'wuko'lia le'kwanante  
 while poor even though saying

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi ho' a'tatc i'li  
 yonder all directions I fathers have

o'na ya'nağã a'ciwan'i  
 life-giving priests

a'wan o'na ya'nağã pi''nan'e  
 this life-giving breath

a'wan ĩa'ciakã pi''nan'e  
 their old age breath

a'wan kã'cima pi''nan'e  
 their waters breath

a'wan ĩo'wacanan pi''nan'e  
 their seeds breath

a'wan u'tenan pi''nan'e  
 their wealth breath

a'wan te'apĩunan pi''nan'e  
 their children breath

a'wan tse''makwin ĩsu'me pi''nan'e  
 their spirit strong breath

a'wan sa'wanikã pi''nan'e  
 their power breath

a'wan kwahoĩ te'mla te'n'i ha'lowilin pi''nan i'laṣ a'teona  
 their something everything at all good luck breath whatever they have

pi''na: yai'ncemana

breaths asking from them

yam i'e'huł kãlnakwi

my body cavity warm in

pi''nan a'na'kwa'toḡãna

breath drawing in

to'man lon pi''nan te'liana'wa.

for you we breath will add (to).

tem ta la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le'si te'kwi ho a''tate i'li

and also yonder in all directions I fathers have

pi'cle a'ciwan-i

north priests

kã'lici a'ciwan-i

west priests

a'laho a'ciwan-i

south priests

te'maḡoha a'ciwan-i

east priests

i'yam a'ciwan-i

above priests

ma'nilam a'ciwan-i

below priests

yã'toḡã tate i'laḡa

sun father having

ya'onaka tsit i'laḡa

moon mother having

a''poyan'e

sky

yu'piyalan'e

Milky Way

kwi'lileḡakwi

the seven [Ursa Major]

i'pilaka

the close together [the Pleiades]

kũ'pa'kwe

the seeds

la'lhok<sup>u</sup> le' tsu'haḡa mo'yateuwe

yonder are sparkling stars

a'ciwan-i

priests

a'wan o'na-ya'naḡã pi''nan'e

their life-giving breath

a'wan la'ciaḡã pi''nan'e

their old age breath

a'wan kã'eima pi''nan'e

their waters breath

a'wan to'waconan pi''nan'e

their seeds breath

a'wan te'apḡunan pi''nan'e

their children breath

a'wan u'tenan pi''nan'e  
 their clothing breath  
 a'wan tse''makwin tsu'me pi''nan'e  
 their spirit strong breath  
 a'wan sa'wanikā pi''nan'e  
 their power breath  
 a'wan kwa'hoł te'mla te'n'i ha'lowilin pi''nan i'laṗ a'te'ona  
 their something everything at all good luck breath that they have  
 pi''nan yai'necemana  
 breath asking from them  
 yam fe'huł k̄ānakwi pi''nan a'na'kwa'to k̄āna  
 our body cavity warm breath drawing in  
 to'man lon pi''nan te'liana'wa.  
 for you we breath will add (to).  
 eł yam a'tateu a'wan pi''nan ya'tcita'nam'e  
 do not your fathers their breath (do not) despise  
 yam ce'lnakwi  
 your inside of body  
 pi''nan a'na'kwato k̄āna  
 breath drawing in  
 hoł yam yā'tokā tā'teu  
 where your sun father  
 an o'naya'nakā o'nealan kwai''lnakwi o'neal u'la  
 his life-giving road where it comes out road touching  
 i'piya-tsu'meṗa  
 hand in hand fast  
 i'yakna lo''oṗa  
 holding one another tight  
 yam i'yona ya'k̄āna a'teatun'onak'ā  
 your roads finishing that (you) may be the ones  
 toman lon pi''nan te'liana'wa ke'si.  
 for you we breath add to now.  
 fe'wuna' hom tateu  
 finally my father  
 tom fe'kohanan a'nikteia't'u  
 you life may he grant  
 hoł fe'luaiyan k̄aiakwi o'neal te''tcina  
 somewhere dawn lake road reaching  
 to o'na ya't'u  
 you road may [be] finished

#### PRAYER OF A SOCIETY CHIEF DURING HIS WINTER RETREAT

At the winter solstice all the societies observe retreats. After the images of the war god have gone into the kiva on the night before the first great prayer stick planting they hold late meetings at which special prayers are said for rain. There are special and very secret songs that are sung on this night only. They do not go into retreat formally until the next night. Three nights are spent mainly in prep-

aration for the great ceremony of the last night at which the sick are cured. On this night the beast gods are present in all the society houses, and take possession of those who have the secret knowledge of how to invoke them.

The following prayers purport to be those spoken by the heads of the Cuma'kwe and Ant Societies, respectively, at some time during this four-day retreat. The man who dictated it was not a member of either society and did not state the precise use of the prayers. Nor were my other informants familiar with them. Such prayers might be used on any one of a great number of occasions.

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| My life-giving fathers,<br>At the place called since the first<br>beginning Teipia,<br>You dwell.<br>Where the deer stands,<br>5 At Dry place you dwell.<br>My fathers,<br>Life-giving priests, there you dwell.<br>This day,<br>Here at Itiwana,<br>10 Our daylight fathers,<br>Our mothers,<br>Our children,<br>In their inner rooms<br>For their fathers,<br>15 Life-giving priests,<br>Perpetuating the rite handed down<br>since the first beginning,<br>Havespread out your cloud blanket,<br>Your life-giving road they have<br>made.<br>20 Your spring they have made.<br>Perpetuating the rite handed down<br>since the first beginning<br>You have sat down quietly before it;<br>At your back,<br>At your feet,<br>25 We shall sit down beside you.<br>Desiring your waters,<br>Your seeds,<br>Your riches,<br>Your long life,<br>30 Your old age,<br>Desiring these, I set you down<br>quietly.<br>As you sit here quietly<br>As I wish, according to my words,<br>You will take us to be your chil-<br>dren. | o'naya'nakā hom a'tateu<br>kā'kā tei'mi'kākā tei'pia<br><br>ton a'teaiye<br>na'isik e'lawā<br>5 te'kusnawa ton a'teaiye.<br>hom a'tateu<br>o'naya'nakā a'ciwan'i ton a'teaiye.<br>lu'kā yā'ton'e<br>li'la i'tiwanā<br>10 te'kohanan yam a'tateu<br>yam a'tsita<br>yam tea'we<br>a'wan te'li'to'a<br>hom a'tateu<br>15 o'naya'nakā a'ciwani'i<br>lu'kā yā'ton'e<br>yam ko'nhol tei'mi'kākā te'lia'na<br>yam a'weliyan pe'wuna<br>yam o'naya'nakā o'neatan ya''na'a<br><br>yam kā'nakwe'nan ya'na'a<br>yam ko'nhol tei'mi'kākā kowa te'-<br>lia'na<br>ton i'tinan la'kikā.<br>to'na'wan ma'si'a<br>to'na'wan sa'kwi'a<br>25 i'miya'welana<br>to'na'wan ka'cima<br>to'na'wan to'wacanan'e<br>u'tenan'e<br>o'naya'nakā<br>30 la'ciakā a'ntecemana<br>to'na ho' tinan-la'ku<br><br>ton i'tinan la'kikna<br>ko'nhol ho' a'ntecema pe'yena-<br>kowa<br>ho'na ton tea'wila'wa |
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| <p>35 So that all my children<br/>May be saved.<br/>All will be happy.<br/>Safely they will bring forth their<br/>young.<br/>So that all my children may finish<br/>their roads,<br/>So that they may grow old,<br/>40 So that you may bless us with life,</p> <p>So that none of my spring children<br/>May be left standing outside.<br/>So that you may protect us (I have<br/>done this).<br/>May our roads be fulfilled;<br/>45 May we grow old;<br/>May our roads reach to dawn lake;<br/>May we grow old;<br/>May you bless us with life.</p> | <p>35 a'kã hom tea'we te'mla a'te'ya-<br/>kãna<br/>te'mla i'fetsana<br/>e'letokna te'apku'na'wa</p> <p>a'kã hom tea'we te'mla a'wona-<br/>ya''an'a<br/>a'facian'a<br/>40 ho''na te'kohan'an fon ya'niktecia-<br/>na'wa.<br/>a'kã hom kã'nakwe'nan tea'we<br/>kwa teu'ho'e'la la'tsina te'amekãna<br/>a'kã ho''na a'te'ya'kãna</p> <p>hon a'wona-ya't'u<br/>45 hon a'facit'u<br/>te'luwaian kãi'kwi o'neala te''teina<br/>hon a'facit'u<br/>ho''na ton te'kohan'an ya'nikteci-<br/>an'a.</p> |
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## PRAYER OF THE CHIEF OF THE ANT SOCIETY

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| <p>At the place of the first beginning,<br/>Ci'papolima,<br/>Life-giving priests, abide.<br/>My fathers,<br/>5 Beast priests,<br/>Mountain lion,<br/>Bear,<br/>Badger,<br/>Wolf,<br/>10 My father above,<br/>Knife wing,<br/>Shrew,<br/>My fathers,<br/>Over all this great world you go<br/>about.</p> <p>15 Rattlesnake yellow,<br/>Blue,<br/>Red,<br/>White,<br/>Many colored,<br/>20 Black.</p> <p>Here at the place of your first be-<br/>ginning,<br/>Ci'papolima,<br/>In your inner room, you live.<br/>Your massed cloud blanket is<br/>spread out.</p> | <p>kã'kã teimi'kãkã<br/>ci'papo'lima<br/>o'na ya'nakã a'ciwan'i a'teaiye.<br/>hom a'tateu<br/>5 we'ma' a'ciwan'i<br/>ho'ktitaca<br/>ai'nce<br/>to'naci<br/>yu'nawi'ko.<br/>10 i'yamakwi tate'i'li te''ona<br/>a'tcials'ta'pa<br/>kã'lutsi<br/>hom a'tateu<br/>le' u'lo'nan la'na fon a'waluy'a.</p> <p>15 tei'tola lu'ptsina<br/>li''ana<br/>a'hona<br/>ko'hana<br/>i'to'pan'ona<br/>20 kwi'n'a<br/>te'mla li'la kã'kã tei'mi'kãkã</p> <p>ci'papolima<br/>te'li'ta fon a'teaiye.<br/>to''na'wan a'weluyan pe'wi'a</p> |
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- 25 Your life-giving road goes forth.  
 None of you are missing,  
 But all stay quietly.  
 Perpetuating your rite according to  
 the first beginning,  
 You live.
- 30 My fathers,  
 Life-giving priest,  
 With none missing, you live.
- Yonder my sacred word will reach.
- 35 To you I speak my sacred words.  
 My fathers,  
 Life-giving priest,  
 Perpetuating your rite according to  
 the first beginning,  
 You live.
- 40 Here at Itiwana we live.  
 Here in the daylight we live.  
 My fathers,  
 Life-giving priest,
- 45 Where none are missing,  
 You live.  
 Listen to my sacred words.  
 There you live.  
 To you I speak.  
 Mindful of my words,
- 50 My country,  
 Itiwana,  
 Cover with your clouds,  
 Cover with your rains,
- 55 All of your children preserve.
- Reaching to Dawn Lake,  
 May our roads be fulfilled.  
 May we grow old
- 60 May our peoples' roads all be fulfilled.  
 May they be preserved.
- 25 To'na-wan o'na ya'na'kã o'nealan  
 a'na'ye  
 el kwa teu'hol i'metcam'e.  
 te'mla ti'nan la'k'iye  
 yam ko'nhol tei'mi'kã'kowa te'lia'-  
 na  
 fon a'teaiye.
- 30 hom a'tatcu  
 o'naya'na'kã a'ciwan'i  
 el kwa teu'hol i'metcam'e  
 fon a'teaiye.  
 la'kon te'wu'su pe'na' te'tcina
- 35 to'na ho' te'wusu a'wampe'ye'a.  
 hom a'tatcu  
 o'naya'na'kã a'ciwan'i  
 yam ko'nhol tei'kã'kowa te'lia'na  
 fon a'teaiye.
- 40 li'la i'tiwan'a hon a'teaiye  
 fe'kohan'an hon a'teaiye  
 hom a'tatcu  
 o'na ya'na'kã a'ciwan'i  
 el kwa teu'hol i'metcam'e
- 45 fon a'teaiye.  
 ho'man te'wusu pe'na' yu'hatia'wa  
 fon a'teaiye.  
 to'na ho' a'wampe'ye'a  
 ho'man pe'na fon i'hatiana'
- 50 hom u'lo'nakwi  
 i'tiwan'akwi  
 fon lo'nana'wa  
 fon li'tona'wa  
 te'apkuna'we
- 55 te'mla a'te'ya'kãna  
 te'luwanan'e kã'akwi te'tcina  
 hon a'wona-ya't'u  
 hon a'la'cit'u  
 ho'na'wan a'ho'i
- 60 te'mla a'wona-ya't'u  
 a'te'ya't'u.

## PRAYERS FOR COLLECTING MEDICINE (CACTUS SOCIETY)

The expedition for gathering medicine roots camps the first night about sixteen miles east of Zuñi. Before eating, the customary offerings of food are set aside. After singing four songs, the head of the expedition prays:

Now this night,  
 Our night fathers.  
 Our mothers,

ma' lu'kã te'linan'e  
 hon te'lia'k a'tate i'la'pona  
 hon a'tsit i'la'pona

- 5 Rising a little, have come standing  
to their sacred place.  
The song sequence of our fathers  
You have heard.  
You who are our fathers,
- 10 Beast bow priests,  
Your hand leading,  
Our hands following,  
Desiring your medicine,  
Hither we take our roads.
- 15 Do not think to withhold it from  
us because of something,  
For verily,  
Desiring my fathers' flesh,  
That by which my children may  
fulfill their thoughts,
- 20 To-morrow, throughout a good  
day,  
A beautiful day,  
With us your children  
You will come to evening.
- 25 And when that day shall have  
passed,  
Anxiously waiting,  
We shall pass our days.
- yam te'lacinakwi  
5 ko'w i'luwakna ƛe'atopa  
yam a'tateu  
a'wan i'picienan te'na pi'lan'e  
to' yu'hatiaƛanapka.  
to'na hon a'tate i'laƛona  
10 we'ma a'pi'laci'wan-i  
to'na'wan a'sin e'kwi'kona  
ho'na'wan a'si ya'luƛana.  
to'na'wan a'kwan a'ntecemana  
li'ho hon a'wonaiye.  
15 et kwa kwa'ho' a'ka i'ya'suma  
te'ameƛana  
ƛes e'leanici  
yam a'tateu  
a'wan ci'nan a'ntecemana  
hom tca'we tse'makwi ya'ƛanap-  
kona'ka  
20 te'wan ya'ton'e  
ya'ton ko'kei  
ya'ton tso'ya  
ho'n tcawi'laƛa  
ton su'naƛana'wa  
25 isƛan te'wanan a'tunte'kwi  
a'n'tsume'na  
hon te'wanan a'teƛana.

He takes the offering, burns it at a little distance from camp, and sitting down, waits for some omen.

- Now this night  
Our night fathers,
- 30 Our mothers,  
Rising a little have come standing  
to their sacred place.  
Bringing food  
Hither with prayers
- 35 We made our road come forth.  
Wherever, thinking "Let it be  
here,"  
Our earth mother,  
We passed on her road.  
Sitting down on the bare ground,  
(We came to you,)
- 40 Our ancestors,  
The ones who here used to belong  
to societies,  
The ones who used to understand  
medicine,  
You who now have attained the  
far off place of waters;
- ma'lu'ka te'finan'e  
hon te'liaƛ a'tate i'laƛona  
30 hon a'tsit i'laƛona  
yam te'lacinakwi  
ko'w i'luwakna ƛe'atopa  
i'tonak' ho' i'leana  
ƛa'hok' te'wus a'ka  
35 hon o'neala kwai'iƛanapka.  
hol li'la le'hatina  
yam a'witelin tsi'ta  
hon o'na-e'latena  
an i'tafon i'tinakna  
40 yam a'lacina'we  
li'ho ti'ƛan i'lapkona  
a'kwa' yai'yu'yan a'tea'kona  
le'hok' ƛa'cina te'woƛanapkona

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
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| <p>Having passed you on your roads,<br/>         45 We shall add to your hearts.<br/>         Adding to your hearts<br/>         Your long life,<br/>         Your old age,<br/>         Your waters,<br/>         50 Your seeds,<br/>         Your medicine<br/>         You will grant to us,<br/>         How the days will be<br/>         You will make known to us.<br/>         55 Knowing that, we shall live.</p> | <p>fo'n hon a'wona-e'latena<br/>         45 fo'n hon a'wikena te'liana'wa<br/>         i'ken i'telia'na<br/>         yam o'na-yana'ka<br/>         yam la'cia'ka<br/>         yam ka'eima<br/>         50 yam fo'wacanan'e<br/>         yam a'kwan'e<br/>         ho'na fon ya'nhaitena'wa.<br/>         ko'nhol ie'wanan te'atun'ona<br/>         ho'na fon ai'yu'ya-ka'ana-wapa<br/>         55 u's ai'yu'ya'na<br/>         hon ie'wanan a'te'kan'a</p> |
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After praying, he waits for an omen. Next day they look for the plants. A young man going for the first time gives his ceremonial father a package of prayer meal, saying:

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
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| <p>Now this day,<br/>         Our sun father<br/>         60 Having come out standing to his<br/>         sacred place,<br/>         And having yet a little ways to go,<br/>         To go in to sit down at his other<br/>         sacred place,<br/>         Bringing prayer meal which I have<br/>         prepared,<br/>         65 Here near by,<br/>         At the very edge of the wilderness,<br/>         I have passed you on your road.<br/>         Desiring our fathers' medicine<br/>         We hold one another fast.<br/>         Desiring the medicine of our an-<br/>         cestors,<br/>         The ones who here belonged to<br/>         societies,<br/>         The ones who used to understand<br/>         medicine,<br/>         The beast priests.<br/>         75 Desiring their medicines,<br/>         With prayer meal,<br/>         With shells,<br/>         With rich clothing,<br/>         We hold one another fast.<br/>         80 My father,<br/>         You will cleanse your thoughts,<br/>         You will cleanse your heart,<br/>         So that somehow we may be the<br/>         children of the divine ones.</p> | <p>ma 'lu'ka ya'ton'e<br/>         hon ya'toka tate i'lap a'te'ona<br/>         yam ie'lacinakwi<br/>         60 ye'lana kwai'ika'ana<br/>         lopaka yam ie'lacinakwi<br/>         imuna kwatokatun te'kwi<br/>         ko'w a'ne'weteikwi<br/>         yam ha'lawotinan ye'lete'u'kowa<br/>         i'leana<br/>         65 lo'kwa le'wi te'a'a<br/>         ie'lupaltantapte<br/>         fom o'na-e'latena<br/>         yam a'tateu<br/>         a'wan a'kwan a'ntecemana<br/>         70 hon i'wiyafen-tsu'mekaka.<br/>         ho'na'wan a'lacina'we<br/>         li'ino ti'kan i'lapkona<br/>         a'kwa' yai'yu'ya'na a'tea'kona<br/>         we'ma a'pi'la'ci'wan'i<br/>         75 a'wan a'kwan a'ntecemana<br/>         ha'lawotinan a'ka<br/>         lo' a'ka<br/>         u'tenan a'ka<br/>         hon i'wiyafen-tsume'ka<br/>         80 hom ta'teu<br/>         fo' tse'mak i'kokcuna<br/>         fo' i'ken i'kokcuna<br/>         ko'lea ka'pin a'ho'i<br/>         ho' tea'wila'wa.</p> |
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- 85 Perhaps, if we are fortunate,  
Because of our thoughts  
Our spring children may multiply.<sup>70</sup>
- Among all the little boys  
And all the little girls,
- 90 And those whose roads go ahead,  
Our spring children have multiplied.  
In order that this toward which our  
thoughts bend may be accomplished,  
Desiring our fathers' medicine,
- 95 We have made our roads come  
hither.  
My father,  
For you I have finished all these  
words.  
Even while I call myself poor,  
Yonder on all sides  
From those whom my thoughts  
embrace,
- 100 I shall ask for light;  
I shall add to your breath.  
Asking for the breath of the priest  
of the north,  
The priest of the west,  
The priest of the south,
- 105 The priest of the east,  
The priest of above,  
The priest of below.  
Asking for their life-giving breath,  
Their breath of old age,
- 110 Their breath of waters,  
Their breath of seeds,  
Their breath of fecundity,  
Their breath of riches,  
Their breath of strong spirit,
- 115 Their breath of power,  
Their breath of all good fortune  
whereof they are possessed—  
Asking for this,  
Into my warm body  
I shall draw their breath.
- 120 In order that our roads may reach  
To where the road of our sun father  
comes out,  
In order that we may finish our  
roads,  
For this I add to your breath.  
To this end, my father,
- 85 ho'nkwat hon ha'lowilafa  
ho' tse'makwin a'kã  
ho'na' kã'nakwe'na te'apkuna'  
ci'wuna'kãna.  
k'w a'waksik a'łana  
k'w a'katsik a'łana  
90 a'won-a'we'kwinte  
ho'na'wan kãnakwe'na te'apku-  
nan ci'wunapkã  
i'skon tse'mak te'lakwi yam  
a'teatun'on a'kã  
yam a'tateu  
a'wan a'kwan a'ntecemana  
95 kãłhok' hon o'neal a'kãkã  
  
hom ta'teu  
le'wi to'man ho' pe'nan ya'kãkã.  
  
ta'tcie ho' te'wuko'liya le'kwa-  
nante  
la'łhok' le'si te'kwi yam tse'mak-  
te'lakwi'kona  
100 ho' te'kohanana yai'ncemana  
to'man ho' pi'nan te'łiana'wa.  
piel a'ciwan'i  
  
kã'łici a'ciwan'i  
a'la' a'ciwan'i  
105 te'mako a'ciwan'i.  
i'yam a'ciwan'i  
ma'nilam a'ciwan'i  
a'wan o'na-xa'nakã pi'nan'e  
a'wan la'ciakã pi'nan'e  
110 a'wan kã'cima pi'nan'e  
a'wan to'wacanan pi'nan'e  
a'wan te'apkunana pi'nan'e  
a'wan u'tenan pi'nan'e  
a'wan tse'makwin tsu'me pi'-  
nan'e  
115 a'wan sa'wanikã pi'nan'e  
a'wan kwa'ho' te'mla pi'nan i'laß  
a'te'ona  
yai'ncemana  
yam te'ul kã'łnakwi  
pi'nan a'na'kwato'kãna  
120 yam ya'tokã ta'teu  
an o'neal an kwai'ınakwin o'neal  
te'tcina  
yam i'yona-ya'kãnapun'ona  
  
to'man to pi'nan te'łiana  
te'wuna' hom ta'teu

<sup>70</sup> By means of medicine knowledge he will secure new members for the society.

125 May you be blessed with light. | 125 łom łe'kohanana a'niktciatu.

To this the father replies:

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| <p>Now indeed<br/>Our fathers' medicines</p> <p>To one another we give.</p> <p>130 Our fathers' life-giving breath,<br/>Their breath of old age,<br/>(We give to one another.)<br/>When, among all the corn priests'<br/>ladder descending children,<br/>Some evil causes sickness,</p> <p>135 When the spirit fails,<br/>Then, desiring their fathers' long<br/>life,<br/>Desiring their old age,<br/>Desiring their medicine,</p> <p>140 Among all their fathers,<br/>Society priests,<br/>Society ɓekwins,<br/>Society bow priests,<br/>They will look about.</p> <p>145 Even though you do not know of it,<br/>If the divine ones choose you,</p> <p>When they summon you<br/>You shall not think to refuse.</p> <p>150 With prayer meal,<br/>With shell,<br/>With rich clothing,<br/>They will bind you fast.<br/>Then seeking these wherever they<br/>are,</p> <p>155 Even though the night be danger-<br/>ous,<br/>Following your fathers,</p> <p>Even to all the places where you<br/>did not think to enter,<br/>Seeking these,</p> <p>160 Living for their thoughts,<br/>Thus shall you live.<sup>71</sup></p> | <p>ma' la'kiman-te<br/>yam a'tateu<br/>a'wan a'kwan'e<br/>hon i'yan hai'tekā</p> <p>130 hon a'tate i'laɓona<br/>a'wan o'naya'nakā pi''nan'e<br/>a'wan la'ciaḡā pi''nan'e<br/>le' ło'wa ci'wan an le'tsilon ɓa'ni-<br/>nan tca'we<br/>kwa'tik we'aḡā ḡā</p> <p>135 tse''mak i'natina<br/>yam a'tateu<br/>a'wan o'naya'nakā a'ntecemana<br/>a'wan la'ciaḡā a'ntecemana<br/>a'wan a'kwan a'ntecemana</p> <p>140 le' yam a'tateu<br/>ti'ḡā a'ciwan'i<br/>ti'ḡā ɓe'kw'iwe<br/>ti'ḡā a'pi'la'ciwan'i<br/>a'wan u'lapnaḡāwa.</p> <p>145 tekwant te'atiɓa<br/>ḡā'pin a'ho'i<br/>hol łom a'nawana<br/>łom a'ntecematina'ḡāɓa<br/>kwa ło' e'lamana tse'ma'cukwa</p> <p>150 ha'lawo'tinan a'ḡā<br/>lo' aḡā<br/>u'tenan a'ḡā<br/>łom ya'fena-tsu'meḡānaḡāɓa<br/>lu'kni a'ɓapana</p> <p>155 hol łe'liaḡā a'fanapte</p> <p>yam a'tateu<br/>a'wan e'la ya'lu<br/>hol yam kwa kwa'totun te'ameḡā<br/>te'a'konatapte<br/>lu'kni a'ɓapana</p> <p>160 lu'kni a'wan tse''makwin a'ḡā<br/>ło' ho'i te'ḡāna</p> |
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<sup>71</sup> Dictated by a member of the Cactus Society. The remaining prayers were withheld.

## PRAYER FOR STALKING DEER

When a hunter sees deer tracks he crouches down in the trail and offers prayer meal to the deer, with the request that he may reveal himself. The following text is taken from a folk tale in which success in hunting is the test imposed on suitors. Several suitors fail because they neglect to offer prayer meal to the prey.

|                                              |                                       |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| This day                                     | lu'ka ya'ton'e                        |
| He who holds our roads,                      | ho'n a'wona'wi'lona                   |
| Our sun father,                              | ho'na'wan ya'toka ta'teu              |
| Has come out standing to his sacred place.   | yam te'acinakwi                       |
| Now that he has passed us on our roads,      | ye'lana kwai'ika'ka.                  |
| Here we pass you on your road.               | ho'n a'wona-e'late'atea'a             |
| Divine one,                                  | li'l to'na ho' a'wona-e'late'ka.      |
| The flesh of the white corn,                 | ka'pin ho'i                           |
| Prayer meal,                                 | to'wa ko'han an ci'nan'e              |
| Shell,                                       | ha'la wortinan'e                      |
| Corn pollen,                                 | to'o                                  |
| Here I offer to you.                         | o'nea'we                              |
| With your wisdom                             | li-to'na ho' a'lea'u'pa               |
| Taking the prayer meal,                      | yam a'nikwanan a'ka                   |
| The shell,                                   | ha'lawa'tinan'e                       |
| The corn pollen,                             | to'o                                  |
| This day,                                    | o'nean i'leana                        |
| My fathers,                                  | lu'ka ya'ton'e                        |
| My mothers,                                  | hom a'tateu                           |
| In some little hollow,                       | hom a'tsita                           |
| In some low brush,                           | hol ko'wi te'coka tsa'na              |
| You will reveal yourselves to me.            | la'-isana                             |
| Then with your flesh,                        | hom to' ai'yetsaka'kana'wa'pa         |
| With your living waters,                     | to'na'wan ci'nan a'ka                 |
| May I sate myself. In order that this may be | to'na'wan ka'kwin a'ka                |
| Here I offer your prayer meal.               | yam yu''yackwi te'atun'ona'ka         |
|                                              | li'l to'na ho' ha'lawa'tinan a'lea'u. |





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# ZUÑI KATCINAS

AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

By RUTH L. BUNZEL



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# ZUÑI KATCINAS: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

By RUTH L. BUNZEL

## PART I. AN ANALYSIS OF THE KATCINA CULT AT ZUÑI

### INTRODUCTION

The Katcina cult is one of the six major cults of Zuñi, and might indeed be called the dominant Zuñi cult. It includes many of the most beautiful and spectacular ceremonies, and the ceremonies which attract the most popular attention. Furthermore, it is the one cult which personally reaches all people, since all males belong to it and are required to participate in its ceremonies. Moreover, at the present time it is an ascendant cult. At a time when the societies are declining in membership, and the priesthoods experience difficulties in filling their ranks, when ceremonies lapse because no one competent to perform them survives, the Katcina Society is extending its activities. More katcina dances are held each year than in Mrs. Stevenson's time, and the dances last longer. It is true that some of the older dances are no longer performed, but on the other hand for each dance that lapses two new ones are introduced. It is the most vital, the most spectacular, and the most pervasive of Zuñi cults; whatever foreign elements it may at one time or another have incorporated, its ideology and form are aboriginal and characteristic, and for the average Zuñi it is the focal point of religious, social, and æsthetic experience.<sup>1</sup>

### THE NATURE OF KATCINAS

The Katcina cult is built upon the worship, principally through impersonation, of a group of supernaturals called in Zuñi terminology *koko*. The myth of their origin is given on page 604.<sup>2</sup> The *koko* live in a lake, *Hatin ġaiakwi* (whispering spring), west of Zuñi, near St. Johns, Ariz. In the bottom of this lake they have a village (*Koġuwawawa*, katcina village) reached by ladders through the lake. Here they spend their time singing and dancing, and occasionally they come to Zuñi to dance for their "daylight" fathers. They live

<sup>1</sup> A brief discussion of the katcina cult and its position in Zuñi life is given on pp. 516 to 525.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the English version by Cushing (Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths, p. 403 ff.) and Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, pp. 32-34).

on the spiritual essence of food sacrificed to them in the river, and clothe themselves with the feathers of prayer sticks. They turn into ducks when traveling back and forth to Zuñi.

The first katecinas were the children of humans lost through contact with contamination, unwilling sacrifices to atone for sin. By origin and later association they are identified with the dead. Mortals on death join the katecinas at katecina village and become like them.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to being identified with the dead the katecinas are also especially associated with clouds and rain. When they come to dance they come in rain. They are equivalent to the Shiwana of Keresan pueblos.<sup>4</sup>

In ancient times the katecina used to come to Zuñi to dance for their people in order that they might be gay. But always when they left someone "went with them," that is, died, and so they decided not to come any more. But they authorized masked dances and promised "to come and stand before them."<sup>5</sup> So now when a katecina dance is held the katecinas come merely as rain, and no one dies. So the institution of masked dancing, originated according to legend to assuage the loneliness of parents for their lost children, has become a rain-making ceremony.

The power of katecina ceremonies resides in the masks which, whether ancient tribal property or individually owned modern masks, are believed to contain divine substance, by means of which the

<sup>3</sup> Exceptions to this are noted.

<sup>4</sup> Cochiti:

"The kachina embody the spirits of the dead but are rarely thought of as special individuals. However, resemblances to recent dead have been pointed out at the time of a kachina dance, though this is so rare that any theory of ancestor worship has been discarded. The kachina of this village are also called shiwanna 'thunderclouds,' and so are closely linked with the rainmaking powers."—Goldfrank, 34.

"At Laguna kachina and thunderclouds are in different categories, nevertheless the former also help along the general welfare."—Goldfrank, 35, footnote.

"The shiwanna are gods who give rain, health, life; in short, everything that makes for the welfare of man. It is mostly in their visits to the pueblo that they bring these benefits."—Dumarest, 174.

"The sinless go at once (from Shipapu) to Wenima and become shiwanna." When Uritsete wants rain she sends prayer sticks to the shiwanna, who climb into a huge bowl filled with water. This rises into the sky and the shiwanna dip out water with their prayer sticks.—Page, 173.

The men all know that the shiwanna are men, since they have all danced in the kachina. But they think that in putting the sacred mask on their head they take on the holy personality. They think the spirits of the shiwanna are within these masks and that thus they visit the pueblos. If it happens to rain during a dance, the shiwanna sometimes gesture as if to say, "I am making the thunder, I am sending down the rain."—Page 175.

Acoma.

The katecina are exactly like the masked dancers in appearance. They used to come to the village and dance for the people and bring them gifts of food and other necessities. After the people began to grow their own food, the katecina came to dance when the fields were dry and thirsty.

After the great fight with the people the katecina refused to come to the village, but gave the people permission to copy their appearance in masks. (White.)

Among the Hopi they are cloud beings and local spirits inhabiting springs. We know almost nothing of the ideology of the katecina cult among the Tewa.

<sup>5</sup> See Komosona's talk, p. 604.

kadcina whose representation is worn "makes himself into a person" (ho'i ya'ke'a). Masks are treated with the utmost reverence. The awe which Zuñis feel for all sacred and powerful objects is intensified in this case by the fact that masks are representations of the dead, and, indeed, the very substance of death. Therefore the use of masks is surrounded by special taboos. One must never try on a mask when not participating in a ceremony, else one will die. One must never use human hair or the hair of a live horse on a mask, else that person or horse will surely die. If one is incontinent during a kadcina ceremony the mask will choke him or stick to his face during the dance.

The kadcinas are very intimate and affectionate supernaturals. They like pretty clothes and feathers; they like to sing and dance, and to visit. Above all they like to come to Zuñi to dance.

The folk tales about individual kadcinas in the following pages describe them at home in their kitchens, scrambling for their feathers at the solstices, quarreling amiably among themselves, meddling in one another's affairs. They have a village organization similar to that of Zuñi. Pautiwa is "the boss," as Zuñis say. His pekwin, who delivers his messages, is Kāklo. His principal administrative duties seem to be to keep his people quiet long enough to give a courteous welcome to visitors, to receive messages from Zuñi, and to decide when to dance there and who shall go. Pautiwa "makes the New Year" at Zuñi. His representative brings in the Ca'lako crook and crooks for other special ceremonies such as the initiation and the dance of the Kāna'kwe, thus determining the calendar of kadcina ceremonies for the year. Whenever the people at Zuñi decide they want one of the regular kadcina dances they send prayer sticks to kadcina village (kiva chiefs plant prayer sticks four days before a dance) and Pautiwa decides whom to send.

Hämoqatsik, the mother of the kadcinas, looks after their clothing when they prepare for dances.

In addition to the official visits of the kadcinas when invited with prayer sticks, they sometimes pay unexpected visits on missions of good will. They come to plant and harvest for deserted children, to affirm the supernatural power of the pious and despised. Pautiwa visits in disguise poor and despised maidens, and leaves wealth and blessing behind him. Kadcinas in disguise bring proud girls to their senses by the amiable disciplinary methods so characteristically Zuñian.

In reading these folk tales we can not but be struck by their resemblance in feeling tone to tales of medieval tales of saints and angels—such tales as that of the amiable angel who turned off the wine tap left open by the monk who was so pious that he didn't

even stop to turn off the tap when summoned for prayer.<sup>6</sup> The particular situations in which kateinas prove helpful and their special techniques differ, of course, from those of saints and angels. Medieval saints do not ordinarily humble proud maids by contriving in spite of impossible tests to sleep with them and so instruct them in the delights of normal human association and the advantages of humility. But in spite of these differences the popular attitudes and feeling for the rôle of supernaturals in commonplace human affairs are curiously similar. Undoubtedly this modern folklore concerning kateinas has been strongly colored by Catholic influences.

But for all their generally amiable and benign character, there is a certain sinister undertone to all kateina ceremonies. It is said more often of the kateinas than of other supernaturals that they are "dangerous." The kateinas inflict the most direct and dramatic punishments for violation of their sanctity. If a priest fails in his duties, he does not get rain during his retreat, he may suffer from general bad luck, he may become sick and may even die if he does nothing to "save his life." But the kateina impersonator who fails in his trust may be choked to death by his mask during the ceremony. There is always a certain feeling of danger in wearing a mask. In putting on a mask the wearer always addresses it in prayer: "Do not cause me any serious trouble." A man wearing a mask or, in kateina dances without mask, one wearing kateina body paint, is untouchable. He is dangerous to others until his paint has been washed off. Zuñi watching kateinas dance shrink from them as they pass through narrow passages, in order not to touch their bodies.

The first kateinas were children sacrificed to the water to atone for sin; afterwards when they came to dance, bringing their blessing of rain and fertility, "they took some one with them"; that is, they exacted a human life from the village.<sup>7</sup> It was only when masks were substituted for the actual presence of the kateinas that this heavy toll was lightened.

There are hints in ritual that ideas of human sacrifice may lie but a little way beneath the surface in the concept of masked impersonation. The great ceremony of the Ca'lako opens with the appointment of a group of impersonators of the gods. For a year they are set apart. They do no work of their own. In the case of the Saiyatata party they even assume the names of the gods whom they are to impersonate. At the end of their term of office they have elaborate ceremonies in which they appear in mask; that is, in the regalia of death. After all-night ceremonies they depart for the home of the dead. "Everyone cries when they go," as a Zuñi informant says. "It is very sad to see them go, because we always think that we shall

<sup>6</sup> Saints also are the blessed dead.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. this with the myth of the origin of death, where a child is sacrificed to the first sorcerer in return for the gift of seeds.

never see them again." The final ceremony of the departure of the Ca'lako is especially suggestive of this interpretation. When out of sight of the village the Ca'lako are pursued by young men. When caught they are thrown down and killed, and the mask is treated like the body of a fallen deer—"for good luck in hunting."<sup>8</sup> On returning the impersonators are met outside the village by their aunts and taken at once to their houses to be bathed before they are safe for human contact.

Identification with the god, and the killing of the god, for fecundity, as found in ancient Mexico, seem to be ideas in keeping with Zuñi concepts. But Zuñi temperament would repudiate the bloody sacrifice. It may well be that the particular technique of impersonation, with its atmosphere of the sinister and dangerous, is the symbolic representation of the extirpated fact. Tales of the former existence of human sacrifice in the pueblos continually crop up.

Frazer, quoting Bourke, gives an account of the sacrifice of a youth at the fire festival (tribal initiation) of the Hopi.<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Stevenson refers to the report of human sacrifice at Zia. There are cases of human sacrifices for fertility among the Pawnee and the Sioux. The prevalence of all forms of human sacrifice among the Aztecs is too well known to require comment. Among the Aztecs, however, are found two striking features: The dancing of priests in the flayed skin of the sacrificial victim, and the identification of the sacrificial victim with the god, as, for example, in the sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca. In the battle with the katchinas at Acoma the katchinas are ritualistically slain so that their blood may fertilize the earth. In the prayers of the scalp dance there are frequent allusions to blood as a fertilizing medium, so possibly the whole complex of human sacrifice is not so remote historically or conceptually as might at first appear.

The persistent rumors of an early prevalence of human sacrifice in the pueblos may be without foundation, but the reworking of a cult that once included human sacrifice is quite in accord with pueblo tendency to absorb ritual from all sides and mitigate all its more violent features.

### THE POWER AND USE OF MASKS

The Katchina cult at Zuñi revolves about the fetishistic power imputed to the mask. The myth of the origin of masks is to be found on page 604. The word koko is used alike of the being impersonated and the mask wherein resides the power of transformation. The mask is the corporeal substance of the katchina, and in wearing it a man assumes the personality of the god whose representation he bears. The Zuñi expression for this process of transformation is

<sup>8</sup> This is the one part of the Ca'lako ceremony that I was not permitted to see.

<sup>9</sup> Golden Bough, 4: 215.



"to make him (the god) into a living person" (ho'i ya-ḡānakä).<sup>10</sup> The mask, therefore, is an object whose sacredness is equaled only by that of the rain-making bundles of the priests. The mask partakes of the attributes of the god. It "makes the house valuable" and protects its occupants from misfortune. And it insures to its owner powerful supernatural connections which will determine his status after death.

There are two types of masks. One type is ancient and permanent. These masks are regarded as the actual masks given by the supernaturals when the institution of masked dancing was organized. These masks are held as tribal property and are handed down through the generations. Each one represents a named and individualized god, one of the priestly rulers of the village of the katcinas. Each mask is held in trust by a self-perpetuating group, which may also be the trustee of its complex esoteric ritual. The masks are kept in sealed jars in houses from which they are never taken except for their public ceremonies, and the guardianship of the mask descends through the maternal lineage that occupies the house in which it is kept. These masks are taken out only with great ceremony by persons specially authorized to handle them. They are regarded as very "dangerous." Before wearing such a mask a man must sacrifice food in the river to his ancestors and to his predecessor in office. After wearing he must plant prayer sticks (sometimes the planting of prayer sticks is part of the public ceremony) and observe continence for four days. These permanent masks are never made over into the likenesses of other katcinas. Under exceptional circumstances they may be renewed, but the old mask is not destroyed. This type of mask is found among the Hopi (in addition to personal masks) and, so far as I have been able to learn, is the only type found in the Keresan villages. Here the guardianship of these masks is intrusted to a single individual (the katcina chief), who keeps them "in his own secret place," outside the village.

There exist in Zuñi, in addition to these ancient and permanent masks, others which are individual property, which a man has made to serve as his personal fetish so long as he lives, and as his guarantee of status after death. These are the masks that are used in group dances, and which I have therefore designated as the masks of dancing katcinas, to distinguish them from the priest katcinas. Every man of any standing in Zuñi possesses one or more such masks. A man will have a mask made as soon as he is able to afford the expense involved. Later he will have another of different form made, so that whatever dance his kiva may present he may always dance in his own mask. When he dies the masks are dismantled and buried for his use at katcina village. Then whenever dances are held at Zuñi he

<sup>10</sup> See prayer of Pautiwa, p. 699.

may return in spirit to visit his people, wearing the mask which he wore in life. If he has no mask he can not be sure of returning, unless he has been intimately connected with some cult group. Priests possess *et'ow'e*, members of the higher orders of medicine societies possess *miwe*, bow priests possess *lacowan lan'a* and other regalia. All of these things give protection and security, and are bonds with powerful supernatural forces. A man who possesses none of these and has no ceremonial affiliations outside of the *katsina* society will be especially eager to possess a mask "to save his life" and "to make him valuable."

The following is a native account of the manufacture and care of masks.

"When a man wants to have a mask made they will make it for him in the winter. If a man is poor he can not have a mask. Everyone would like to have a mask of his own and if a man is poor he will sell his beads to buy sheep for the feast. Long ago when the people had deer meat the men who were good hunters had their masks. A man will not say, 'I want my mask made,' for that is dangerous.<sup>11</sup> So if a man wants to have a mask made he will work very hard in the spring. He will plant a great deal and he will work very hard all summer so as to have good crops. Then after the crops are gathered in he will say to his wife, 'Now I want my mask made.' He will say this to his wife and his people. 'That is why I have worked so hard.' No one will say to him, 'Do not do it; we are poor people and can not afford it.' No one will tell him that. They will all be glad because they want something valuable in the house to pray for.

"When the turn of his *kiva* comes in the winter dance series he will practice with them. Then while they are practicing he will go to the *kiva* chief and say to him, 'You will let me know, my father, four days before we are going to dance. I want my father to be made into a person.' Then all the people of his *kiva* will be very glad. They always want more masks in their *kiva*. Then the *kiva* chief will say to him, 'I am very glad. I will let you know. Now you will see if you have all the materials.'

"Then the man gets the materials. Long ago the old masks were made of buckskin, but now they are made of tanned leather. They can get good leather in the store, so they get it there. But before they had stores the people used buffalo hide or buckskin. When my father was a boy they used rawhide with the hair removed and pounded with stones and greased to make it soft. The young man prepares the hide and takes it to the director of the *kiva*. Then he gets deer sinew to sew it with.

"If a man wants a helmet mask he will ask for it when they are dancing *Hilili* or something in which they use that kind of mask.

<sup>11</sup> Because the *katsinas* are the jealous dead and must always be treated circumspectly.

If he wants a face mask he will ask when they are going to dance KoKokci. Now, if he wants a helmet mask the headmen of the kiva will take coarse white sand and spread it on the floor and wet it, and bury the cowhide in it to make it soft. They will leave it there for several hours. Then they will call in the man who wants the mask and they will measure his head. They measure around the top of his head and from the top of his forehead to the tip of his chin. Then they measure the leather. For the distance around they measure with the thumb and middle finger, and for the height of the face they measure fingerwidths. Then the kiva chief measures and cuts the leather. He cuts a rectangular piece to go around the head and a circular piece for the top of the head. Then he holds the pieces of leather against the man's head to see if they are right. Then the leather is put back in the wet sand. While the leather is in the sand he rolls the deer sinew for sewing. He takes long strips of sinew and rolls them against his thigh to make them strong. He rolls enough sinew so as not to have to make more while he is sewing. He leaves the leather in the sand for about an hour and a half. Then he takes out the strip for the face and sews the two ends together down the back. The sewing must be done very tightly and with very fine stitches so that it will not rip later. Then he sews on the top very tight. The top is still just a flat piece of leather. The two head men of the kiva (otaḱāmosi and wo'le) take turns in sewing on the mask, for it is hard work. It takes about two days to sew the mask. This is all done at the house of the kiva chief (otaḱāmosi) where the men come to practice their songs. While they are making the mask they tell the kiva people not to come in the daytime to work on their own masks, but they continue to come at night to practice.

"When they have finished the sewing they call in the man for whom the mask is being made and they try it on him. They ask him if it hurts him in any place and if it is too long they trim it off around the bottom. The man keeps it on for a little while and it takes the shape of his head because the leather is still soft. After it is perfectly comfortable they take it off and say, 'Now we shall make its shape right.' Then the man goes out. Then they sprinkle water on the sand to make it wet, and put the sand into the mask. They pack it down very hard. Then they rest. They set the mask down on the floor and cover it so that no one will see it and they go out.

"The mask is made during teckwi, between the time when the kiva heads plant prayer sticks for the dance and the day when the dance is to be given. In the kivas where they have only two days teckwi before a dance they start to sew on the mask before they plant their feathers, but it is always finished during teckwi. During this time the man's people are all busy preparing food for the members of the kiva. His wife and his sisters and all his female relatives grind for

him. He brings in much wheat and corn and he kills 8 or 10 sheep for the feast.

"After the mask has been standing for two or three hours the kiva heads go back and empty out the sand. They take a round stick and work around the inside to give it a good shape. When they are finished they set it to dry in the sun under the hatchway. As soon as it is dry they call the man in again. This is the same day. They try the mask on him, and now it fits perfectly. While he has it on they feel his face through the mask and mark the places for the eyes and mouth. Then they take it off and the man goes out. Then they take a needle and prick holes where the marks are. They used to use needles of deer bone, but now they use any kind. They take a sharp knife and cut little square holes for the mouth and eyes. Then they call the man again. He must go out while they cut the eyes, but they tell him to come back soon. When he comes in they try the mask on him and tell him to look out. He looks all around and says, 'Now it is right.' While he has it on they mark on the sides the places for the chin straps. Then he takes it off and goes out. After he has gone they sew on two straps of buckskin to tie under the chin. They sew about four sets of shorter strips to the base of the mask to fasten on the collar of spruce or feathers or fur, and little strips on the top and back for the other feathers.

"After they have finished the kiva chief goes to his corn room. He gets all kinds of seeds, one grain of each kind, six kinds of corn and six kinds of beans and watermelons and squash and pumpkins and piñon and all kinds of wild seeds (kāvawole). He takes them out with him and when they have finished the mask he removes the shells from the corn and the beans and the piñon and the watermelon seeds and takes them into his mouth and chews them. Then he sits down facing the east holding the mask and says:

|            |        |               |                |               |            |                |     |                       |
|------------|--------|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------|----------------|-----|-----------------------|
| Si         | kesi   | tom           | ho'            | ho''i         | ya·k̄āpa.  | Hom            | to' | tatcili·k̄ān'a.       |
| Now        |        | you           | I              | a live person | completed. | Me             |     | your father will have |
| Tom        | ho'    | toconanaka    | ho''i          | ya·k̄āpa      | to' yam    |                |     |                       |
| you        | I      | seeds with    | a live person  | completed.    | You your   |                |     |                       |
| tse'makwin | tsume  | ho'na         | yani·kt̄ciana. | Holo          | awan       | tewan          |     |                       |
| spirit     | strong | to us         | will grant     | Whenever      | their      | day            |     |                       |
| yo'apa     | to'    | k̄ācima       | ceman          | te·k̄āna.     | Si         | lenakya        |     |                       |
| is made    | you    | rains         | calling        | shall live.   | Now        | this much with |     |                       |
| tom        | ho'    | ho''i         | ya·k̄āk̄ā.     |               |            |                |     |                       |
| you        | I      | a live person | completed.     |               |            |                |     |                       |

"Now I have given you life. We shall have one another as father. I have made you with seeds and given you life. Bless us with your strong spirit, and whenever our day may come call the rains for us as long as you live. Now it is finished. I have made you into a person."

"While he is saying this he spits out the seeds and rubs them with his hands all over the mask, inside and outside. Then he takes the mask and presents it to the six directions, north, west, south, east, up, and down, saying:

|           |            |                          |     |       |        |         |
|-----------|------------|--------------------------|-----|-------|--------|---------|
| Temla     | tekwi      | u'lohna'ilapona          | fon | lukia | yatena | tsume.  |
| Different | directions | who look after the world | you | this  | hold   | strong. |

"After he has done this he takes white clay (hekoḥakwa) and rubs it all over the mask to make it smooth, and sets the mask in the sun under the hatchway. When it is dry he takes his stone dish with the blue gum paint (hecamu'le) and holding it in his hand says:

|     |     |       |          |      |            |     |     |        |           |
|-----|-----|-------|----------|------|------------|-----|-----|--------|-----------|
| Si  | hom | helin | tehya    | tom  | cinanaḱā   | ho' | yam | tca'le | yaḱāpa.   |
| Now | I   | paint | valuable | your | flesh with | I   | my  | child  | complete. |

"Then he takes the paint and paints over the mask, using a little piece of rabbit skin as a brush. This paint is very valuable and after the mask is painted with this it is valuable.<sup>12</sup> Now it is finished; it is a person.

"On the day before the dance, when the men are getting ready, the man's female relatives all come to his house to bake and cook all kinds of food. In the morning the assistant director of the kiva (wo'le) goes out to get long sheaves of yucca. In the afternoon about four or five o'clock all the men who are going to dance go to the house of the kiva chief. When they are all in he asks, 'Is everyone here?' Then they say, 'Yes, we are all here.' Then the kiva chief goes to the house of the man for whom the mask has been made and says, 'We are waiting for you. Are you ready?' The man says, 'Yes, I am ready,' and the kiva chief takes him to the house where the mask is. When he comes in the director says, 'Now, my child, take off your clothing and be strong. Be brave.' Then the man takes off all his clothes except the breechcloth. Then they take him into the middle room and the four head men of the kiva (two otaḱāmosi and two wowe) whip him. The kiva chief whips him first. He takes a bunch of long yucca in his hand and says, 'Now, my child, I shall whip you. You have wanted this and you will be strong.' Then he strikes him four times on each arm, four times on the back and four times on each leg. Then the other three men do the same. They whip him very hard. He is naked all over and often he bleeds from the strokes of the yucca and the tears come to his eyes. When he goes out he can hardly walk.

"As soon as they are finished he dresses and puts on his blanket. Then he goes to tell his people to bring food for the people of his kiva. He looks very badly when he comes in, as though he had been badly hurt. Then his wife and his sisters and all his relatives go with food to the house of the kiva chief. They take about eight big bowls of

<sup>12</sup> Sacred.

meat and two big tubs of white bread and two baskets of paper bread and baskets of dried peaches or anything else that they have. Then the man who has made the mask takes a roll of paper bread and a little of every kind of food for the people at the Sacred Lake. Then they all eat and the kiva chief takes the food he has saved and goes out to Wide River <sup>13</sup> and feeds it to the people of the sacred lake, telling them that they are sending to them a new person and asking that they always remember him, that is, always send him to dance at Zuñi.

"Next day when they dance the man will wear the new mask. Before putting on the mask he will say:

|                      |           |              |               |             |           |                   |             |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------|
| Si                   | hom       | ïo'          | ta'teili      | teġāna.     | Ei        | hom               | ïo'         |
| Now                  | me        | you          | father having | shall live. | Not       | me                | you         |
| kwahotakā            | atsumana  | teameġāna.   | Tenimacte     | hoi         | hom       | pena'kowa         |             |
| because of something | punishing | do (not) be. | Be sure       | wherever    | my        | word according to |             |
| homan                | ïo'       | elakwi       | homan         | ïo'         | ġekohanan | cemana            | teġāna.     |
| to me                | you       | stand before | for me        | you         | life      | asking            | shall live. |

"'Now we shall live together, having one another as father. Do not be vindictive against me in your life. Be sure to do as I have said. Now you stand before me. Ask for long life for me.'

"Then he puts on the mask. When the dance is over he brings it home. He has the buckskin covers ready, or if he has no buckskin he uses anything to keep the dirt out. Then he just puts it away. That is all.

"When a mask is put away it is wrapped in buckskin or in cloths to keep out the dirt and is hung from the roof or placed in a jar. The dangerous ones are all kept in jars and all the old masks are kept in jars like ettowe. The mask is never placed on the floor.

"The mask is fed at every meal. Someone will go into the mask room with some food and feed it to the mask. She will take off her shoes before going into the room. Generally one of the older women in the household goes in because she will say the best prayer. She sets down her food and says:

|      |         |               |            |         |            |               |                |
|------|---------|---------------|------------|---------|------------|---------------|----------------|
| Hom  | a'tateu | ïon           | tinan      | ħaġiye. | İtona'we'. | Hon           | a'wona'ya'tu.  |
| My   | fathers | you           | sit        | firm.   | Eat.       |               | Our end reach. |
| Yam  | tate an | oneat         | tacanakwin |         | hon        | a'wona'ya'tu. |                |
| Your | father  | make the road | long       |         |            |               | our end reach. |

"'My fathers, you sit here still. Eat. Let us reach the end of our road. Our father, make the road long and let us go on to the end.'

<sup>13</sup> West of the village. The usual place for offerings of food for the katchinas. The food is thrown into the river and is thought to be carried by the river to the Sacred Lake.



"Sometimes for good luck they will send in the youngest child in the house and tell her to go in and feed the grandfathers. Then she will take the food and go in and say:

|              |      |            |     |                        |     |     |              |
|--------------|------|------------|-----|------------------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| Nanakwe      | isa  | itona'we'. | Ho' | e'lyotu.               | Ta  | hom | kāwu         |
| Grandfathers | here | eat.       | I   | young woman<br>become. | And | my  | older sister |

|     |               |           |            |     |             |            |
|-----|---------------|-----------|------------|-----|-------------|------------|
| hom | papa          | atsawak   | yotu       | ta  | e'le        | yotu.      |
| my  | older brother | young men | let become | and | young women | let become |

"Grandfathers, here, eat. May I become a woman, and may my older brothers and older sisters reach young manhood and young womanhood."

"If the mask is not properly fed, he will send mice into the corn room to eat all the corn. Sometimes if he is not fed he will eat himself around the edges so that everyone will know that he has been neglected."

At the end of the Ca'lako festival is a ceremony called Ko'ane at which all masks are honored. A native account of this ceremony follows.

"On the day before Ko'ane<sup>14</sup> every man who has a mask works on feathers for his mask and also for the Koyemci, and he has them all ready for the morning. That day one man from each clan takes the feathers to the Koyemci. If it is a poor clan only one man will go, but as many as wish may go, and each one will bring a gift for the Koyemci with the feathers.

"On the morning of Ko'ane a set of dancers from each kiva dances in all the houses where they have held Ca'lako and when they have finished dancing in the houses they go to the plaza and dance four times in the plaza. The fourth time they come out they have with them rolls of paper bread which has been sent to them by the women of the Ca'lako houses. Then when they have finished dancing they go out to the east with their rolls of paper bread and they carry with them the feathers which they have gotten in the Ca'lako houses. Hemwcikwe and Teakwena and Wotemla are dancing, but there are others like Ko'kokci who are not dancing.

"After the dancers have finished dancing in the houses and have gone to the plaza every man who has a mask in his house takes his mask and the prayer sticks that he made the day before and wraps them in his blanket. If a man has more than one mask he takes all of them and a prayer stick for each mask. Then each man goes to the house where his kiva has had Ca'lako to get food for his masks. Before they come in the women of the Ca'lako houses set out two bowls of water and two ears of corn. When they have all come in the head of the house calls the men to come and have water sprinkled

<sup>14</sup> "The katecinas go away." The concluding ceremony of the Ca'lako festival. See p. 702.

on their heads. The kiva chief comes first. He steps out and puts his mask on the top of his head. He does not pull it down over his face because that would be dangerous, for he is not going to dance. Then one of the older women of the house takes up an ear of corn and all the other women dip water from the bowls with their fingers and sprinkle the head of the man.

"The oldër people pray and everyone in the house sprinkles both the man and the mask with water. Then they call another man and do the same thing, and after all the men have been sprinkled each man takes paper bread and corn meal for his mask.

"Then they all go out to the east to Where-the-pumpkin-stands. There Pautiwa is sitting down facing the east. The man who keeps the mask has taken it out there. Then those who have been dancing come there from the plaza. Each has his roll of paper bread and corn meal. They come and stand in line a little distance behind Pautiwa. Then the men who have been dancing come running toward the east, sprinkling corn meal before them. When they come to where Pautiwa is standing they take off their masks and set them down. Then the other men who have brought their masks out set them down and make the road for them going toward the east. Then they all plant their prayer sticks. After a little while the men take up their masks and come home. They leave the paper bread out there, buried in the ground. Then the dancers undress there and come home. The Koyemci are still in the plaza, and Pautiwa sits out there in the east waiting for the corn maids.

"They do this every year. Then for four days after Ko'ane there are no dances, for the katchinas have all gone to the east to visit their people there. After the fourth day anyone who has had Ca'lako house may ask to have any dance repeated. Sometimes they keep on dancing this way for a week or ten days. They can keep it up until the pekwin starts to plant for the winter solstice. Then all dancing must stop while they have it'sumawe."<sup>15</sup>

#### KO'ANE

(Another version)

"Each year after Ca'lako everyone takes his mask out to Red Earth. Each man takes his own mask, and if a man has more than one he takes them all. The old masks are not taken out at this time. Each man carries his masks wrapped in blankets, and he carries prayer sticks. When he gets out to Red Earth there are six big round holes, about 3 feet deep. There is one hole for each kiva. Then each man goes to the hole of his own kiva and puts his mask down facing the east. There may be a thousand masks there, or several thousand,

<sup>15</sup> The rites of fertility magic performed during the winter solstice ceremonies.

perhaps. Then he puts down his bundle of prayer sticks and a roll of paper bread. Then the men who have been dancing in the plaza come there quickly and each takes off his mask and holds it in his hand while he prays. Then they deposit prayer sticks and paper bread in the holes. The men who have been dancing come last and the others all wait until they come. Then after they have all prayed each man takes his own mask out and wraps it in his blanket and comes home. Everyone comes home but the wowe, who stay behind and fill up the holes.<sup>16</sup> Then they come home, too, and only Pautiwa and Bitsitsi are left there."

When a man dies, for four days someone in his family will work on feathers for his mask. He will make four prayer sticks, one blue one for the sun, two black ones for the dead, and one black one with the turn-around feather for the koko. Then on the fourth day after the man has died his son or some man in his family will work on his mask. He will remove all the feathers and scrape off all the paint. Then he will take the mask and the four prayer sticks and bury them at Wide River.

#### PARAPHERNALIA

The most conspicuous and characteristic objects used in katcina ceremonies are, of course, the masks. These are made of leather, formerly of elkskin or buffalo hide, now of commercial dressed leather, painted with characteristic designs, and fancifully adorned with feathers, hair, fur, yarn, ribbons, and spruce boughs. The mask, in addition to being a sacred object, is a work of art, and like any other work of art conforms to certain rules of style. New katcinas may be invented from time to time and there is nothing in the nature of katcinas that would necessarily limit the new impersonation to traditional forms. There is, in fact, a very noticeable tendency for the newer masks to be both more varied and realistic than the more ancient impersonations. However, once a katcina has been admitted to the roster, he is given a name and, rarely, a personality, and all details of his mask and costume and behavior become definitive. Everything is considered characteristic, the form and decoration of the mask, the kind and arrangement of feathers and other ornaments on the mask, body paint, all details of costume, including even the arrangement of the bead necklaces, the objects he carries in his hands, posture, gait, behavior, and his call. When any of these features is varied beyond very narrow limits we have a new katcina. This does not mean, of course, that changes do not occur in the get-up of any katcina, especially in the katcinas recently introduced. In general variability increases in inverse ratio to the antiquity and sanctity

<sup>16</sup> In 1927 and 1928 the writer visited this place the day after the ceremony, and, although the ground was covered with snow, she could find no trace of the six holes, so carefully had they been concealed. Yet she saw all the men of the village go out with their masks and prayer sticks and paper bread.

of the impersonation. The mask is the most stable and the most sacred part of the equipment. Costume in the case of the older *katchinas*, such as *Ko'okci*, is also fixed.<sup>17</sup> But in the newer dances, such as *Wilatsukwe* and *Kumance*, the costume is extremely varied. Doctor Kroeber secured in 1915 a number of drawings of *Zuñi katchinas*. When these were shown to different informants 10 years later they were able to identify correctly all but two of the drawings. Not all of them were important or popular impersonations.

The masks in spite of their variability in details all exhibit a remarkable uniformity in artistic style. The most notable feature of the *Zuñi*, indeed, of all *Pueblo* and *Navaho* masks, is the complete lack of any attempt at realism. The masks are not anthropomorphic, with a few exceptions, nor are they representations of animals or even of mythical monsters. The bear *katchina* (pl. 41, *a*) is a striking example of the lack of representative intent even in animal impersonations.<sup>18</sup> The mask which inspires the greatest terror is that of *Hainawi* (pl. 32, *b*), which is anything but terrible in aspect. Yet my informant said that as a child she was afraid to look on *Hainawi*. He is terrifying because everyone is familiar with his myth. The designs painted on masks are those used also on ceremonial pottery, altar boards, sand paintings, etc. They have no specific association with individual *katchinas* or with *katchinas* as a whole. This excessive formality of expression is a reflection of a very characteristic trait of *Zuñi* behavior. It is found in their secular art, their music, prayers, tales, and in their conversation and the abstract and impersonal character of their religious beliefs.

The most notable exception to the highly conventional character of masks is the set of masks of the *Koyemci* which are characterized both by realism and individuality. But the *Koyemci* are exceptional in many respects.

Most of the masks are of the helmet type (*ulin'e*, from *ule*, within a deep receptacle), approximating in shape an inverted bucket. These cover the whole head, resting on the shoulders, and the lower edge is finished with a collar of feathers, fur, cloth, or spruce branches. All the permanent masks, with the exception of *Tcakwena okä* and *Hainawi*, are of this type. Other masks may be of the type that covers only the face (*coyan'e*, face). These are secured by strings passing over and around the head, under the hair. Some of these are

<sup>17</sup> Substitutions have occurred, cotton shirts for buckskin in the case of *Saiyataca* and other impersonations; the cotton underdress has recently been added to the costume of female *katchinas*. *Cula-witsi*, who used to come naked, now wears a small breechcloth. This innovation was at the request of the boy who took the part in 1923. It is a case of the exception proving the rule.

<sup>18</sup> Note in contrast, however, Plate 41, *c*, also bear *katchina*, and Plate 49, *b*, cow *katchina*: Plate 50, *b*, buffalo. These are all comparatively recent innovations. They come only in the winter dances, where greater liberties are taken with traditional patterns of costume and dancing. They would not be included in the summer dances, which are more conventional and more sacred.

shaped to fit over the chin (Tcakwena okä), others cover only the upper part of the face, the lower part of the face being concealed by the "beard," a fringe of horsehair attached to the lower edge of the mask.

These shapes are the only part of the mask that is permanent. All else is removed, even in the case of ancient masks. The mask is made up anew each time it is worn. The old paint is scraped off and it is freshly painted. The feathers which were removed at the last wearing are renovated and put back or replaced by new feathers. With the exception of the permanent masks, the mask may be made, by the use of suitable paint and feathers, to represent any kadcina wearing that particular form of mask. The Tcakwena masks, however, are not changed, possibly because of the difficulty of obliterating the shiny black paint. There may, however, be other reasons. Among the Hopi these are permanent fetishistic masks belonging to a cult group.

The wearer of the mask looks out through two small openings. The eye openings are ordinarily emphasized by painting of some kind. (See, however, Cu'la'witsi and Yamuhakto, pl. 25.) Long narrow triangles, rectangles, or concentric circles are used. Instead of painted eyes, protruding eyes may be placed above the eye openings. These are made of round pieces of buckskin painted and stuffed with cotton or seeds, and fastened with thongs to the mask. They are used by most of the scare kadcinas. The Koyemci have raised rings around the eye openings.

The mouth treatment is more varied. On all face masks the mouth is represented by the lower border, which is somehow emphasized, and from which hangs a fringe of horsehair called the beard. On some of the scare kadcinas the mouth is painted with zigzag lines to represent the teeth (Tcakwena, pl. 38), with realistic red tongues hanging from them, in some it is surrounded by rings of braided corn husks (Saiyahi'a).

On helmet masks the mouth is sometimes just a small round opening. It may be painted with concentric circles like the eyes or with other designs. But more often a protruding snout of some kind is attached by thongs to the mask. It may be straight or curved, carved of wood (Sälimop'iya) or out of the neck of a gourd (Muluk-takä). It may be a hollow tube through which the breath comes whistling (Käna'kwe), or it may be carved in two parts to simulate the jaws of an animal, and operated by strings held by the wearer (Ca'lako).

The nose is sometimes indicated by a vertical painted line.

Ears are generally indicated by projecting pieces of wood or by flexible twigs covered by cloth or hide (Pautiwa, pl. 21). Or they may be made in the form of squash blossoms, carved of wood or made



of slender wooden spokes twined with yarn. Frequently only one ear is indicated, or the two ears may be of different forms. Horns of painted wood are common.

The top of the mask is sometimes covered with a fringe of hair or a sheepskin dyed to simulate hair.

All exposed surfaces of the mask are painted with various pigments, all of native manufacture. The following are the most important:

The whole mask is first covered with a coat of white paint. The pigment is kaolin (hek'ohakwa, white clay), soaked in water. It is used also for slipping pottery. It is obtained by trade from Acoma. However, ordinary whitewash is sometimes used.<sup>19</sup> Everyone has white paint. There are no ceremonies connected with its manufacture.

There are three black pigments: hakwin'e, mitcapiwe, and hekwitola. The first of these is a mineral, the other two vegetable products. Hak'win'e is the common black paint, used in the manufacture of prayer sticks. It is only occasionally used on masks. Since prayer stick making is associated chiefly with medicine societies the manufacture and distribution of this pigment belongs to the societies. A sample of the pigment has been identified by Mr. Paul F. Kerr, of the Department of Mineralogy of Columbia University, as pyrolurite, a hydrated oxide of manganese. The ore is mined on the east side of Corn Mountain and brought in in large chunks. Two or four members of a society will go for the black rock in winter, during the solstice ceremonies. Then the chief of the society will invite girls to come in to grind while the men sing for them. When they finish in the evening the society chief gives each man a corn husk full of the pigment, and to the girls also.

Mitcapiwe (burnt corn) is made from carbonized corncobs which are found in ruins of ancient villages. This pigment also is manufactured by medicine societies. "They look for corn in the back rooms of ruins and bring it in big chunks to the society house. There it is ground ceremonially by the society people. They will ask pretty girls to grind for them, about four girls from the society, if there are that many, and four or six girls from outside. The girls wear embroidered white blankets and white moccasins and many strings of shell and turquoise beads and many bracelets. The head man of the society sits in front of them. Two other men of the society break up the corn into smaller pieces and the head man puts in beads of shell and turquoise and coral and abalone shell and mixes it all together and gives it to the girls to grind. It is hard work. Sometimes it takes two days and sometimes three to grind enough. When they are finished grinding the girls dance in the society house. Then the

<sup>19</sup> The specimen which I brought was not in a state that could be identified. According to Mr. Kerr, a portion of decomposed rock, noncalcareous and also not phosphate bearing.



head man gives each member a handful of paint. He gives some to each of the girls, too. Then the women members of the society bring in food and they all sit down and eat. After that they go home. This paint is used for painting masks, and sometimes the priests use it on prayer sticks."

Hekwitola is a fungus found in corn. It is sometimes eaten, especially during the solstice when meat and grease are forbidden. When the corn is husked in the fall, if hekwitola is found in any of the ears it is carefully preserved in corn husks. It is mixed with water for painting the body, or mixed with yucca sirup it makes a shiny black pigment which is used for painting masks. The Teakwena masks are painted with this. Anyone may prepare this paint.

The yellow pigment, *hepustikwa*, has been identified as "limonite, a hydrated oxide of iron, sometimes called yellow ochre. This is mixed with carbonate of lime calcite." The preparation is described as follows: "The yellow clay is found at the Sacred Lake, where the pink clay (see below) is found. The *wo'le* brings it back with him when he returns from the quadrennial pilgrimage. When he is ready to use it he grinds it up. He grinds it himself and prays as he does it. Then he mixes the ground stone with the dried petals of yellow flowers and *Paiyatamu* medicine which he gets from the society people. The *Paiyatamu* medicine is made in the winter during the society meetings. The buttercups and other bright flowers are gathered and dried during the summer. Then in the winter the society people invite pretty girls to come and grind. They grind up the flowers with abalone shells. The *wo'we* have to get this medicine from the society people. It is never made in summer unless they run out of it and need it in a hurry. Then the society people in the kiva that needs it will make it. The medicine is called *Paiyatamu* an *utea owe*, *Paiyatamu's* flower meal. This paint is used for painting the body and masks, and also for prayer sticks. The yellow stone belongs to the head men of the Katcina society. If the society people need yellow paint for their prayer sticks they have to get the stone from the kiva chiefs. They grind it in their society rooms the same as they do the black paint. They get girls to come in and grind for them, and they mix the yellow stone with the petals of yellow flowers." The pulverized pigment is mixed with water.

A yellow pigment is also made from corn pollen, mixed with the boiled juice of yucca. This gives a glossy paint. It is used for painting the designs on the Teakwena masks.

There are two pink stains for the body. Of these the most important is called *katcina's* clay (*kok'wa'wan hekätca*),<sup>20</sup> identified by Mr. Kerr as kaolinite or a similar hydrated silicate of alumina. "This belongs to the kiva chiefs and *wo'we* who collect it on their quadrennial pilgrimage to the Sacred Lake. The clay is found on the shores

<sup>20</sup> The usual word for pink.

of the lake. It is brought to the village in large chunks. The wo'we store it in their houses and take it to the kiva when needed. When a man uses it he moistens it with his tongue, calling on the rains, and rubs it over his body. This paint is very sacred. It is used by the Koyemci to color their masks, and on the body, and by Koḱokci. Tómtsinapa and Saiyali'a and Hatacuku and Nawico use it also. Hilili and dancers like that would never use the pink clay."

Another pink body stain, which is used by the dancers who do not use the kadcina's clay, is made by boiling wheat with small sunflowers.

The red pigment, ahoko, is hematite, the common oxide of iron, mixed with clay. "The stone for the red paint is mined four miles southwest of the village. It is brought in in large blankets and kept that way until needed. It is not ground. When they want to use it they rub it on a flat stone with water until the water becomes red. If they want a light red they mix it with pink clay. They chew up the clay and spit it out into the red liquid until it is the right shade. Ahoko is used on masks. When they use it on the body they mix it with pink clay."

For painting prayer sticks, dyeing moccasins, belts, etc., they use akwaḱi (blue stone<sup>21</sup>), an oxidized ore of copper containing azurite and malachite in a calcite matrix. It is secured by trade from the eastern pueblos, where it abounds. This is ground up with water. For painting masks a prepared pigment of akwaḱi in piñon gum is used. This is obtained from Santo Domingo in exchange for feathers. It used to be made at Zuñi from akwaḱi and piñon gum, but the Santo Domingo paint is considered better. It is used only for masks. It is "very valuable."

A purplish body stain (ḱeḱwin'e) is obtained from the stalks and husks of black corn. The stalks are chewed and the mixture spread over the body. This is used by Muluktaḱä, Hemucikwe, and the blue Sälimoḱiya.

For painting the face under the mask, and for painting the face on other occasions, an iridescent black paint is used. This has been identified by Mr. Kerr as "fine grains of quartz sphalerite and galena, a ground concentrate of zinc ore. The dark brown sphalerite is responsible for the color of the mixture."

The use of native paints and dyes is giving way to commercial dyes and pigments, especially in staining the body and wearing apparel. Masks, so far as I could learn, are always painted with native paints (they are always decorated by the wo'we). However, some of the bright reds and pinks and blues on masks such as Wilatsukwe look like commercial colors.

<sup>21</sup> The correct translation is turquoise. The Zuñi classify blues and greens differently from us. They distinguish loḱāna, pale blue and gray; li'ana, turquoise and light green; acena, bright green; and also a dark blue. The classification of turquoise as a primary color may be due to the use of copper ores as pigments.

The designs, for the most part, are very simple. The mask may be all one color or the face may be a different color from the rest and set off from it by a narrow band. The band around the face is either checked or striped of many colors and symbolizes the Milky Way and the rainbow, respectively. A simple ornament, a circle, a triangle, or zigzag lines, or the familiar cloud symbol is sometimes painted on each cheek. When the back of the mask is exposed it is frequently painted with butterflies, dragon flies, frogs, flowers, or corn. The formal character of these decorations has already been pointed out.

The following comments show the type of symbolic associations with mask designs.

"Sometimes the painting on the mask means something; sometimes not.

"The words of the songs always refer to the rain and the clouds and all the beautiful things that grow on the earth, and the painting on the mask means the same as the song. They paint something on the mask to please the earth and something to please the sky, and so on. The painting on *Lelacoktipona's* face does not look like the Milky Way, but they call it that anyway to please the Milky Way.

"The red paint on the body is for the red-breasted birds and the yellow paint for the yellow-breasted birds and for the flowers and butterflies and all the beautiful things in the world. The white paint is for the sun.

"The spots of paint of different colors on *Homatci* and *Temtemci* are rain drops falling down on the earth. The green is for the green grass."

Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the handling of the difficult lower edge. The simplest arrangement is a piece of cloth. The *Koyemci* wear a ragged piece of native black cloth, which adds considerably to the crudeness and ludicrousness of their aspect. On other masks an embroidered kilt is neatly folded to conceal the wearer's neck and shoulders (*Komokätsik*, pl. 35, *c*). Skins of animals may be similarly used, especially those of fox, coyote, rabbit, and mountain lion (*Saiyati'a*, pl. 21, *b*). A padded collar of cloth stuffed with cotton and painted to match the mask is sometimes used (*Saiyataca*, pl. 25). But by far the most beautiful masks are those finished with great ruffs of glossy feathers or sweet-smelling spruce. The feathers may be the stiff shining feathers of the raven (*Sälimop'iya*) or the soft feathers of the turkey (*Natcimomo*, pl. 55, *a*). But loveliest of all are the ruffs of freshly picked spruce branches. Spruce is the plant most intimately associated with the *katecinas*. It symbolizes all the green growing things with which the rain clothes the earth. The beauty of the fresh green wreaths is often enhanced by tipping the ends of the twigs with flakes of snowy popcorn.

On a few masks (*Hemuci'kwe*, pl. 46, *a*) towering headdresses resembling those of the *tablita* dances of the eastern Pueblos are worn.

These are made of light frames of wood covered with cloth, or of thin slabs of wood, with terraced edges painted on both sides with clouds, rainbows, and similar cosmic symbols.

Hair is frequently attached to masks, sometimes to simulate human hair (Ca'lako, pl. 27; Saiyali'a, pl. 21, *b*; Komokätsik, pl. 35, *c*). Sometimes it is merely an ornamental fringe to frame the face. In such cases it may be dyed bright red (Kwamu'we, copied from the Navaho).

Animal horns are sometimes worn in animal impersonations (Cow Katcina, pl. 49, *b*; Deer Katcina, pl. 43, *a*), or the skin of an animal (Bear Katcina, pl. 44, *c*). The top of the mask is sometimes covered with hair (Bear Katcina, pl. 41, *a*), sheepskin dyed black, or flowers (Bee Katcina, pl. 43, *b*).

"They used to use human hair on masks, e. g., Ca'lako mask. But they found that the people whose hair they had cut off would die four days after they had done it, so they do not do it any more. Now they use horsehair. They never cut the hair of a live horse to use it on a mask because the horse might die like a real person. So they only cut the hair off dead horses.

"Sometimes some of the katecinas wear branches of peach trees in their heads, and if any of the fruit drops off the people pick it up and take it home and put it in their storerooms for good luck."

Feathers are the katecinas' most conspicuous ornaments. They are attached in great bunches to the crown of the mask at the back, thrust into the ears or suspended from them. They are bound together to form great ruffs around the neck. As a rule the importance of a katcina can be judged by the variety and quantity of his feathers. A katcina without feathers is an anomaly, and it is always thought necessary to explain why certain katecinas wear no feathers. (See p. 1048.) All use the downy feather from the breast of the eagle. This is preeminently the feather of the katecinas, the breath of the rain. Even those katecinas who wear no other feathers have downy feathers in their ears.<sup>22</sup> Eagle tail feathers, feathers from the breast and tail of the turkey, owl feathers, and the breast feathers of the yellow macaw are all worn by many different katecinas. "They wear macaw feathers because the macaw lives in the south and they want the macaw to bring the rains of the south. They always like to feel the south wind because the south wind brings rain." Other feathers are worn as insignia of rank or position, or refer to some episode in the myth of the katcina. The downy feather dyed red is the badge of society membership, the wing feather of the bluejay is the feather

<sup>22</sup> In prayer stick lore the downy feather has very special symbolism. It is the "pekwin's feather" (see p. 660). It is used in all offerings to the sun and moon, and after these offerings the supplicant must abstain from animal food. It is also used by the priests during their retreats when they want immediate rain, and then, also, after offering the prayer sticks, the supplicants must abstain from animal food. A downy feather is tied to the hair of novices and until it is removed on the fourth day they must eat no animal food. The soft feather from the breast or back of the turkey, and the duck feather (turn-around feather) are the distinguishing feathers in prayer sticks for the katecinas.

of the priests. The feather from the shoulder of the eagle belongs to the hunters' society; the red hawk feather to Ciwana'kwe; wing feathers of the eagle, combined with downy feathers and duck feathers, and fastened to small reeds form the "great feather" (lacowan lan'a), the badge of a bow priest, is worn by all warrior impersonations.<sup>23</sup> The way it is worn is prognostic. If the tips of the feathers point backward the katcina comes peaceably, but if the tips point forward his intentions are hostile, for this is the way warriors wear the feather on the warpath.

The following myth is told to account for the feathers of katcinas.

#### WHY THE KATCINAS WEAR EAGLE FEATHERS

Long ago a boy was set up on a cliff by the witches. He was starving to death. For four days he had nothing to eat.

This boy had a friend, a witch boy, who asked him what he knew. He said, "I do not know anything." So then the witch boy said, "I shall rub you all over with a black ant and then nothing can harm you." He did that and then he took a hoop and jumped through it and turned into a chipmunk. He told the boy to do the same and said it was easy and that he could turn himself back into a person whenever he wanted to. So the boy did it. Then they went up a mountain to hunt. The witch boy went ahead and told him to wait for him while he went to look for birds' nests. Then he turned himself back into a person and gave the hoop to the other boy and told him to turn himself back into a person too. Then he turned himself back into a person and the witch boy said, "Now do you want me to teach you how to do it yourself, the way my mother taught me?" The boy said, "No, I am afraid." Then the witch boy went away and told him to wait for him. Then he went away and left him there and the poor boy waited for four days. He had nothing to eat and he cried a great deal. This was at the place Hakwininakwe, where they get black paint for prayer sticks.

The eagle lived a little ways to the north and while he was in his nest he thought he heard something crying a little way to the south. Next morning he went out to hunt. About noon he remembered he had heard something crying in the night and he said, "Oh dear, I wanted to go and see who was there to the south. I heard something crying just like a human person. I wonder who it is, because no one ever comes up here." Then the eagle went to the south and flew around four times and finally he saw the boy sitting in the crack in the rocks, fast asleep. The eagle came down and sat down beside him. He was sitting there in his feathers, waiting. He thought the boy would never wake up. Then he took off his feather dress and he

<sup>23</sup> The lacowan lana of the bow priests is made in the Ant Society house with special prayers. (Cf. also Hopi hurrunkwa.) "The war chiefs do not have mi'we, but they have the great feather and it is just as sacred."



turned into a human person. He went over to the boy and woke him up. He touched him over the heart and he woke up. "My child, whoever you are, wake up. I am here. You were left alone and I have come." Then the little boy woke up. But he was so miserable that he just opened his eyes a little and shut them again. Then the eagle said, "Please, little boy, wake up. I shall carry you on my back and take you to my home." The little boy opened his eyes when he heard that the man would carry him home. Then the little boy said, "Yes, please. I am hungry and thirsty and I am not strong enough to go home alone. Please take me." Then the eagle took him and tried to make him stand up but he was so weak he fell right down. Then he said, "Now you try to open your eyes and I shall carry you on my back. You hold on to me and I shall take you down." So the eagle left the little boy and went off a little way and put on his feather dress. Then he came back to the little boy and the little boy just grabbed him by the neck. "Now shut your eyes and we shall go down to your home."

The people were living at Kākima, and the boy had been left a little to the east. Then he took him down. It was in the afternoon, when the sun turns over. His people had been looking for him for four days. He was the son of the katchina chief. The eagle knew it. The people had been looking all over for the little boy and his parents cried all the time. They could not find the boy. Just then the people were coming home from looking for the boy. It was the last time they were going to look for him. Just as they were coming home the eagle brought him down to the spring called Sumḡaia to give him a drink. Then he set him down and said, "Now open your eyes." The little boy dropped down, for his heart was weak. They sat down beside the spring and the eagle said, "Now drink. Then you will feel better and you will walk home. Your home is right there, just a little way off." The eagle said, "Please hurry. Someone may come and find me here. I am afraid someone will come and find out that I brought you down." Then the little boy drank, and while he was drinking the eagle plucked out six of his tail feathers, and he took downy feathers from under his wings and from his shoulders he took the "spoon feathers" (lacoḡone). Then he pulled up some grass that was growing by the spring and tied it around the feathers. Then he said, "Now you have had a drink and now walk home and take these along to your father. Your parents know that you went with that little boy to look for birds' nests. So take these feathers back to your father and he will think what use he can make of them." So the boy said, "All right." Then the eagle said again, "Take these in to your father. Do not tell him that I gave them to you, but tell him that I brought you down. Your father will know what to do with the feathers. You are going now, and I am going



home." Then he started and the little boy went home, walking weakly as if he would fall down at each step.

The women were coming to get water at Kyakima spring, and they saw the little boy coming along. They knew that the little boy was lost and when they saw him coming they knew that it was the little boy that everyone had been looking for.

As they came close one of the women set down her jar and ran up to the boy. "Oh, my son, we know that you have been lost. The people have been looking for you and now you have come back. Where have you been?" He said, "Up in the mountains. I am just coming home." Then she said, "What have you there?" and the little boy said, "I have only feathers. Don't touch my feathers!" The woman kept saying, "I would like to feel them." The boy did not want her to touch his feathers, but she did, and then right away she turned into an owl. Then the boy said, "I told you not to touch them. My feathers are wise."<sup>24</sup> I told you not to touch them. Now I shall give you a home where you will live. You will go to the north of this mountain and you will have a spring there." Then she went there and so right below the eagle place is owl spring where the woman was turned into an owl because she touched the eagle feathers.

Then the boy said, "Now if anyone else meets me I will not let them touch my feathers." So he went home. He was very weak, but he walked home. Everyone saw him coming with his feathers sticking out. Then the people said, "There is the little boy who was lost. There he is coming. He looks weak. I wonder where he has been all this time." He could hardly climb up the ladder, he was so weak. So some of the people went in and told his father and mother, and they did not believe it was their boy, he looked so badly. Then they came out and saw the little boy struggling to climb the ladder. Then his father went down and brought him in on his back, and the little boy was holding on to his feathers. When he came in he said, "Mother, put down a basket." She brought a basket and the boy laid his feathers in it. Then he said, "Father, I brought you these feathers. Eagle brought me down. He found me and brought me down and left me at the spring and I walked home. These are eagle feathers." The father took the feathers and breathed in from them and said, "Father of eagles, give me long life and your strong heart. You travel so far and fly so high that your breath is clear and strong. Make my heart clean like yours. I breathe from your feathers, so make me strong like you."<sup>25</sup> Then he thanked the eagle because he had brought the boy back. Then right away he knew what to do with the feathers. He said, "Our fathers, the

<sup>24</sup> Have supernatural power.

<sup>25</sup> Because "The eagle flies high where the air is clean. He never goes where there is dirt and sickness and so we always pray to him for good health."

kacinas, will wear these feathers because the eagle is strong and wise and kind. He travels far in all directions and so he will surely bring us the rains. The eagle feathers must always come first."

That is why the kacinas always wear eagle feathers, because the eagle found the little boy and brought him down and sent his feathers with him.

When a mask of the helmet type is worn, the hair, provided it is long, is plaited in two plaits which are wound around the neck under the mask. With face masks which leave the head exposed long hair is required, and if the wearer has cut his hair, as have most of the younger men, he supplements his shorn or scanty locks with a wig or a switch of horsehair, so cleverly arranged as to be almost impossible to detect. The short-haired or Laguna Teakwena wears a piece of goatskin to which eagle down is stuck, covering the top and back of the head. Usually the hair is left hanging free, ornamented with feathers according to the ceremonial affiliation of the beings impersonated. Rain dancers wear a bunch of macaw and downy eagle feathers on the crown and downy feathers attached to a weighted string hanging down the back. Some warrior impersonations (Hainawi, pl. 32, *b*; Teakwena, pls. 38, 39, 40) wear eagle down stuck to the hair with yucca sirup. The red feather that is the badge of society membership may be tied to the forelock (Teacaci, pl. 48, *c*) or to a fillet of yucca encircling the head (Towa Teakwena, pl. 38).

Female impersonations have their hair dressed in either of two fashions. Maidens have their hair bound over square pieces of wood and fastened with yarn. (Kokwe'le, pl. 35, *b*.) This is said to be the ancient headdress of Zuñi maidens, and is not unlike the whorled headdress still worn by Hopi maidens. Other female impersonations have the hair done up behind in the fashion at present affected by Zuñi women. (Hemokätsik', pl. 28, *b*.) Some few females who wear helmet masks have the hair arranged in two plaits over the ears, the usual headdress of Hopi married women. (Komokätsik, pl. 35, *c*. Compare Hopi Kutcamana, Fewkes, pl. XLIV.) In one case (Kolahmana) half of the hair is loosely tied with yarn, the other half is wound over a curved stick. The Zuñis can not explain this peculiar headdress. The curved stick is such a one as Hopi girls use in dressing their hair, and the Hopi, who have the same impersonation under a different name (Teakwaina Mana), tell the tale that a raiding party arrived in the village while the girl was having her hair dressed. She seized her brother's weapons and went out to fight the enemy, rushing out with her hair half done. The Zuñi impersonation is also an Amazon, though unconnected with the teakwena set.

Other headdresses are worn by the men, the usual man's headdress (Teacaci), the special headdress of the Ne'we'kwe (Nepaiyatamu), the buckskin cap of the bow priests (O'wiwi).

When no mask is worn, the hair is dressed precisely as if the mask were to be worn and a fillet of yucca is bound about the brows.

*Face and body paint.*—The face is always painted before putting on a mask. Usually two lines are drawn across the face with iridescent black paint (tsuhapa) or red paint (ahoko), or the chin and cheeks are marked with smudges of red or black paint.

"When the real katecinas came to dance they did not wear masks, but they always painted their faces this way. Then they stopped coming because whenever they came some one at Itiwana used to die. They told the people to dress the way they did and they told them to make masks so that the young ones would not know them. That is why they always paint their faces under the masks. And they paint their faces so that if they take off their masks during their rest the young ones who are around will know that they are really katecinas."

The whole body is painted, even when full costume is worn. It is doubtful, however, if this is still strictly adhered to. The unexposed portions of the body are painted white, with a thin solution of kaolin, the exposed portions with paints of different colors. The composition and preparation of these pigments are described in another place (p. 859).

If the upper part of the body is nude it is painted red, pink, black, more rarely yellow, purple, white, or varicolored. The shoulders, forearms, and legs are frequently yellow, and double lines of yellow dots run from the waist to the shoulders and down the arms, both front and back. These tend to make the body appear more slender. They symbolize raindrops or rainbows. The loins are always painted white, regardless of whether kilt or breechcloth is worn.<sup>26</sup> This is "for the sun." One informant offered the explanation that the white paint was used to protect the light-colored clothing. When full costume is worn the whole body is said to be painted white. With long-sleeved garments the hands are painted white. The knees are frequently painted red, sometimes spotted with yellow, "for speed." Runners in stick races always have their knees painted red.

Next to the mask, the face and body paint is the most sacred part of a dancer's regalia. No one must touch a man while he has on his body paint. After he has finished dancing, or if he wishes to stay in his own house between the days of the dance, his body must be bathed ceremonially by his wife or his mother before he can go to his wife. Impersonators of all important katecina priests must have their heads and bodies bathed by the women of their father's clans in the house of

<sup>26</sup> Except Cu'la-witsi, whose whole body is painted black with spots of red, yellow, blue, and white. The body paint of Cu'la-witsi is especially sacred. Cu'la-witsi's body is painted by five men of the clan of his ceremonial father. The father picks them out, one for each color. He goes to five men of his clan and says, "I have chosen you to look after the black paint," and they will say, "Yes; I shall do it." Cu'la-witsi is very dangerous. If anyone who does not believe in the katecinas tries to paint Cu'la-witsi the paint will not stay on.

their aunts (father's sisters) before going home to their own houses. One of his father's blood sisters meets him as he comes out of the kiva or in the road as he comes from the shrine at which he has undressed and takes him to her house, where as many women as possible of his clan are waiting for him. The man sits on a low stool facing the east, while his father's sister, or the female head of his father's ancestral household, mixes suds of yucca. Then she prays and sprinkles water on his head. The other women also dip up water. Then the father's sister washes the hair thoroughly. After this, if the impersonation was a minor one, the hands are washed, but in the case of all the Ca'lako participants the whole body is bathed. Then the man is given food and returns to his home.<sup>27</sup>

When no mask is worn, the same magical power that resides in the mask is imputed to the body paint. And conversely, if the body is not painted, particular care is taken in the manner of putting on the mask. Before putting it on, he holds it in his hand for a moment and prays: "I am a poor person, and I am putting on this valuable mask. You will be my father, and I shall be your father. Give me good luck in everything."<sup>28</sup>

*Costume.*—With the exception of Cu'la'witsi, who is impersonated by a small boy, all katchinas wear some covering, and in recent years even Cu'la'witsi has worn a small breechcloth. Most of the "little dancers" wear only a breechcloth. This usually is a piece of dark blue native cloth (Hehe'a, pl. 54, *a*), but embroidered sashes may be worn in this manner (Grease Boy, pl. 44, *b*) or a strip of commercial cotton cloth with colored embroidery or appliqué at the ends (Sälimop'iya, pls. 30, 31).

The characteristic garment of the katchinas is a hand woven and embroidered white cotton kilt. These are woven by the Hopi of hand-spun white cotton. One man at Zuñi weaves kilts and sashes. Sometimes cement sacks, stretched and pounded to simulate the loose weave of the native garment, are substituted. These kilts are embroidered with black yarn along the lower edge and in color at both ends. They may be further ornamented by a broad blue painted or appliqué band. The kilt is fastened on the right side. A breechcloth of commercial cotton is always worn under the kilt.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> In cases of doubtful paternity, which are fairly frequent at Zuñi, two clans will claim the man as their "child" and he will go both places to be bathed. An adopted child, or a child of a widowed or divorced woman who has remarried, will go first to the house of his "own" (blood) father and then to the ancestral house of his adopted father. But in an unfortunate case of disputed paternity the two clans had quarreled over the possession of the child on the occasion of his society initiation, and when he danced in the Muaiyo neither set of aunts came for him. So he had to wait in the kiva until someone took word to his mother. Then his mother's husband's sister came for him. Meanwhile the other women repented and both sent for him. So he had his head washed three times.

<sup>28</sup> So reports my informant. I never happened to see anyone putting on a mask, but I have seen them unmask most unceremoniously. But the mask is never laid down casually. Unless a special place has been prepared to receive it, it is hung on the wall.

<sup>29</sup> Except by the Koyemci. They wear no breechcloth under their black kilts. During their play the kilt may be removed.

With the kilt is worn some kind of belt or sash, usually a narrow red and green woman's belt and a broad sash, either the broad woven sash with embroidered ends or a Hopi wedding belt, a broad braided belt, with long tasseled fringes. All of these articles are made by the Hopi. The Navaho and the Zuñi also make women's belts.

A large white buckskin is worn instead of the woven kilt by katecinas associated with war or hunting. With these any kind of belt may be worn, often an ordinary silver belt.

The upper part of the body is generally left nude and painted, but shirts are worn by some katecinas. These are usually white. Now they are made of cotton, but in ancient times they were of buckskin.

Many of the more important of the katecina priests wear the embroidered white blanket (*miha*). This is a Hopi wedding blanket, embroidered with cloud, flower, and butterfly designs in red, orange, green, and black. It is woven by the Hopi and is the most valuable Pueblo textile product. A *miha* in good condition is valued at \$75. Saiyatata (pl. 25) and Pautiwa (pl. 21) show two ways of wearing the *miha*.

The usual footgear is a high moccasin of soft buckskin, painted blue, with turnback cuffs of red and yellow. With these moccasins are worn heel pieces of porcupine quill embroidery. These heel pieces are sometimes worn on bare feet. Ordinary brown moccasins such as are worn by older men, and by younger men on ceremonial occasions, are sometimes worn by katecinas. Anklets of spruce twigs are worn with bare feet by Koḱoḱei and others.

Some kind of band is usually worn below the knee. This may be of black or brightly colored yarn, or a narrow woven belt such as men use to bind up their hair. A turtle-shell rattle is worn on the right leg by most of the dancing katecinas, and the rhythm of the dance is marked by stamping with the right foot. Sleigh bells may be worn on one or both legs, either with the rattle or instead of it. The legs are sometimes covered with native knitted hose or leggings of brown or white fringed buckskin.

A striking feature of katecina costume is the fox skin, suspended by its head from the back of the belt. This is worn by practically all of the dancing katecinas and many others. It is considered as a relic of the earliest days of man, for the katecinas were transformed while mankind was still tailed and horned.<sup>30</sup>

Female impersonations wear ordinary woman's costume—the black hand-woven dress fastened on the right shoulder, a long-sleeved and high-necked cotton underdress (recently silk), and one or two blanket robes over the shoulders. The top robe should be a native white cotton blanket, bordered above and below with woven bands of red

<sup>30</sup> Fewkes suggests that the fox skins may be a survival of the time when katecinas were animal impersonations effected by donning an animal skin. He connects this with the use of the flayed skin in Aztec ritual.



and blue. In absence of this, a native woven black blanket is substituted. Under this may be worn a brightly colored fringed commercial shawl. No piton'e (a square of brightly colored silk worn by Zuñi women over their shoulders) is worn. The blankets are fastened together in front with yarn, the way girls fasten their blankets when they dance.

Women's high white moccasins sometimes cover the feet and legs, or the feet are left bare and painted yellow, and the legs are covered with footless woolen hose, such as are worn in summer by the older Zuñi women, who ordinarily go barefoot.

All katchinas wear numerous necklaces of white shell, turquoise, and coral, from which hang ear loops (sato'we) of finely worked turquoise of the best grade. The amount of turquoise worn by any impersonator is limited only by his borrowing capacity. The necklaces cover the whole chest, frequently also the whole back. It is not unusual for an impersonator to wear necklaces valued at more than a thousand dollars around his neck.<sup>31</sup> Silver necklaces, blue yarn, abalone shells, and miscellaneous ornaments are also worn about the neck, and many bracelets and strings of shell and turquoise are wound about the wrists. The way of wearing the necklaces is indicative of rank and position. Necklaces front and back indicate a katchina of importance; necklaces doubled over and worn close to the throat are a badge of society membership.

Warrior katchinas wear the bandoleer of the bow priests over the right shoulder. This is made of white buckskin, decorated with fringes under the left arm and ornamented with a zigzag pattern of shells, four for each scalp taken. A little of the hair from each scalp is sewed into the broad fringed portion. The bandoleers of the bow priests hang by the outer doors of their houses. They are never taken into back rooms. They must always be removed before going into the room with the corn, or before drinking, lest the spring from which the water was drawn be contaminated. The bandoleers of the bow priests may be borrowed or imitated. Other less dangerous katchinas wear bandoleers of beadwork, yucca, cedar berries, or broad ribbon bands. Hunting impersonations wear a pouch such as hunters use to carry their animal fetishes and prayer meal. (O'wiwi, pl. 45, *d.*)

Arm bands of painted buckskin with long fringes and turkey feathers or painted tabs of buckskin attached to long strings are worn. These ornaments represent the sacred butterfly (lahacoma), a love charm which can make people crazy. "Lahacoma is the brightest of all the butterflies. It is yellow with spots of red and white and black.

<sup>31</sup> Turquoise is the Zuñi savings bank. After the sale of wool in the spring a man liquidates his debts and invests the balance in turquoise. Extravagant young men buy motor cars, but the thrifty man buys turquoise, which does not suffer depreciation.



It affects everyone, but especially young girls. It makes them follow the one who has it, whether they want to or not. It is as if they were crazy. They must go after anyone who has lahacoma. The Koyemci always use it. Their father is always looking for lahacoma, and when he finds it he puts it in their drum to make people come out to dances. It must be true, because everyone always runs after the Koyemci as soon as they hear their drum. They use it especially against people who are not interested in anything and who never come out for dances. They tell lahacoma to call them, and then they have to follow when they hear the drum. And when once they come they must always come after that whenever they hear the drum of the Koyemci. Other dancers use lahacoma on their arm bands or painted on their masks to make people come out. White missionaries have to come and ask people to come to Sunday school or church, but we do not have to do that. We have ways of making people want to come."

During the summer dancers wear branches of spruce thrust into their belts and armbands, and carry spruce in their hands. All female impersonations carry spruce. "Even the Tcakwena wears spruce in summer. It is to make the world green. In summer the rain dancers always dance in front of the house where the priests are in retreat,<sup>32</sup> and one of the priests comes out and sprinkles all the dancers with meal and takes a branch of spruce."

*Objects carried.*—All the dancing katchinas except a few, Towa Tcakwena, Hilili, and a few characters in the mixed dance, carry gourd rattles in the right hand and spruce in the left. The rattles are made by shaking the seeds out of dry gourds and inserting in their place small pebbles. The handle is inserted in the side. They are very different in form and sound from the rattles of the medicine societies, in which shells are used instead of pebbles. Special kinds of rattles are carried by various katchina priests. Saiyataca, Hūtutu, and the Sālimopīya carry rattles of deer scapulae, Kāklo carries a stuffed duck skin hung with little tinkling shells, the Kāna'kwe carry rattles made of turtle shells, similar to those worn on the leg.

Warrior impersonations carry bow and arrow in the left hand, in addition to spruce, and frequently a bunch of giant yucca instead of the rattle in the right. Whipping katchinas, like the Sālimopīya and Saiyali'a, carry yucca in both hands. As with the wearing of the great feather, the manner of carrying yucca switches indicates the katchina's temper and intentions. When he is friendly and comes just to dance or to show himself in the village he carries his yucca with the points back and the roots forward. But when he comes to whip, whether in punishment or exorcism, he carries the tips forward. The whipping is always done with the tips of the leaves. When whipping the children at their initiation the yucca switches are bound together to give

<sup>32</sup> See p. 514.

them greater firmness and are replaced with fresh as soon as the ends become limp. Katcinas are always instructed not to whip anyone who is carrying corn or water or any woman who is with child. After striking anyone the katcina passes the yucca before the victim's face, saying, "May you be blessed with seeds." Since he gives his blessing while wearing a mask, white people and other outsiders are never struck during these demonstrations.<sup>33</sup>

Several katcinas carry feathered wands or long staves with feathers (Muluktakā, pl. 46, *d*). P'autiwa and other katcina priests carry bundle of prayer sticks which are planted or otherwise disposed of in the course of their visit, or taken out with them to be planted later. Female impersonations carry branches of spruce or perfect ears of corn. This by no means exhausts the list of objects carried by the katcinas. One of the "little dancers" (Hehe'a) carries a bag of sand and red pepper, another a young spruce tree. Several of the scare katcinas carry great stone knives and the Ca'lako carry stone axes thrust in their belts out of sight. Almost anything which adds character to the impersonation may be brought.

The only katcina sets which have their own drum are the Short-haired or Drum Teakwena and one of the mixed dances. The drum is made of a bundle of clothing wrapped very tight in a strong buckskin and tied with thongs. It resounds when struck with a drumstick. The Koyemci sometimes bring a wooden drum which they use in the intermissions between dances.

Hilili, whether dancing indoors or out, do not sing for themselves but bring their own choir. These men are dressed like society members and wear masks. They use a pottery drum which they borrow from one of the societies.

During the winter dance series the katcinas dance indoors. Each kiva invites one of the medicine societies to sing for them. The society brings its own drum, which is played by the official drummer of the society, who is also the leader of the singing. They do not sing while the katcinas are dancing, but in the intervals between dances, while the "little dancers" are going around.

Every katcina carries in his belt a small package of seeds which is called his "heart." This package contains corn of all colors, squash, melons, sometimes wild seeds, but not wheat, pumpkins, or cucumbers. Each man gets the seeds from his wife or mother. They form one of the most important parts of his regalia. A dancer will never go out without his seeds. When a priest requests that a dance be repeated, as he sprinkles each dancer in the line with meal, he takes from his belt his package of seeds. Usually he takes only from the

<sup>33</sup> In 1926 a Saiyali'a whipped a white school-teacher who was standing too close. He was rebuked by the katcina chief for "having given away his good luck."

first two or three in line. These are kept and planted next spring, and are believed to grow faster than other seeds. The men whose seeds are taken must obtain another package before going out to dance next day. If he should dance without his "heart" he would have no power. It is said that one of the reasons why there is no longer any exchange of dance sets between the Zuñi and Hopi villages is because the Zuñis discovered that the Hopis carried no seeds, and therefore had no power. The Zuñis, however, always carried seeds when they went to dance in Hopi villages, "and so they took all their crops and all their good luck over to the Hopi country, and here we had nothing at all."

Before participating in any masked ritual, in fact, before any participation in ceremony, the head must be washed in yucca suds. Even impersonators of kadcina priests, who have been in retreat before their public ceremonies, return to their houses before dressing long enough to have their heads bathed by their wives or mothers. No man ever washes his own hair. In dressing the order is, first the body paint, then the costume, and last of all the mask. There are probably more elaborate rituals of dressing for all the kadcina priests. When all the men are ready to go out, as the line of dancers leaves the kiva the chief spits medicine on each one of them. "It is called *utea'owe* (flower meal) or *Paiyatamu* medicine. It is made by medicine men in the society houses, and only society people have it. If the kiva chief does not belong to a society he must get this medicine from someone who has it. It is made from the petals of yellow and purple flowers." All the butterflies go to the bright-colored flowers and people like to pick them. Therefore they make this medicine from the bright flowers. They mix it with the paint they use on the masks and body, to make the dancers beautiful. Only the headmen know about this medicine. They take a little of it and as the dancers come out of the kiva to go to the plaza the kiva chief puts the medicine in his mouth and prays: "Now my father sun, you make the day beautiful. You send light and the clouds of all directions to make the world beautiful. You make the days beautiful in all directions. Therefore, we have made this *paiyatamu* medicine from the bright flowers." So he says and takes the medicine in his mouth and spits a little of it on each of the dancers as they come out.<sup>34</sup>

### ORGANIZATION OF THE KATCINA SOCIETY

The Kadcina Society (*kotikan'e*, *ko ex koko*, *kadcina* + *tikan'e*, secret society) comprises all the adult males of the community and a few initiated females. The rites of initiation are described elsewhere (p. 975). Girls ordinarily are told the secrets of the kadcina cult by

<sup>34</sup> This medicine is also a love charm. Mothers use it in the same way on their girls before they go out to watch a dance, "to make them beautiful, so that everyone will like to look at them."

their fathers when they are thought to have reached the age of discretion, at about the age of 12. However, even before this time the secrets of the cult are not as strictly guarded from them as from boys, since they are regarded as less responsible members of the community. Girls may in rare cases be initiated into the Katcina Society and participate in dances. They are sometimes given to the Katcina Society, as they might be given to another society, in sickness. The katchinas cure for "bad dreams" (hallucinations). Frequently girls are whipped in the kiva to cure them of "bad dreams," but initiation is rarely resorted to. Girls may also join, on request, to take the place of an aged female relative, as reported by Stevenson (*Life of a Zuni Child*), or they may volunteer to join. Few women avail themselves of this privilege. It is considered "shameless" (*kwa ya'tsawilam're*).<sup>35</sup> Mrs. Stevenson is in error in stating that girls take vows of chastity<sup>36</sup> on joining the Katcina Society. There are three female members of the Katcina Society at the present time, and all of them are or have been married. A married woman has recently applied for membership.

The function of the Katcina Society is the presentation of masked dances and rituals, but it also cooperates with the priestly hierarchy in all great ceremonies in which masked personages appear.

The head of the Katcina Society is the katchina chief (*komosona*, *ko + mosona*, chief or leader). He is appointed for life by the council of the priests, from the Antelope clan. Usually he trains some young man in his family to succeed him, and on his death or retirement his selection is ratified by the priests. The katchina chief is assisted by the katchina *pekwin*, similarly appointed from the Badger clan, and two katchina bow priests, members of any clan selected from the bow priesthood. The office of katchina *pekwin* has been vacant for several years, three incumbents having died in rapid succession. This series of disasters made possible candidates afraid to accept the office and grave concern is felt over the failure to fill this important post. Because of this vacancy the initiation ceremony has not been held since 1919.<sup>37</sup>

Theoretically the power of the katchina chief is very great, but it is hedged and checked by the independent powers of the kivas and the

<sup>35</sup> Not because she is a woman, but because she has been forward, in offering to join a ceremony without being invited. To join a society when there is no need, like buying a pew in a fashionable church, is regarded as an undignified grabbing at prestige, and consequently carries no prestige. "Joiners" are looked upon with amused contempt, for having expended so much goods in such a fruitless cause.

<sup>36</sup> Chastity, as a way of life, is looked upon with great disfavor. No one comes in for harsher criticism, in life and literature, than the girl who refuses to marry. This does not apply, needless to say, to ceremonial continence.

<sup>37</sup> This circumstance has given the whole clan a "bad name." The Badger people in general and the Onaawa priesthood in particular are accused of trafficking with whites, and the death of three office holders of the clan is considered a reflection of this pollution. The office was filled during the winter solstice of 1928 and the ceremony commanded for the spring of 1929.

various cult groups (see below).<sup>38</sup> He officiates at many important ceremonies and is regarded as a repository of katchina lore. He has, of course, powerful supernatural connections. He is not a priest, hence not a member of the council (Mrs. Stevenson's "First Body of the Aciwanni"). However, his advice is sought by the priests in all important matters, and his word carries great weight. He is always referred to by title rather than name and his children have taken his title as a patronymic. The present incumbent is a man of great personal influence. He is a most rigorous observer of all ancient practices and exacting in his demands on those who hold office under him. He is bitter in his denunciation of those suspected of trafficking with whites and those who are lax in preserving the secrecy of all religious rites. Since the retirement of Tsawela from the office of bow priest Komosona has been the leader of the conservative ("Catholic") faction.

The katchina pekwin is his subordinate and assistant. The two katchina bow priests serve chiefly as messengers of the katchina chief. They sometimes bring in the line of dancers in the summer rain dances, although this duty belongs theoretically to the katchina chief and his pekwin. As bow priests, they have the office of guarding secret rituals, punishing intruders, and general policing.

The membership at large of the Katchina Society is composed of six groups,<sup>39</sup> very unequal in size, each with its own organization. These are primarily dancing societies. At the head of each group is the kiva chief (otakamos'i, literally dance chief). He is called kiva chief in the following pages because the term has become accepted in Hopi usage, and clearly describes his place in the sacerdotal organization. There may be in each group one or more assistant kiva chiefs (also called otakamos'i, and two or more wo'we (literally "creature"). The kiva chief is the responsible head. He sets the dates for dances of his group,<sup>40</sup> decides what dance is to be given, calls rehearsals, teaches the participants their songs, superintends the preparation of the masks, plants prayer sticks before the dance and observes the usual ritual requirements attendant thereon, and on the day of the dance stands in the center of the line and leads the singing. The two wo'we have charge of the paraphernalia of the dance. They

<sup>38</sup> An interesting case of the checks upon authority in Zuñi occurred in connection with the last initiation ceremony. For a time there was some doubt as to whether the ceremony could be held, although it had been ordered by the priests. The member of the Great Fire Society, whose office it was to make the sand paintings in the kivas, refused to cooperate. He had many old scores to settle with the priests—he had once been persecuted for witchcraft, and was cordially hated. So, like Achilles, he sulked in his tent until all the priests came to him and ate humble pie. Then he deigned to serve. Until he had been mollified, the ceremony could not go on, because no one else "knew how"—that is, had the necessary supernatural power. Others might be able to make the paintings, but they would not know the prayers, so they would not be potent.

<sup>39</sup> Called upa-we, from upe, "within," a verbal stem meaning "to be in" in the literal and ceremonial sense of being in retreat.

<sup>40</sup> Except the first dances of the summer and winter series, held on set dates of the Zuñi calendar.



collect and decorate the masks. They paint the masks, the men themselves attach the feathers and other ornaments. The wowe superintend the gathering of other clothing and the spruce boughs that are so prominent a part of the paraphernalia of the katchinas. In addition to the regular wowe for the dances, each group has at least one special Ca'lako wo'le, and a Salimopiya wo'le. They may, of course, serve in double capacity. This is the theoretical organization, which is much broken down at present. None of the groups has the full quota of officers. Muhewa, for instance, has only one wo'le on whom falls all the exacting tasks connected with the presentation of masked dances and the Ca'lako ritual.

Each of the six divisions of the Katchina Society is associated with a ceremonial building, the kivas.<sup>41</sup> In Zuñi these are square buildings, contained within the house groups. They have no doors on the streets, the entrance being through the hatchway in the roof, the method by which all Zuñi houses were entered until recent years. The kivas may also be entered through doorways leading into adjoining houses. The windows on the street are tiny apertures; they do not contain panes of glass or mica. Usually they are filled with small stones or stuffed with cloth. The kivas have ledges running about the walls, such as used to be common in Zuñi homes.

The fireplace is a boxlike structure with open side, located in the center of the room, directly under the hatchway. There is no flue, and the smoke escapes through the opening above. Zuñi dwelling houses have excellently constructed corner fireplaces with chimneys. The inner ladder rises behind the fireplace. Zuñi kivas do not have the shipapu, the hole in the floor, symbolizing the place of emergence, which is found in ancient and modern kivas in other villages. The location of the kivas is indicated on Kroeber's map of the Zuñi village.<sup>42</sup> Kroeber points out the fact that they are all located on courts or plazas.

The six kivas are named, and the dance groups are named from the building with the addition of the suffix meaning "people." The names of the kivas are derived from fortuitous and trivial associations. The six kivas are associated with the six cardinal points, as follows: He'iwa (he'i, wall, wa, locative suffix) with the north; muhe-wa (muhe-, dung, wa) with the west; tcupa-wa (teu-, corn kernels, uḡa, kiva group, wa) with the south; ohe-wa (ohe-, brains, wa) with the east; upḡsana-wa (uḡa, kiva group; ḡsana, small, wa)

<sup>41</sup> The Zuñi word is *kiwitsine*. Kiva is a Hopi word which has become the standardized term in literature of the Southwest for the ceremonial rooms of peculiar construction which are found in all ancient and modern pueblos. Usually they are isolated buildings, circular in form, and either partly or wholly subterranean. The structure, especially of the fireplace, is always unmistakable. The multiplicity of kivas in early ruins suggests that in early times they were differently employed. I do not know the etymology of the Zuñi word, but I suspect a Shoshonean derivation. Ki is the stem for house in all Shoshonean dialects, which makes the Hopi etymology perfectly clear. Zuñi contains no stem *ki*, *kiwi*, or anything like it. Polysyllabic stems are very rare.

<sup>42</sup> Kroeber, 1913.



with the above; he'kāpa'wa (he'kāpan'e, back wall, or place behind a wall, wa) with below. There is no fixed order for visiting the various kivas, although the association with the directions would indicate a fixed ceremonial circuit. Each masked personage has his own route through the village. He'iwa is the chief kiva. Here is set up the great solstice altar, and here are held the ceremonies that usher in the new year 10 days later. Here also is made the great altar and sand painting for initiation of little boys. It is located on tsia'awa (tsia'a, to cut or tear, wa) plaza. Adjoining the kiva but unconnected with it is the ceremonial house of the town chiefs (called teciwan'i, tē, place, ciwan'i, priest) which is considered to be the actual center of the world, and is the most sacred place in Zuñi. The court is entirely inclosed, except for two narrow passages leading to it, which were built over until quite recently. In tsia'awa are held all the outdoor dances of the katchinas. They visit the other three recognized plazas of the village, but spend most of their time in tsia'awa. Here the Koyemci remain at play during their dances. Here are held other important outdoor ceremonies, the presentation of Le'eto'we to the light, the dance of the Lewe'kwe, and the summer dance of the Ne'we'kwe. Other ceremonies which involve the setting up of complicated altars or bowers in which the chiefs of the tribe sit are held in the large plaza (tēhwito lan'a), probably because it is more spacious, although the fact that the ancient Spanish mission church adjoins the large plaza may have something to do with it.

Except for esoteric ceremonies, the kivas are rapidly falling into disuse. In folk tales which reflect older conditions the kivas were used for all ceremonies, including those of the medicine societies, and for all preparations for ceremonies. They were also the clubhouses of the men, as they still are among the Hopi. During the winter months Hopi men spend most of their time in the kivas, weaving, gaming, and story-telling. Even in Mrs. Stevenson's time <sup>44</sup> Zuñi kivas were used to a much greater extent than at present. At that time the winter dances of the Kokokci were held in the kivas.<sup>45</sup> Now they are held in the houses of the kiva chiefs. The chief summer solstice altar used to be set up in the kiva to which the katchina chief belonged; now it is set up in his house and the all-night ceremonies of the return of the katchinas are held there. The use of the kiva is coming to be more and more restricted to the strictly esoteric ceremonies of the Katchina Society. All public ceremonies are held outdoors or in the homes of prominent officials.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Zuñi Indians, p. 62.

<sup>45</sup> Zuñi Indians, p. 145.

<sup>46</sup> According to mythology the kivas were built by order of Kāklo, when he announced the first coming of the masked gods, as houses in which to receive the divine children. In the Zuñi mind they are associated exclusively with the mysteries of the katchina cult. Nevertheless the winter solstice ceremony of the war gods is held in he'iwa kiva, a circumstance which reflects historic phenomena at variance with native dogma.

The various kiva groups are regarded as related as elder and younger brother, as follows: When the elder brother group is dancing the younger brother will be invited, through a gift of corn meal to the kiva chief, to participate, and will furnish the female impersonations. A man who for one reason or another misses the dance of his own group will participate, if possible, in the dance of the brother group.

In addition to the six dance groups there are associated with the Katcina Society a large number of cult groups which control the great calendrical ceremonies of the katcina priests. It has already been pointed out that the Zuñi distinguish two types of masked impersonations, the *katcinas*, which I have called the dancing *katcinas*, and the *katcina* priests. The *katcina* priests do not come to dance. They never dance outdoors. If they dance at all it is before special groups, and in the *kivas* to the songs of other choirs. This is not considering dancing in the same sense as the dancing of the *Koḥokci* or other groups who provide their own music.<sup>47</sup> They come to perform certain priestly functions, to "make the New Year," to reaffirm the gods and bring their blessings, to initiate the children into the mysteries of the *katcina* cult. They are, indeed, priests wearing masks. They wear ancient masks, permanently associated with a single impersonation, which are tribal and not individual property. The impersonators are chosen either by the council of priests or by special cult groups who are the trustees of their ritual.

A cult group may be defined as any self-perpetuating body whose chief function is the preservation of an esoteric ritual in connection with some sacred object. The cult groups of the *katcina* cult are, therefore, similar to priests, although they are not called priests by the Zuñi. The group may consist of one man, like the "keeper"<sup>48</sup> of *Tcakwena okä*, it may consist of three or four men, like the "*Ḳäklo* people" or the *Saiyataca wo'we*, or a large group, like the "*Pautiwa* people." The members of the cult in some cases themselves perform the ritual (*Ḳäklo*); in other cases they delegate the performance to others. Furthermore, the sacred object which forms the central feature of cult activities may be cared for by another group (the mask of *Ḳäklo*, which is kept in the house of the *katcina* *pekwin* and removed and returned by a group of men of the Corn clan). This intricate type of organization is not confined to masked impersonations.

The masks used in the impersonations of the *katcina* priests are ancient and permanent. They are "from the first beginning"

<sup>47</sup> The exceptions are the *Koyemci* who mimic in the plaza the dances of other groups and the *Sälimöpiya* and related *katcinas* who sometimes come in the winter dances. But these are not the "real" *sälimöpiya*, i. e., they do not use the ancient masks.

<sup>48</sup> *Tcakwena Oka il'ona*, from *il'i*, literally to be with, in the double sense of possessing and belonging to an object of ritual (it is used also literally for the possession of property: *kwanil'i*, to have something, to be wealthy). A man also "has" a society, that is, belongs to a society (*itikili*). The gods are "those who have the roads" (*awona'wilona*). The word is usually translated by Zuñis as "the ones who look after us."

(teimiḡānapkowa). According to tradition they are the very masks that were made when the kadcina cult and the custom of masks were first instituted by order of the masked gods themselves. They may, however, be replaced by order of the priests in exceptional circumstances.<sup>49</sup> Each represents a named and fully individualized kadcina. The masks are usually repainted and redecorated each time they are used, but they are never made over into the masks of other individuals.<sup>50</sup> They are not the property of the men who keep them or wear them; they are held in trust like the rain-making fetishes of the priests, and are second only to them in sanctity and power. There are at least 52 such masks, exclusive of the 12 masks belonging to medicine societies and the large group of masks of the Kana-kwe ceremony. The location of each of these is general knowledge. In the back rooms of Zuñi houses are probably many more ancient masks whose ceremonies have lapsed.

The impersonators of these kadcina priests are sacred in a way that the participants in rain dances are not. They are chosen by the cult group or the priests, to whom they are responsible. They are, therefore, outside the jurisdiction of the Kadcina Society. The exceptions to this are Kāklo and the Sälimoḡiya group who participate in the first whipping of little boys. These beings, whose chief function is the affirmation of the power of the Kadcina Society, represent the kadcina chief and his associates and are responsible to them. Even when impersonators of kadcina priests are not themselves cult members they must plant prayer sticks and observe all the ritual restrictions. Frequently they observe regular retreats. The Koyemci, for example, observe a strict retreat of 14 days, the longest and strictest in Zuñi ritual. Often the impersonators must learn complicated esoteric rituals and long chants, like that of Saiyataca.

The following table shows in outline the activities of these cult groups. It gives the names of the permanent masks, the house where each is kept (the numbers refer to the numbered houses on Kroeber's map of Zuñi village), the membership of the various groups associated with each impersonation, and their principal activities.

<sup>49</sup> See p. 931.

<sup>50</sup> Like all categorical statements in regard to Zuñi ritualism, this, too, must be qualified. The classification of the monsters is not clear. Natacku is an ancient and permanent mask. It is permanent, necessarily, by reason of its form, and ancient, because "they wouldn't bury it. No one would want to have another made like it, because it can not be used for anything else." Therefore there must be someone to "look after" Natacku—the germ of a cult. But the other masks that come with him, and share his function of disciplining recalcitrant children, are not, to the best of my knowledge, permanent masks. Nor, so far as I know, is Abe'a, who has a prominent part in the initiation ceremonies and might well be called a kadcina priest.

| Name of katchina | House No.       | Membership of cult group                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Chief ceremonies                                                                                                                                     | Choice of personator                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | Principal activities                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Pautiwa.....     | 161 (Pik.)..... | Mask is kept by family of chief priests, Pi'tekwe clan. All men who have personated Pautiwa at winter solstice form cult group for perpetuation of ritual. They, too, are Pi'tekwe clan, or child of Pi'tekwe. Assisted by members of Sun clan. | 1. The New Year.....<br><br>2. Mo'tiwa.....<br><br>3. Komhalkwi.....                                                                                 | 1. Chosen by cult members from Pi'tekwe clan or child of Pi'tekwe. If not already a member of cult group, becomes a member by virtue of this participation.<br><br>2. Must be Aiyahokwe clan or child of Aiyahokwe chosen by priests at Iliwana (?).             | He "makes the New Year." Is present at making of New Year fire; reads omens for the year; leaves at kivas crooks for the appointment of Ca'lako participants. Cult activities involve learning long esoteric chant, and frequent prayer-stick plantings.<br><br>He brings in the Corn Maids. The impersonator makes monthly prayer-stick offerings. He plants alone, and learns his ritual from "any old man."<br><br>He comes to exercise during period between winter solstice and the New Year. No cult activities. All the women of the Corn clan grind for him. |
| Salyala (9)..... | 414.....        | The four personators form a cult group from the winter solstice until Ca'lako.                                                                                                                                                                  | 11. The New Year.....<br><br>2. Final whipping of boys, after Ca'lako.<br>3. First whipping of boys.<br>4. Rabbit hunt.<br>5. Special occasions..... | Chosen by priests on sixth day of Itekw. The particular individuals are selected by the dance chief from a kiva designated by the priests. The sanction comes directly from the priests.<br>The same.....<br><br>Appointed by kop'laciwani by order of komosona. | They are exorcisers. They come on the last night of Itekw to take away the old year; they whip the children at their initiation; are summoned by the katchina chief to punish any infringement of the rules of the katchina society.<br>So far as known there are no cult activities except prayers. Probably they must observe continence and plant prayer sticks.<br>To punish offenders against the katchina cult and to administer general whipping to avert bad luck as a result of the infringement of rules.                                                  |

| Name of katcina                     | House No.   | Membership of cult group                                                                                                                                                                                       | Chief ceremonies                                                   | Choice of personator                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Principal activities                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Chisokā 1.<br>Kwōkōh                | 122         | Koko Lana order of Big Fire Society.                                                                                                                                                                           | New Year.....                                                      | Chosen by Big Fire Society probably by Koko Lana order.                                                                                                                                                                                                             | They dance for the New Year during all night ceremonies in He'iwa kiva, and assist at making of New Year fire. Cult activities are connected with curing. Come with Koko Lana at curing ceremony which initiates into this order. Curing songs connected with this ceremony.                                                                                                                                |
| Tōkwāwā 1.<br>Ola                   | 20 (Badger) | Badger clan man or child of Badger from this house.                                                                                                                                                            | New Year.....<br>Rabbit hunt.                                      | Mask is worn by man who has charge of it.                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Visits all houses of village to bless women in pregnancy and childbirth.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Kōyōkōh 10                          | 87          | The masks are kept by the people of the Itohiapawa priesthood. The personators form a temporary cult group, which changes each year.                                                                           | All rain dances.....<br>Ca'lako.<br>First whipping of little boys. | At New Year the priests appoint Father Kōyōkōh from certain clans and certain societies in fixed rotation. He appoints the office man. They hold office until after Ca'lako, and ordinarily return to office after four years.                                      | They assist, with clouting at all rain dances, have all-night ceremonies in their house at Ca'lako, bring in Kōkko, and assists at first and second whipping of boys. Many minor ceremonies. Cult activities: They use special chant, have many esoteric songs and chants, monthly play-slick plantings at list on shrines; today retreat preceding and throughout Ca'lako festivities.                     |
| Sōyōkōh 1.<br>Huturu.<br>Yōmōkōh 20 | 56 (Pik.)   | Salyataca w'o'band his associates hold office for life, and have charge of the perpetuation of the ritual. The personators form a temporary cult group during period of incumbency. The chief w'o'le is Nawēd. | Ca'lako.....                                                       | Appointed by priests at New Year, and hold office until the following December. With the exception of Culawitsi who must be Badger or child of Badger, personators may be chosen from any clan. Culawitsi is a little boy and is assisted by his ceremonial father. | Great public ceremony for fertility at house which they dedicate at Ca'lako. Cult activities: All personators of the Salyataca party plant prayer sticks monthly at distant shrines throughout year of office. Observe a 4-day retreat immediately preceding public ceremony. Salyataca has a long esoteric chant, and furthermore must perform special ceremonies throughout the summer to prevent frosts. |

| C'u'twiti..... | 26. Pek.)<br>X-103a (another mask). | ..... This mask belongs to the salimoya cult. See below.                                                                                                                                                                                                          | ..... First whipping of boys<br>Ca'lako.....                          | ..... Selected by head men of U'pam-awa kiva. He is a man and may belong to any clan.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ca'lako        |                                     | The masks are never touched by the people of the houses where they are kept. Each kiva has a Ca'lako wo'te, who takes care of the mask, clothing, etc., and transmits the ritual. The personators form a cult group for the period during which they hold office. |                                                                       | Each Ca'lako set has a great public ceremony for fertility in a different house on the night of Ca'lako. Cult activities: Monthly prayer stick plantings; 4-day retreat before public ceremony; esoteric chant; the personators work during the summer for the house where their ceremony is held and the house where their mask is kept. There are minor ceremonies at the removal and return of the masks. He visits all the kivas to announce the coming of the katcinas to whip the boys. |
| Kaklo          | House of the kat-<br>cila pekwin    | The mask is kept in the house of the katcina pekwin and cared for by 2 men of the Corn clan, who act as servants to the personator. The ritual belongs to a group of 4 men, P'tekwe and child of P'telkwe.                                                        | Twice, at intervals of 8 days, at quadrantal whipping of little boys. | The cult group meets at frequent intervals to repeat their chant, which is very long and esoteric. They probably observe regular retreats and prayer-stick plantings, but information is lacking.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

<sup>1</sup> These two masks are not, strictly speaking, koko. They are included in this table because of the important place they occupy in the calendar. At the New Year ceremony they appear with the katcinas, and perform similar functions. This is not the case with the other mask of the Big Fire Society (Koko Lama) which is never brought out publicly, and functions only in curing ceremonies.

<sup>2</sup> Out of town. Old house 325.

<sup>3</sup> There was no katcina pekwin in 1929 and the mask was still in the house of the man who held this office in 1919, where the ceremony was last performed. The mask will not be transferred when the new pekwin is appointed, but only after the next performance of the ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> The ceremony has not been held since 1919, because so many of the children are away at school and also because there have been changes in the office of katcina pekwin. The office is vacant and there is no successor.



| Name of katcina        | Horse No. | Membership of cult group                                                                            | Chief ceremonies                                                                            | Choice of personator                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | Principal activities                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Salmopya group         | ...       | Each kiva has a special Salmopya w'e, who looks after mask, clothing, etc., and ritual.             | Quadrennial whipping of little boys                                                         | Personators appointed the day Káko first comes by head men of kivas, as follows:<br>H'e'wa, Yellow S;<br>Lehooktipona,<br>Lehooktipona,<br>Muhewa, Blue S;<br>Tsupawa, Red S;<br>Nawico,<br>Ohewa, White S;<br>Anahoho,<br>Upisamawa, Speckled S,<br>Culawitsi,<br>Hekapawa, Black S;<br>T'poyona | They visit the whole village exercising and finally whip the little boys in the plaza. The personators observe an 8-day retreat from the day following Káko's coming, until their public appearance. They are the only groups to use kivas for retreats. The old masks are supposed to be used only for this ceremony. If they are taken out at any other time, the wearer must "count days." When Culawitsi comes at Ca'lako, he wears a different mask. The salyalia masks are kept with the Blue Salmopya, but they do not belong to Salmopya group. They constitute a separate cult (See above.) |
| Kyána'twe <sup>1</sup> | 391       | All male members of Corn clan or their children, members of Tsupawa kiva "belong" to this ceremony. | A quadrennial giveaway dance performed in mid-summer following the whipping of little boys. | The members of the cult group, by order of the priests, who command the dance by giving a crook to the chief at the winter solstice.                                                                                                                                                              | A large public dance probably preceded by retreat. Frequent meetings to practice songs and prayers.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Olowigá                | (?)       | There are 3 men who "know" the ritual of this mask and its appointments.                            | Performed at irregular intervals, is supplement to last rain dance of summer series.        | The chief of the cult (Káwassa) performs this ritual at request of Pekwin.                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | A public ritual to insure virility and protect against venereal disease. The ceremony involves use of paraphernalia, knowledge of special prayers. Personator must be continent and probably plants prayer sticks.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

|                                                                         |                  |       |                                          |                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------|------------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Halmawd (probably also his companions, Homateci, Tentenci, and Aintci). | Komoson's house. | ..... | Appears irregularly by order of Komoson. | Chosen by Komoson..... | Used to come to behold boys who revealed secrets of initiation. Now comes to frighten those who tell. Accompanied by Homateci, Tentenci, Aintci. Impersonator must recite prayers. Probably must be confined and plant prayer sticks. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------|------------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

\* These are not kok.

## PREPARATION OF DANCES

Each kiva is required to present at least three group dances during the calendar year. These occur during the three months following the winter solstice, during the three months following the summer solstice, and during the five days following the Ca'lako. Each kiva must, furthermore, cooperate in the winter dances of the other five groups, either by presenting a group dance of its own or by sending representatives to dance with another group. They may in addition send "Little Dancers," isolated impersonations, to dance between the rounds of group dances.

The order, but not the dates, of the winter dances is fixed. The kiva chief of the group that is to present the first dance of the season receives a cigarette from pekwin commanding him to appear. The date for this dance used to be fixed at eight days after the New Year, but now it occurs "whenever they are ready." The duty of presenting the first dance of the season falls in succeeding years on the different kivas, as follows: He'iwa, muhe'wa, tcupa'wa, ohe'wa, hekapa'wa, up'tsanawa. The dances of the kivas are supposed to follow one another in the same order. Each kiva sends in messengers to announce their dance, and to present a cigarette to the group that is to follow next in order. Certain kivas, however, are procrastinating. If after the passage of a reasonable length of time the next group gives no signs of preparation for its dance, its place will be taken by some more energetic group. The order and dates of dancing in the summer series are not fixed, except the first dance which must be performed eight days after the solstice by the kiva which presented the first winter dance. Of all the groups, he'kapa'kwe is the most dilatory. In the fall of 1923, for instance, it did not dance at all after Ca'lako, and gave no ko'upt-conan'e (the large winter dances; see below), and so they dropped out of the summer series that year also. The following year they were very tardy in giving their winter dance, and the following summer they had not yet begun to rehearse on August 28, when my informant reported to me the dissatisfaction of the theocracy. "They should all dance during the summer when we need rain, but now it is the end of August, and they have not yet begun to rehearse. Everyone is angry about it because no one wants rain in the fall when we are working on our wheat harvest, and yet that is the time the hekapa'wa people always dance. They say that their chief is a witch, and so no one wants to dance with him. The men would rather dance with other kivas. That is why they can never get ready in time." Muhe'wa also is inclined to be tardy. Their organization is very much broken down; they have only one wo'le, who is also Ca'lako wo'le. He is a very old man and the duties are too much for him. Their dance directors, too, are elderly men, and the younger men are lax in their duties. In 1927 they did not dance

the required dance after Ca'lako, although the younger men of the kiva put on a cow dance, as an extra dance the first night. In 1928 they did not appear after Ca'lako until the very last night, when they were represented by one old man accompanied by four little boys about ten years old dancing Hemuci'kwe. On the last day three men danced in the plaza. Teupa'wa is the most energetic of the kivas. They always dance early in the summer, and both the years that I witnessed Ca'lako they had large groups out dancing Muluktakā from the first night on. They were the only group dancing for the first two nights.

The winter dances are known as ko'uptcona'we (the gods being in sundry places). These dances are held at night, in the houses of the chiefs of the kivas, the various groups visiting all the houses.

The group which receives the cigarette presents the ko'uptconan'e. This group must dance KoK'okci or one of its variants. In recent years, however, other traditional dances, such as Teakwena or Wo'temla (the mixed dance), have been substituted, although this is not considered orthodox. The other groups, notified four days in advance by masked messengers of the forthcoming event, may present any traditional dance, or a novelty, or may merely be represented by isolated dancers or dancers appearing with other groups. Five female impersonators in the group that is presenting the dance carry sacks of seed corn which are presented to the five kivas where the group dance as guests. The seed corn is left on the altars, and later distributed to all present in the room. The officiating group receives in return from the other groups five bundles of prayer sticks which are planted the following day by messengers usually designated by the group presenting the prayer sticks. The men planting the prayer sticks are the only ones to observe continence and therefore on their piety depends the efficacy of the offerings.

The summer dances theoretically must be the same dances as presented by the kivas at their own ko'uptcona'we, and therefore, if orthodoxy ruled would also always be KoK'okci or its variants. However, both Teakwenas and Wo'temla are frequently danced in summer. This may be either because they are repeating an unauthorized selection of the winter, or because although the selection in winter was orthodox, the rule that the second half of the year must duplicate the first has been broken.

During the five days after Ca'lako each kiva is required to give a dance which is traditionally the property of that group, as follows:

heiwa, Towā Teakwena.

muhe'wa, Hemuci'kwe.

teupa'wa Muluktakā

ohewa Wo'temla

upts'ana'wa Teahumo'a'we (drum Teakwena, also called Laguna Teakwena)

hekāpa'wa Mahefinaca

This program also is not strictly adhered to. Maheñinaca is no longer popular because these dancers are unduly familiar with girls and women,<sup>53</sup> and is therefore no longer danced. In 1924 hekap'kwe did not dance at all, in 1927 they combined with ohe'kwe (they were entertained in the same house), and in 1928 danced a mixed dance using a bundle drum and otherwise different from that of ohe'wa. Omissions from the full program have already been noted. Furthermore, it is customary for kivas entertained in the same house to dance together. Whenever any kiva departs from the rule of performing KoK'okci at its ko'uptconan'e or summer rain dance, it is always one of these traditional kiva dances that is performed, never one of the new or borrowed dances.

Extra dances may be introduced into the calendar at any time the kateinas are "in" by any group of young men who wish to dance. These are usually new or borrowed dances, elaborate to the point of garishness in costume, difficult in music and dance step, and generally "fancy." This type of dance is also frequently performed by assisting groups at ko'uptconawa. The usual times for interpolating new dances are late winter and early spring, the early fall, between the wheat and corn harvest, before the kateinas are "sent home" in November, and the night of Ca'lako and the five days following. They are organized by the young men with the approval and cooperation of the kiva heads. "When they want to have a new dance like the Cow dance or any other dance they have not had before, they ask the kateina chief if it will be all right to have that dance, and he will decide. No matter what kind of new kateina they make up this way, they join the people at the Sacred Lake, just the way new babies are born here. They pray like the others, and they have just as much power. Still the people are more afraid of the old masks, because they come from long ago."

Group dances, therefore, seem to be of three kinds:

KoKokci and its variants, Upi'kaiap'ona and Hakeina Cilowa (rare), which should, according to rule, be performed at all the regular dances of the winter and summer series.

Traditional kiva dances, which are performed during the five days following Ca'lako, and may be substituted for KoKokci at the summer and winter series, or performed by assisting groups in the winter series.

New or borrowed dances, which may be performed by assisting groups at the winter series, or introduced as extra dances during winter or summer.

In dances of the regular series the kiva chief decides about when he would like his men to perform. He sends word to all the men of his kiva to meet at his house for rehearsals. The two wo'we, provided

<sup>53</sup> The name is derived from mahe, faeces; tina, to sit.

the kiva has the full quota of officers, carry the message. The usual time for delivering messages of this kind is at the time of the evening meal when the men are almost sure to be at their homes. That evening, after the women and children have retired, the men convene. The kiva chief announces that the time has come for them to dance, and tells them what dance he has chosen, asking, "What do you think of it?" The men reply, "Very well," and the rehearsal proceeds.

The first matter is learning the songs. Certain dances have traditional songs, e. g., the Drum *Tcakwena* imported from Laguna, and preserving its songs in the Keresan tongue;<sup>54</sup> *Kāna'kwe*, whose songs are in a foreign tongue which Mrs. Stevenson believes to be Keresan; *Hemuci'kwe*, who sing only three short songs which are traditional, but in the *Zuñi* tongue; and *Hilili*, with songs in a foreign tongue, possibly *Hopi*. For other dances new songs are or should be composed each time the dance is performed. Generally new words are set to traditional airs, but sometimes innovations are introduced into the melodic frame. The songs are made by any man with a talent for poetry and music. He need not be a member of the kiva that is giving the dance, but may be invited to do this. The words of the songs are part of the *katsina* characterization. *Towa Tcakwena*, for example, always "talks sharply." His songs sometimes are homilies to the young. (See p. 1018.) After *Ca'lako* he always has one song calling the *Koyemci* by name, with comments, usually of an uncomplimentary character. They have other songs also in which other members of the community have their *pecadillos* held up for public ridicule. Men are twitted for the infidelity of their wives, and any error in ritual will be seized upon. For example, "I am *Towa Tcakwena*, and I go about all over to see the world. I came out from the Village of the Masked Gods and came to ———. Here they were having an initiation. They were putting a child into the *Ciwana'kwe* Society. There my mothers of the *Dogwood* clan gave their child a drink. . . ." <sup>55</sup> *Mahet'inaca* has similar songs. "The *Raw* People are dangerous. They are wise. But even the *Raw* People are afraid of the *Bear* girl. When she showed her claws in the plaza, even the *Raw* People ran away." The allusion is to a girl of the *Bear* clan who chose the spectacular moment of the *Yaya* dance to humble her successful rival in love. The jilted maiden lived in a house on the plaza and when she saw her rival dancing in the plaza she and a cousin rushed from the house, dragged the girl from the circle of dancers and beat her up in proper *Zuñi* fashion. At *Zuñi* only women indulge in fist fights as a method of settling rivalries in

<sup>54</sup> Stevenson, p. 218.

<sup>55</sup> The song is paraphrased. The text was not recorded and not all the words were audible to the writer. The allusion was to two women who knew no better than to give a drink of water to their "child" during his initiation, thus violating his sacredness. He must not touch food or water during the ceremonies.



love. Even the gentle KoKokci, although their songs usually are descriptive of rain and growth, may allude mildly to the failings of their friends. The references are usually more veiled. "Our two daylight fathers journeyed to the east to visit the sun and the moon. When they returned their children questioned them, 'What did the Sun say to you?' But they had not seen the sun." This refers to a journey by two of the priests to Washington to lay the grievances before the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. They returned without having seen him, and the people who had been led to expect great things of the journey felt that their messengers had bungled things badly. The following are typical KoKokci songs. These were recorded on the phonograph by Mr. Georg Herzog in 1927, and the texts were afterwards recorded by the writer.

## I

"Guess, younger brother,  
Whose fine tracks go all about here?  
All over my water-filled field  
He has walked about."  
"Can you not guess,"  
Thus he said to his younger brother.  
"The child of the rain makers,  
The water frog,  
Goes about hurrying his fathers, the rain makers."

"Fathers, hurry!  
Beautiful ones,  
Cloud over your child.  
When the water spreads out  
Your child will sit in the water  
Calling for rain."

Uhu ehe ye'lu  
Uhu ehe ye'lu

Rain makers of all directions  
Lightning comes beautiful.

Aha ehe  
Aha ehe  
Uhu ehe ye'lu.  
Aha ehe  
Aha ehe  
Uhu ehe ye'lu.

"The rain makers of the west  
Cloud over the heavens."  
Thus all the corn plants say to one another.

Aha ehe etc.

## II

"Say, younger brother,  
Where are you going?  
Here you go about greeting us with fair words."  
"Hither at the north edge of the world

Smoke Youth  
 Delights in the songs of the masked gods.  
 So he says,  
 Therefore he goes about  
 Greeting all the rain makers with fair words."  
 Thus the Dogwood clan man said to all his children.

"As dusk comes on  
 Who sings fairly their beautiful songs?"  
 Because of their words  
 My inner room is filled with all kinds of riches.<sup>50</sup>  
 Uhu ehe  
 Uhu ehe  
 Aha ehe  
 Aha ehe

## III

In the west at Flower Mountain  
 A rain priest sits  
 His head feathered with cumulus clouds  
 His words are of clouding over Itiwana.  
 "Come let us arise now."  
 Thus along the shores of the encircling ocean  
 The rain makers say to one another.

Aha ehe  
 Aha ehe

In the south at Salt Lake Mountain  
 A rain priest sits  
 His head feathered with mist.  
 His words are of covering Itiwana with rain.  
 "Come let us go."  
 Thus in all the springs  
 The rain makers say to one another.

Aha ehe  
 Aha ehe

"The beautiful world germinates.  
 The sun, the yellow dawn germinate."  
 Thus the corn plants say to one another.  
 They are covered with dew.  
 "The beautiful world germinates.  
 The sun, the yellow dawn germinate."  
 Thus the corn plants say to one another.  
 They bring forth their young.

Aha ehe  
 Aha ehe.

"The beautiful world germinates.  
 The sun, the yellow dawn germinate."  
 Thus the corn plants say to one another.  
 They are shaken by the wind.  
 Aha ehe  
 Aha ehe.

<sup>50</sup> The singer, a member of the Dogwood clan, made this song for Mr. Herzog (Smoke Youth).

The kiva chief supervises all rehearsals. If the dance is new or unfamiliar the rehearsals may extend over a period of several weeks. The participants meet every night for a while, then for a few nights may not meet, but meet to rehearse again for a number of nights preceding the dance. For traditional dances about four or five rehearsals are held during the week preceding the dance. When the kiva chief decides that the men have sufficiently mastered the songs he definitely sets the date. The dance chiefs and wo'we cut prayer sticks for the kateenas and plant them four days before the dance is to take place. "Only the headmen plant prayer sticks. They do not let all the men plant because some of the foolish young boys might not care what they did. They might sleep with their wives after planting prayer sticks, or otherwise violate their sacredness, and so spoil the dance and bring misfortune on all the men taking part." If the dance belongs to the regular winter series, on the afternoon the prayer sticks are planted two kateenas appear in the village and visit all the houses where the kivas habitually hold their winter dances, to inform the officers of other kivas to prepare for the forthcoming festival. These men then notify their men and the subsidiary dances are prepared in the three following days. The time is short, so the kiva chiefs select well-known dances of their groups, or some dance that the young men of the group have one time presented as an extra dance. Or if they do not wish to make even these hasty preparations those who wish to dance come as isolated dancers. In that case at least one man must be delegated to dance with another group to take to the leading group the bundle of prayer sticks. In the summer the people are apprised of the coming dance when they see the headmen go out to plant their prayer sticks.<sup>57</sup>

Planting prayer sticks out of season always is a sign of some ceremony about to take place. The observers infer what the ceremony is from the ceremonial affiliations of the man and the direction toward which he is headed with his prayer sticks. Two days before the dance the father of the Koyemci is notified by the kiva chief, who takes him a package of meal. He must collect the other Koyemci from farm or sheep camp.

After the prayer sticks are planted the chief work of the wo'we begins. Early the following day he goes around collecting the masks for the dance. "He will take his blanket, and his assistant will go with him to help him. He knows which men of his kiva have masks, and he goes to their houses. He goes to the houses of the men who are going to dance and to others who have masks. If there is any uninitiated person in the house when he comes he will say, 'I have come to get a pumpkin' (mo'le, literally a round object). Then

<sup>57</sup> Some kivas plant feathers two days before the dance. My informant did not know which kivas had this custom, but knew the practice varied.

they will know that he has come for a mask. Someone will take a cloth and go into the back room and wrap up the mask and bring it out to him. He will wrap it in his blanket and take it to the kiva. So they go around to all the houses and then they take the masks to the house of the kiva chief. When they have them there they start to paint them. Usually only the two *wo'le* paint the masks, but sometimes the kiva chief helps. No one else is allowed to paint masks.<sup>55</sup>

"First they take off any feathers or trimmings that are left from the last dance. Then they scrape off all the paint and wash the mask and put it aside for a day to dry. Then they put on a very thin coat of white paint and put it aside to dry again. Then they put on the blue gum paint or the other colored paint. They always do this with prayers. They say, 'Now I am making you into a person. I am making you beautiful with valuable paint so that everyone will have his eyes on you.' They do not pray for the white paint. This is 'cheap paint.'

"After it is dry they rub the mask with balls of yucca fruit to make it shiny. Then they put on the black paint for the eyes. This is the paint that has sirup of yucca fruit to make it shiny. Or if they have bees' honey they use that instead of yucca sirup. They pray with the bees' honey: 'I am using this honey for your flesh. You belong to the south, and you will bring the clouds of the south. And you, bee of the east, you will bring the east wind that comes before the rain. And you, bee of the north, you will be the one to bring the north wind that comes before the rain. And you, bee of the west, you will be the one to bring the rain that comes as soon as day breaks.' They use the honey because the bees come on beautiful days and the children like to catch them. The honey is thick, and they want the rain to come thick and soak the earth. They chew up the honey and spit it out on the masks from their mouths.

"Then they put on the feathers and other trimmings without prayers. The man who is going to wear the mask puts on the feathers, because there are no prayers for the feathers. He furnishes the feathers and clothing."

The men who own masks of suitable shape for the dance that is to be given wear their own masks. The masks have some mark of identification on them. In dances like the mixed dance, where all the masks are different, each man tells the *wo'le* what character he wishes to impersonate, and, if satisfactory, the *wo'le* paints the mask accordingly.

"The day before the dance the men go around and borrow the rest of the costume. Each man takes care of his own costume. If he does not know he asks the *wo'le* what kind of clothing he will need.

<sup>55</sup> Many masks observed by the author at various summer and winter dances did not appear to have been freshly painted. Probably they are only repainted when they become very dilapidated.

Finally he goes to his wife or mother and says, 'Bring me some seeds.' Then she gives him two or three kernels of corn of all colors, and all kinds of seeds, and he wraps them in a corn husk.

"When the dancers are getting ready to come in, they first have their hair washed by their wives or sisters. Then they go to the kiva to dress. First they paint the body, then they put on the clothing, then they put on the mask, and last of all they put on their seeds. Before going out of the kiva the man takes the package of seeds he has brought from home and spits on it and says, 'Now you shall be my heart. You shall make me into a Raw Person. You will bring me good luck, for me and for all my people, so that their corn may grow.' Then just as the men are going out of the kiva to dance, the kiva chief goes to the door and takes Paiyatamu medicine into his mouth and spits it out on each man as he goes out of the door."

The winter dance series begins after dark. The men have their hair washed in the afternoon, and go immediately after their evening meal to dress in a house near the one they are using in lieu of a kiva. Often they use an adjoining room. The evening before the kiva chief has taken to the chief of one of the societies a package of corn meal, with the request that his society officiate at their dance. During the afternoon preceding the dance the society chief (or *pekwin*) sets up the altar of the society in the house of the kiva chief. In the evening the society brings its drum to the house, and a group of singers to furnish music for the kateinas who do not dance to their own songs. At nightfall the headmen of each kiva sacrifice food in the river to the ancients and the kateinas. (They have done this regularly every night since rehearsals began.) For the night dances indoors masks are not required. But if anyone asks that the dance be repeated next day, masks must be worn for the outdoor dancing. Theoretically only the initiated and grown women may see these unmasked dances of the kateinas, but as a matter of fact very young children are permitted to attend.

If the dance belongs to the summer series, on the evening preceding the dance, in the house of the kiva chief, a final rehearsal is held.<sup>59</sup> At about three o'clock in the morning the dancers come out and sing and dance for a short time in each of the four plazas. This is the entrance of the gods into the village. The men wear ordinary clothing and blankets, and are unmasked. No one dare see them at this time lest he die. The high, clear calls of the kateinas, and the loud singing in the still night waken the whole village. After making the rounds of the plazas the dancers retire to the kiva, where they rest for the balance of the night. In the morning they return to their

<sup>59</sup> Except the first dance of the season, "koluwalawa." They enter the village masked at sundown, dance in all the kivas, and retire to the house of the kateina chief where all night ceremonies are held. Next day they come out at sunrise and dance four times in all the plazas before touching food or drink, unless it rains before that time, in which case they may drink.

homes for breakfast and to have their hair washed. If the hair is to be worn open, after washing it is plaited to make it wavy. Otherwise, if long, it is done up in two plaits which are wound around the neck under the mask.

The hours of the morning are spent in assembling the last odds and ends of clothing. The dancers come out for the first time shortly before noon and dance in all four plazas. They should make the rounds of the plaza four times before retiring for their noonday meal (in the first dance of the season, they actually do), but usually on the last three rounds they dance only in *tsia'awa* and *tehwitotana*. On the last round they dance also before the house where the priests are in retreat, and one of the priests comes out and sprinkles each of the dancers with meal, and takes from one of them a branch of spruce. After finishing their morning dancing the men retire to the *kiva* where food of all kinds is brought by their wives or sisters. Members of the *kiva* who are not taking part in the dance are privileged to share the meal in the *kiva*.

The dancers come out again to dance between three and four in the afternoon. This time they dance four times in *ts'ia'awa*, retiring for short rest periods to the street east of the plaza. The actual visits to the plazas are longer than in the morning. There is a definite sequence of songs and an apportionment of songs between the morning and afternoon sessions, but I was unable to discover the system of sequence. This can not be done until the songs are recorded on the phonograph. The attendance at dances always increases as the afternoon progresses—the morning dances are performed to empty housetops—and the best and newest songs are saved for these hours. There is always a special farewell song for the last appearance of the *katinas* in the evening. When *muhewa kiva* danced *Upiḡaiaḡona* in September, 1927, they introduced an innovation in melodic structure and dance step in their farewell song, and each day this song had to be repeated two or three times. (Anyone in the audience may request the repetition of any song, and the dancers must comply.) The dance was performed for eight days "because everyone liked their songs," amid drenching rains and a rotting wheat harvest, and it was undoubtedly this song that was responsible for the popularity. The dance terminated the last day with the appearance of *Ololowickä* and the grinding ritual.

Theoretically anyone may request the repetition of a dance the following day.<sup>60</sup> Practically this privilege is restricted to priests and society chiefs. " 'Poor people' would be too bashful to ask them to dance again." During the last song the unmasked leader sprinkles meal on the *Koyemci*. A little later some priest in the audience descends from the housetop to sprinkle meal on the *katinas*. He

<sup>60</sup> Mrs. Stevenson reports that the summer dances of the *Kokokci* were never repeated. *Katcina* dancing is at present an ascendant cult.



repeats a long prayer to the leader of the dancers and to the father of the Koyemci. If he wishes the dance repeated the request is made at this time. Then he sprinkles the line of dancers with meal, taking from some of them their package of seeds, from others twigs or spruce or yucca switches. From the female impersonations he takes their perfect ears of corn. If the dance is to be repeated, the Koyemci Pekwin announces after the dancers have withdrawn from the plaza, "Grandchildren, we shall stay overnight."

The men remove their masks and costumes in the kiva and go to their houses for their evening meal. If the dance is to be repeated they return to the kiva to sleep. Or if they wish to remain at home their wives must bathe their bodies and next morning they must again wash their hair. When the dance is over, next day the *wo-we* return the masks to their owners, with the formula, "May you have corn, may you have squash, may you be blessed with light" (*fo' miyatu'. fo' mola-tu'. fo' iekohanan antikteiatu'*). The men return their borrowed clothing and ornaments with a similar blessing.

#### PATTERNS OF DANCING AND SINGING

Dance patterns, like patterns in mask and costume and music, develop along the line of minor variations on a well-established and fairly restricted form. The principal thing about katecina dances, which is probably of great importance historically, is that they are all line dances, in contrast to unmasked dances which are all circle dances. The form, of course, may be modified by the limitations of the space in which the dance is performed. The line of 90 dancers in the grinding ritual fills more than three sides of the plaza and almost surrounds the central group, but there is no circular movement, and we must view the formation as a group with a line of dancers behind it. The circle dance is the common type throughout North America, and the fact that it is found in the pueblos in their curing and war dances, but never in their katecina dances, is striking.

Except in the large plaza, the line of dancers is always formed against a wall. Where there are female impersonations, they occupy the space nearest to the wall, the male line being nearer to the center of the open space. Certain individual female impersonations, however, such as *Kola'hmana*, *Ahe'a*, *Komokatsik*, dance in the male line, near its head. *Teakwena* has a female solo dancer who dances out of line in front. ("Front" is used always to mean the open space away from the wall. Indoors it is nearer the audience. Outdoors, of course, the audience occupies the housetops on all sides.) The leaders of the dance occupy the center places in the male line, the kiva chief being the central figure. He gives the signs for the beginning of songs and holds the song sequence. The female line, which is always shorter than the male, is massed toward the center.

Some dances (Kokokci) require the presence of a couple, male and female, at the head of the line, who go through certain peculiar motions and have certain esoteric prayers. Only three men know these prayers, and they must be invited to perform for all kivas.

Usually the line forms in definite order before the dancers leave the kiva, and proceeds without change on its round of the plazas. This seems to be the rule for all the traditional dances. Where there is a double line the two lines enter simultaneously. The line is always led by an unmasked leader who "makes their road," scattering prayer meal before the line of dancers. He takes up his place nearest the point of exit. In the dance plaza this is on the eastern side of the plaza, near the southeast exit. In houses, the leader walks the full length of the room, from door to altar, and turns and takes his place opposite the door. The spectators always occupy the side of the room near the door. This is not the "valuable" place. The door of a Zuni house is always placed at a corner, generally on the long side of the room. The end of the room farthest from the door is occupied by the altar, the side of the room opposite the door is left free for dancing. The space between the dancers and the door is always packed solid with spectators, who courteously part to let the dancers through. As soon as the first dancer reaches his place he starts to dance, each man picking up the step as the line closes up and straightens out. By the time the last dancers reach their place the rhythm of the dance is well established. After the songs are finished the dancers leave the dance place in the same order in which they entered.

Certain dance groups, especially the newer dances, vary this pattern and break their ranks in going from one plaza to another or even between songs. Hilili, for instance, break rank as soon as the song ends, the dancers running around the plaza until they are summoned by their leader for another song. Kumance have special entrance and exit songs, in different rhythm from the dance songs, which they sing on going from one dance place to another. The dance is a progress from the kiva through the streets and back again into the kiva. The procession pauses at certain points on its route to dance. In counting up the day's program of dances the number of times the group comes out of its kiva is counted. The number of pauses on each circuit is irrelevant.

The usual dance step is a vigorous stamping with the right foot (to which is usually attached a turtle-shell rattle or a string of sleigh-bells to mark the rhythm. On alternate beats the heel of the left foot is slightly raised. In some of the more vigorous of the young men's dances (kumance, hilili, etc.) both feet are raised alternately, with a kind of prancing step. This is much more exhausting, and is used for the most part by dancers who have choruses to sing for them.

Kumance, however, employs this step, and the men also must do their own singing. This is the dance step that is used by all the impersonators of the katcina priests when they dance in their Ca'lako houses, to the music of society choirs. It is also used by society members during the dances of their winter retreat, when they have a choir of the society to sing for them. It is used by Łewe'kwe when they dance in their house (with a separate choir) but not when they appear in the plaza, and the whole society sings and dances. For this they use a slow, easy step, the dance movement being a circular movement of the whole group of dancers.

KoKokci dance shoulder to shoulder, with their backs to the audience, making quarter turns to the right between songs. The female line stands behind the male line, facing them, and turns with them. Upiġaiaġona face either right or left, turning frequently, the movement flowing continuously from one end of the line to the other. The turn is always away from the audience. The Drum Tcakwena use the same step, using with it a characteristic bent posture. Ŧowa Tcakwena uses the same step, emphasizing the turn with characteristic arm movements. Muluktakā dance facing back, making a full turn between songs. Wo'temla face sidewise but do not turn. Hemuci'kwe and Hilili were the only groups which I saw face the audience while they danced (except Upiġaiaġona in the two grinding songs for Ołolowicġā). Solo dancers usually use the same step as the dancers in the line. Sometimes, however, they use a more vigorous step and move back and forth in front of the line. Certain solo dancers have characteristic movements. Hehe'a and Hemokātsiġ always dance out of step.

The rhythm of the dance is always a simple two-part rhythm. Where a drum is used the drum rhythm and the dance rhythm coincide. The rhythms of the songs are more complex, but have not yet been analyzed. Mr. Herzog has recorded a number of dance songs, but his analysis of the correspondence between drum, dance, and voice rhythms is not yet complete. As the song nears its close there is usually a ritard which ends in a skipped beat. The song stops, the dancers stand for an instant with foot poised, and the song finally closes in very rapid time.<sup>61</sup>

The song is divided into a number of named sections, each with its characteristic melodic features, with a system of repeats so complicated that I have not yet been able to fathom it, although it seems clear enough to the singers. Once they are started on the proper song of sequence by their leader, the balance follows without any confusion.

It might be well to point out the limitations of Zuñi dancing. The formation of the dance is restricted to straight lines. There are no

<sup>61</sup> The same device, without the final acceleration, is characteristic of grinding songs, but I did not notice it in the dance songs of the medicine societies. It is a very marked characteristic of Hopi katcina songs.

elaborate dance figures, no interweaving of dancers, no use of grouping as an esthetic feature. It is all dancing in place. The group itself does not have movement. Bodily movements are restricted to movements of the feet and some slight use of gesture with the arms. There is no running or leaping, no high, deep, or wide movements, and no posturing with the body. The dance at Zuñi is not an independent art, and does not use the essential choreographic technique, which is a dynamic handling of spatial relations. The dance at Zuñi is entirely subsidiary to music and is employed merely to emphasize it.

Yet it would be a great mistake to infer that Zuñi dancing is tedious or lacking in emotional appeal. The precision of movement, the regularity of rhythm, the invariability of the form, combined with beautiful and subtle musical patterns, is intensely moving. The monotony and impersonality and the complete and intense absorption of the participants have a hypnotic effect on the spectator. According to Zuñi ideology, the dance is compulsive magic. The supernaturals are constrained by the use of their corporeal substance, i. e., the mask. They must come with all their attributes, including rain. No one can watch a Zuñi dance for a half hour or more without being moved by the compulsive force that lies behind the esthetic form.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF KATCINA DANCING

Katcina dances are performed in all the pueblos except Taos, where, up to the present, no trace of the cult has been found. It has developed luxuriantly at Zuñi and among the Hopi. In both places it is the cult which controls the most spectacular rituals, which draws upon the widest base, and makes the greatest popular appeal. Although no single ceremonial occasion among the Hopi commands quite as much attention as the snake dance, the katcina cult has two major ceremonies (Powamû and Niman) and an unlimited number of minor festivities, and its activities hold the center of the stage throughout the winter and spring months. At Zuñi, although the winter solstice ceremonies form the keystone of the ceremonial system, the point of greatest intensity is unquestionably the Ca'lako ceremony, the culminating ceremony of the Katcina Society. Katcina ceremonies are public, spectacular, and popular.

Among the eastern and western Keres, katcina impersonation is a well-developed esoteric cult. Unfortunately masked ceremonies may not now be seen by whites in any of the eastern pueblos, and great reluctance is felt about imparting any information about katecinas. The Keresan cult seems to have the same types of katecinas found farther west: The dancing katecinas, rain and cloud beings, who are controlled through impersonation in dances "to call the rain," and "dangerous" supernaturals impersonated in mask at important ceremonies such as initiations, solstices, etc. Many of the individual imper-

sonations are the same as those found farther west. We may conclude that although less exuberant, the Keresan katecina cult is about the same as that of Zuñi in ideology, technique, and ceremonial patterning.<sup>62</sup> However, it does not overshadow other activities, as is the case at Zuñi.

Unfortunately, our information concerning katecina impersonation in the Tanoan pueblos is fragmentary and very unsatisfactory. The Tewa are secretive in all things and especially secretive concerning katecinas. Doctor Parsons<sup>63</sup> attributes this secrecy to the proximity of Mexicans, who everywhere are barred from katecina ceremonies. Its very existence has been repeatedly denied and long was in doubt. There is no single eye-witness description of any masked ceremony; no comprehensive account of the ideology ritual and organization of the cult; no information upon which to base an opinion of the rôle of the katecina cult in communal or individual life. Whatever the cause may be, such extreme secrecy is incompatible with the full flowering of the cult. From what slight information we have, the cult in all Tanoan villages appears meager and rudimentary. Various theories are offered in explanation of the different patterning of the same material in different villages. It has been suggested that the katecina cult is of western origin and never took deep root in the east; and, conversely, in the east it has been crowded out by church worship while it continued to flourish in the west, where Catholic influence was less strong. Either or both may be true in the absence of any conclusive evidence.

The general type of mask and costume is similar for all villages, and certain special impersonations are found under similar or different names in different pueblos. Wherever this has been observed it has been noted in the following remarks on individual katecinas. However, these facts of special distributions baldly stated do not seem particularly significant. It seems to the present writer significant that something resembling Zuñi Koko'kei is danced in every pueblo from which we have data, but it also seems quite insignificant that a dance generally called nawic, but at Zuñi called Nahalico (there is another different mask called Nawico), also has a wide distribution. The characteristic face painting of this katecina in connection with a headdress of four turkey wing feathers has been spread all over the region. The dance has no particular character at Zuñi. I have not actually seen it nor read descriptions of it elsewhere, and therefore its distribution must remain one of those quaint facts of wide dissemination of apparently trivial and fortuitous details.

Very little credence should be given to native accounts of provenience of specific features, when these accounts deal with events outside

<sup>62</sup> The katecina cult of Keresan villages has been described for Cochiti by Dumarest (Notes on Cochiti) and Goldfrank (Social and Ceremonial Organization of Cochiti); for Laguna by Parsons, for Acoma and San Felipe by White (mss).

<sup>63</sup> Social Organization and the Tewa, p. 150.



memory of living men. The Zuñis claim to have borrowed one of their Tcakwena dances from Laguna (see p. 1022). However, at Laguna it is claimed that the Tcakwena dance is of Zuñi provenience.<sup>64</sup> The same is true also of other dances: Hilili, which the Hopi claim was recently introduced from Zuñi, and to which the Zuñi, on the other hand, attribute a Hopi origin. Unquestionably there is a great deal of intertribal borrowing of ceremonial details and of whole dances. It seems to go in all directions. I have myself been present when Hopis from various villages and a visitor from San Felipe were comparing ceremonies and swapping katchina songs. The San Felipe man was learning the songs for the katchina corn grinding, a ceremony which interested him greatly. In return he was teaching his Hopi friends the Keresan words of a Shiwana song. Neither spoke the language of the other. The explanations and translations were in English. It is always interesting to catch a bit of culture at the moment of transfer; in this case, the casual way in which sacred information is passed about is instructive. It shows the fluidity of detail under the rigid pattern, which becomes more and more striking the more we learn of variants in pueblo culture.

In general, we may say that most of the group dances which occupy fixed and important places in the Zuñi calendar—Kokokci, Upikaiaipona, Tcakwena, Wotemla, Hemucikwe, Muluktañä—are found in other pueblos, while the occasional dances are more local in distribution. We may conclude, therefore, that these fixed dances are more ancient—which might have been guessed in the first place.

The problem is, perhaps, not a historic one at all but rather one of esthetics. There is a style of religious behavior common to the pueblo peoples; all, furthermore, utilize the same religious material, the same paraphernalia, the same techniques for controlling the supernatural. The varied adjustments of the material in conformity to the ritual style is analogous to similar problems in decorative art—the individual reworking and recombining decorative motives within the narrow limits of a tribal style.

Considered from the standpoint of any large problems of the history of human civilization, the pueblos form a small unit, and the slight differences of patterning among them vanish in the face of the great differences between the pueblos and, say, the rest of North America.

The fundamental and striking traits of the katchina cult, common to all pueblos, to the best of our knowledge, are five: The existence of a large group of supernaturals who live in a lake and are identified with clouds and rain, and, surely at Zuñi and Cochiti, and possibly elsewhere, with the dead; the impersonation of these supernaturals by means of masks in a series of spectacular group dances "to call the

<sup>64</sup> Parsons: Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna.



rain," and at a number of secret ceremonies designed to perpetuate the cult, and to serve other special purposes; the initiation of all adult males "to know the katecinas," and the use of whipping by fear inspiring katecinas at the ceremony of initiation;<sup>65</sup> the enormous sanctity of the masks, which can cause death to a negligent wearer, which must always be handled with the greatest reverence, and which must never be seen by Mexicans (in the east by whites); the complete identification with the supernatural through wearing these masks. The rest of the katecina ritual, such as the use of corn meal, prayer sticks, prayer feathers and altars, singing and dancing, retreats before dances, sexual continence, etc., are common to all pueblo ceremonial.

Impersonation of supernaturals is a religious technique world-wide in distribution. The two most common methods of impersonation are by animal heads and pelts, and by masks, but impersonation by means of body paint, elaborate costume and headdress, or the wearing of sacred symbols is by no means uncommon. In the pueblos, where magical power is imputed to impersonation, all techniques are employed. Outside of masking, the most striking impersonation is the symbolic representation of the bear, described on page 531. The use of masks is distributed over the whole world. Masks were used in dramatic representations in medieval Europe and classical Greece. They are used similarly in many parts of Asia, especially in India, Ceylon, Java, China, and Mongolian Asia. In Melanesia<sup>66</sup> and West Africa masks are used to inspire awe in connection with tribal initiations. The uninitiated believe they are being visited by supernaturals, there are long periods of retreat for the novices and the elders before the public appearance of the masked beings, and in many other ways the ideology of the cult in both regions is similar to that of the pueblos. The appearance of the same complex of associated ideas in three widely remote areas is one of the most striking cases of parallelism.

In North America there are several regions where masks are used, among the Iroquois, on the northwest coast, and in the pueblos. Some animal impersonation is found on the Plains.<sup>68</sup> The use of masks was highly developed in middle America since Maya times, and was very conspicuous in Aztec ritual, together with the curious custom, which is probably unique with them, of dancing in the flayed skin of sacrificial victims.

What seems peculiar to the pueblos is the enormous fetishistic power imputed to the mask, which compels the presence of the gods as rain, and which exposes the wearer to dangers from which he must

<sup>65</sup> Among the Hopi, although only members of certain clans can belong to the Powamû Society that "owns" the katecina cult, and participate in the esoteric ceremonies and retreats of Powamû and Minan, all boys are whipped to know the katecinas and can thereafter participate in public katecina dances.

<sup>66</sup> Codrington, *The Melanesians*.

<sup>67</sup> Parsons: *Spanish Elements in Pueblo Katecina Cult* (ms.).

guard himself ritualistically. Moreover, there seems to be no other place in which the personality of the wearer is so completely absorbed.

It has already been pointed out that impersonation extending over a period of time is found among the ancient Aztecs. The youth chosen as a sacrifice to Tezcatlipoca impersonates the god for 20 days, and during this period lives in honor and is finally sacrificed, and thus united with the god on the last day, and his flesh is eaten in communion by the priests and populace. We have already suggested the possible relation of katchina dancing to human sacrifices (p. 846) and to the fertility cults of ancient Mexico.

Doctor Parsons has made a good case <sup>69</sup> for the influence of the Catholic missionaries on the development of katchina ritual. When one surveys the enormous amount of concrete details that she amasses in proof of her point that katchina dancing is an adaptation of religious dancing of Spain, one must be convinced of the readiness of the pueblos to incorporate Catholic ceremonial into their own ritual. One is struck, too, at the enormous impetus which contact with the Catholics gave to the growth of the cult in those villages where it could develop unhampered by the church. As pointed out by Doctor Parsons, the cult reached its greatest exuberance in villages where Catholic contacts were brief and superficial. But that the larger patterns or the underlying concepts are of European origin seems more doubtful. Communications with the supernatural through impersonation, the use of masks in spectacular ceremonies for rain, fertility, and healing are widely distributed in aboriginal America, and many of the most striking features of the cult flourished in pre-Columbian Mexico. The underlying ideas of the fertilization of the earth are part of the general North American Indian background.

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<sup>69</sup> Spanish Elements in the Katchina Cult of the Pueblos.



## PART II. SOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE STUDY OF ZUÑI KATCINAS

### LIST OF KNOWN ZUÑI KATCINAS

#### Katcina priests:

Katcinas appearing at the winter solstice.

- \*1. Pautiwa.
- \*2. Saiyali'a (four).
- \*3. Citsuka.
- \*4. Kwelele.

Katcinas appearing after the winter solstice.

- \*5. Teakwena oka.
- \*6. Natacku.
- \*7. Atoele (Suyuki).

Also Sälimopiya.

#### The Koyemci

- \*8. A'wan tateu.
- \*9. A'wan pekwin.
- \*10. A'wan pi'laciwani.
- \*11. Muyap'ona.
- \*12. Ecotsi.
- \*13. Nałaci.
- \*14. Itsepaca.
- \*15. Posuki.
- \*16. Kälutsi.
- \*17. Ts'alaci.

Katcinas appearing at the coming of the gods (Ca'lako):

- \*18. Cula'witsi.
- \*19. Saiyataca.
- \*20. Hurututu.
- \*21. Yamuhakto (two).  
Also two Sälimopiya (see below).
- \*22. Ca'lako.

Katcinas appearing at the preliminary initiation of little boys

- \*23. Käklo.
- \*24. Hemokätsi or Ahe'a (not an old mask).
- 25-30. Sälimopiya, as follows—
  - \*Luptsin'ona (yellow; two).
  - \*Li'an'ona (blue; two).
  - \*Cilow'ona (red; two).
  - \*Kohan'ona (white; two).
  - \*Itapanahn'ona (many colored; two).
  - \*Ciğän'ona (black; two).

- \*26. Lelacoktiṣona (two).
- \*27. Nawico (two).
- \*28. Anahoho (two).
- \*29. Cula'witsi (one).
- \*30. Uṣ'o'yona (two).

Katcinas appearing at the preliminary and final initiation of boys—

- \*36. Saiyali'a (four).

## Katcina priests—Continued.

## Punitive and exorcising katcinas—

- \*37. Hainawi.
- 38. Homatei.
- \*39. Temtemci.
- \*40. A'hute.

Also Saiyalia.

## Other old masks—

- \*41. Kāna'kwe, a large dance group consisting of several leaders and an indefinite number of other dancers.
- \*41a. Kola'hmana.
- \*42. Ololowicka.

## Dancing katcinas:

## Traditional dances performed in regular summer and winter series—

## Kokokei—

- \*43. Kokokei.
- \*42. Kokwe'le.
- \*44. Siwuluhsietza or Komoqatsik (sometimes with Kokokei).  
Also sometimes Kola'hmana (No. 41, a), Ahe'a (No. 24) Kānatcu (No. 84), Upo'yona (No. 30).
- \*46. Upiḡaiap'ona.  
With him also Kokwe'le, and other single masks, as above.
- 47. Hekeina Cilowa.  
With them also Kokwe'le, and other single masks. With the grinding ritual, the following:
  - \*48. Paiyatamu.
  - \*49. Oḡen'ona.
  - \*50. Hehe'a.  
Also Ololowicka (see above).
- \*51. Towā Teakwena. With them as solo dancers.
- \*52. Tōm'inapa.
- \*53. T̄cilili.
- \*54. We'wap.
- 55. Hupomo'otea.
- 56. Moḡaiapona.  
Also Teakwena oḡa.
- \*57. Teahumoawa (drum teakwena; also called short-haired or Laguna teakwena). With them as solo dancers:
  - \*58. Hatacuku (several).
  - 59. Tsi kohan'ona.

## Wo'temla or mixed dance. Representatives from among the following:

- \*60. Kukuculi (leader of the mixed dance).
- \*61. Kālawan'i.
- \*62. Aince koko (two variants).
- \*63. La'saiyapona.
- \*64. Tsupianawe.
- \*65. Suyuki (not the same as Atoele).
- \*66. Ma'loḡätsik (salt woman).
- \*67. Ohapa (bee).
- \*68. Tecamiḡa (echo).
- \*69. Ya'ana.
- \*70. Na'le (deer).
- \*71. Hetsilulu.
- \*72. Icana Ts'an A'tei.
- \*73. Wo'latana.

## Dancing katecinas—Continued.

## Wo'temla or mixed dance—Continued.

\*74. Mokwala.

\*75. Wahaha.

Also: Uḡo'yona (No. 30), Hainawi (No. 37), Homatei (No. 38), Temtemei (No. 39), Ahute (No. 40), Kāna'kwe (No. 41), Ahe'a (No. 24), Komokatsik<sup>1</sup> (No. 44), Kānateu (No. 84), Hehe'a (No. 50), Wakaci (No. 91), and many others not identified.

## Group dances regularly performed after Ca'lako:

\*76. Mahetina (discontinued about 1915). With him as solo dancer came—

\*77. Ho'wiwi.

\*78. Hemucikwe. With him as solo dancers come any of the following—

\*78. Nahalic oḡa.

\*79. Kānil'ona.

80.

Also Mitotaca (No. 114).

\*81. Muluktaḡa.

Also Teakwena (Nos. 57-59), Towa Teakwena (Nos. 51-56), and Wotemla (Nos. 60-75).

## Group dances performed in connection with regular winter dances, and irregularly, as desired. Mostly of recent introduction.

\*82. Nahalico. With them as solo dancer.

\*83. Nahalic a'wan mosona.

\*84. Kānateu.

\*85. Wamuwe.

\*86. Hilili. With them as solo dancers:

\*87. Kāḡāli (eagle) two. And as singers:

\*88. Tealaci.

89. Tenenakwe (about eight or more).

\*90. Pasiḡāḡona.

\*91. Wakāci.

\*92. Mu'kwe, with—

\*93. Mu'kwe oḡa.

\*94. Kwamumu, with—

\*95. Kwamumu oḡa.

\*96. Wilatsukwe, with—

\*97. Wilatsukw oka.

## Sioux or buffalo dance

\*98. La'pila we, and as solo dancers:

\*99. Siwolo (buffalo).

\*100. A'iana.

\*101. Ainanuwa.

\*102. Kumance, and as solo dancers.

\*103. Kumance ḡenakwe.

\*104. Drummer.

The "Little dancers," isolated impersonations, usually by little boys, in connection with winter dances. They do not come in dance formation. They do not ordinarily wear old masks.

\*105. Itetsona.

\*106. Natcimono.

Also, Hehe'a (No. 50), Nahalico (No. 82), Sālimoḡiya, Lelacok-tiḡona (No. 26), Uḡo'yona (No. 30), Nawico (No. 27), Cula-witsi (No. 29) (all colors), Hatacuku (No. 58), etc.



## Miscellaneous:

- \*107. Nepaiyatamu (a burlesque of the Ne-we-kwe, in mask).

Navaho dance (not sacred)—

- \*108. Yebiteai (solo dancer).

- \*109. Pakoko with

- \*110. Pakok oka.

## Society masks (not, strictly speaking, koko):

- \*111. Cumaikoli (belonging to Cuma-kwe).

- \*112. Saiyali (belonging to Cuma-kwe).

Masks of Ne-we-kwe:

- \*113. A-wan koko lana.

- \*114. Mitotaea.

Masks of Great Fire Society:

115. A-wan koko lana.

Also Citsukä (No. 3) and Kwelele (No. 4).

THE WINTER SOLSTICE<sup>1</sup>

## PĀUTIWA

(Plate 21, a)

*Costume.*—On his head he wears feathers from the breast of the macaw (lacowan luptsina). Standing upright behind eight tail feathers of the macaw bound to a little stick with native cotton cord, with the fastenings covered with downy feathers from the breast of the eagle, the whole called lapaṣoan'e. A single feather from the tail of the eagle sticks out behind. The top of the mask is covered with black hair. The face is painted turquoise, with black painting about the eyes, like the Sālimopiya. This painting is called lomuloktan'e tunaṣa "cloud oblong eyed." "It is like the fine clouds that appear just before the sun rises." The large ears are made of flexible twigs, covered with black hair. "He has large ears with holes in them so that he can hear everything his people ask for. If anyone has very sharp ears and hears something that is just whispered in the next room we say of him, 'You are a regular Pāutiwa.'" He has a projecting snout (oton'e); fox-skin collar.

He is fully clothed in white. He wears a white shirt. This is of cotton, but in former days it was of fringed buckskin. He wears a dancer's kilt with a blue band, embroidered sash, red woven belt, fringed buckskin leggings, blue moccasins, black yarn about both legs, fox skin. "He wears two embroidered robes (mihe-we), one on top of the other, because he is bringing good luck and he wants his people to have plenty of fine clothing. He wears many necklaces of shell and turquoise, both back and front, and on his wrists, because he is a valuable dancer."

When he comes at the new year he carries in his right hand a twig with a bluejay feather tied to it (tatsiton'e). The twig is from the

<sup>1</sup> For description of the winter solstice see p. 534.

shrub puli, which is used by the priests for their prayer sticks. In his left hand he carries the six telna'we, the crooks of appointment for the six Ca'lako and their houses, and many prayer sticks. Each telna'we consists of one long and two short sticks wrapped together in a corn husk, and the six telna'we are tied one over the other. He leaves one on the roof of each kiva.

When he comes after Ca'lako to bring in the Corn Maids, he carries in his right hand a long staff with feathers at the base, in the left a gourd of water "to bring rain in summer," many prayer sticks, and a tiny basket filled with white meal.

Pautiwa's mask is kept in the house of the chief priesthood (Dogwood clan), along with the masks of Upo'yona, the black Sälimoṗiya, and a Ca'lako (K. 161).

Pautiwa is one of the most impressive of Zuñi impersonations. If possible a tall man of stately bearing is chosen for the part. He wears rich and tasteful clothing and a profusion of feathers and ornaments. All his movements are measured and stately. When he enters the plaza in the midst of the hilarious dancing of Citsuka and Kwelele at the winter solstice the whole atmosphere of the ceremony changes.

In mythology Pautiwa is represented at komosona of the village of the katecinas. It is he who always receives and welcomes visitors and hears their requests. He makes up the calendar of katecina ceremonies. No katecina may come to Zuñi unless Pautiwa sends him. Therefore it is Pautiwa who brings to Zuñi crooks (telna'we) of appointment for the principal participants in all major ceremonies to be held during the coming year. The telna'we for Saiyataca, the Koyemci, Kāklo and the Kāna'kwe, if they are to come, are taken by the Pautiwa to the kiva the evening before the new year, and handed out the following morning; those for the Ca'lako are left on the kiva roofs the following evening.

In folk tales Pautiwa displays the most honored of Zuñi virtues, dignity, kindness and generosity, and also beauty. He has many love affairs with mortal maids, whom he rewards richly, and he is unfailingly generous to his mortal children. In tales it is always to Pautiwa that the Zuñis appeal when in trouble.

*Ceremonies.*—Pautiwa comes three times during the winter. He comes to "make the New Year," to bring in the Corn Maids after Ca'lako, and he comes during the solstice, four days before the new year. "Pautiwa never dances when he comes. Sometimes he sends his son, Upo'yona, to dance in the mixed dance or during ko'upteunawa.

"When he comes during itiwana he is called Komhalikwi, 'katecina witch,' because he comes late at night when no one can see him.

"On the morning of the fifth day of *itiwan'a*<sup>2</sup> the people of the Corn clan all go to the house next to *muhewa* kiva. Here the women grind corn of all colors. Each person grinds a little, as fine as wheat flour. They make it into balls, and it must be ground so fine that the balls will not break when they are thrown down. They test it, and when it is fine enough they put the balls in a basket. Then they cook for the people who are coming in the evening.

"In the evening the Corn clan men choose someone for *Pautiwa*. On this occasion he must be Corn clan or child of Corn. The Corn clan man takes the basket of fine meal and goes to meet the impersonator of *Pautiwa* at Wide River. In all the kivas the men have built fires and are waiting for *Pautiwa*. He comes very late, about 2 or 3 o'clock. Only the head men of the kivas wait for him; sometimes only one man will wait for him alone in the kiva. When *Pautiwa* comes he goes first to *tcupawa* kiva. He climbs up to the roof quietly and throws a ball of corn meal down into the kiva. Then he goes away quickly and goes to *muhewa* and does the same. Then he goes to *ohewa*, *uptsanawa* and *heiwa*, and last of all to *hekapawa*. Then he goes home to Wide River. No one sees him when he comes.<sup>3</sup>

"After he has gone the head men of each kiva take the ball of flour and divide it among all who are there. They all inhale from the meal and say, 'Now he has brought in to us the warm breath of summer, so that we may have good crops.' So they say and breathe the blessing from the corn meal. The *Ca'lako wo'le* takes his portion of the meal and wraps it in a corn husk and takes it home and puts it aside. Then if they are afraid of early frosts in summer, the *Ca'lako* impersonator will use this meal to pray with when he plants his prayer sticks or prays in the morning. The *wo'le* keeps this meal for the two *Ca'lako* impersonators from his kiva. *Saiyataca* is not chosen from any special kiva, and so no one saves corn meal for him, but his wife must cook sweet corn for him and grind it for him to pray for the warm days."

On the sixth day of the fire taboo the members of the *Pautiwa* cult, men of the Dogwood clan or children of the clan who have impersonated *Pautiwa* on previous occasions, meet in a house of the Dogwood clan to select the impersonator for the coming ceremony. They choose one of their own number, or an outsider of suitable clan affiliation and unquestionable character. Dogwood clan and child of Dogwood serve in alternate years. The impersonator is notified that evening by an "old man" (cult head?) of the Dogwood clan, who goes to the appointee's house with corn meal. Long prayers are recited on this occasion. If the man serves for the first time, he must learn his complicated ritual, including long prayers, "from some old man

<sup>2</sup> See the calendar of the winter solstice, p. 534.

<sup>3</sup> The impersonator wears ordinary clothing, and is wrapped in a blanket pulled over his head. Because it is dangerous to look at him on this occasion (he is *komhalikwi*), it was impossible to learn whether or not he is masked, but probably he is not masked.

who knows how." All members of the cult (other less reliable information, all men of Dogwood clan) cut prayer sticks for Pautiwa on the ninth day of the solstice. These he brings to the kiva that evening and plants sometime the following day.

Before sunset on the ninth day of the solstice the mask of Pautiwa is taken, with the masks of the Saiyahi'a, to he'iwa kiva. The Pautiwa mask is probably called for in the house in which it is kept by a group of men of the Sun clan. However, precise information on this point is lacking. These men are present in the kiva all night to "take care of Pautiwa." Just before sunset pekwin or one of the bow priests (pekwin brought him in 1928, although this is a duty of the bow priests) call for the impersonator at his house and take him to the kiva. He brings with him the telnawe to be given the impersonators of the katchina priests the following morning. The impersonator of Pautiwa remains in the kiva all night, but he does not dance. At dawn he is dressed by the men of the Sun clan, and accompanies the other gods when they take the fire out to the east. When they return to the kiva he dances in mask for a short time. His big ceremony is in the afternoon.

"When Pautiwa comes to make the New Year he comes from Sand Hill in the afternoon and goes around the village. He goes around the outside of the village, coming in closer to the houses each time. He walks right into the river, without paying any attention to his valuable clothes. The water may come up to his knees or his waist, but he will not get wet. They say he goes around the houses four times, coming closer each time. When he comes to Sunshine Place on the south side of the village he goes to a certain house where there is a hole in the wall. The man who takes care of this place takes out the slab that covers the front when he sees Pautiwa coming, and Pautiwa puts his face close up against the wall and looks in. Inside are his 'babies' (wihe'fsana), and Pautiwa looks at them to see how the year will be. If the babies have fallen down it means that the people will have bad luck with sickness during the coming year. He also looks for signs of seeds and corn and water. As soon as he leaves the man who takes care of the place replaces the slab and covers it over with plaster. No one sees what is inside but Pautiwa. There are four such places in the village, on the four sides. They are called wihepawa. There are three or four 'images' in each of these holes.

"After he has finished going around the village he goes to he'iwa kiva. Citsuka and Kwelele are dancing on the roof. As soon as they see Pautiwa coming they go inside, and inside the Great Fire Society start their song for Pautiwa. They always sing for Pautiwa. Citsuka married Pautiwa's daughter. They sing 'tecolani telulani Pautiwa.'<sup>4</sup> As they sing this, Pautiwa, who has come up on the roof

<sup>4</sup> The song leader of the Great Fire Society, when asked the meaning of this song, quoted the beautiful passage in the firekeeper's prayer (p. 610) describing winter. The song has been recorded by Mr. Georg Herzog.

of the kiva, throws into the hatchway the twig he is carrying in his right hand. Then those below throw up corn meal and shout. He kneels down facing the east and puts down one crook for he'iwa Ca'lako, and prays. He picks up the stick which the people inside have thrown up, and waves it around to take away all the bad luck. Then Pekwin comes out with a bowl of corn meal, and Citsuka and Kwelele come with him. They are going with Pautiwa to the village of the katinas.<sup>5</sup> Pautiwa goes down first, then pekwin, then Citsuka, and Kwelele. They go down and go to Uptsanawa kiva<sup>6</sup> and Pautiwa leaves a crook there. They go to all the kivas, and then go out to Wide River, going home. Pautiwa has brought the New Year when he brought the crooks.

"When he goes to Wide River he takes off his mask. Here men of the Sun clan are waiting for him. He takes off his mask and comes back.<sup>7</sup> He goes directly to the house of the village chief. Here are gathered all the priests, and men of the Dogwood clan, and all the important men of the village. When Pautiwa comes in they all greet him and say, 'Have you come? Be seated.' Then he sits down. The village chief makes a cigarette and smokes to all directions and they pray. Then he says, 'Now tell us what happened to you when you went to see your babies.'<sup>8</sup> If anything was wrong Pautiwa will bow his head and say nothing, and then he will say, 'The babies were lying down wherever I went. That is bad, but let us hope that it may not be true. We must all pray that it may not come true.' Or he will say, 'There was a mark of bow and arrow,' and that means that there will be war. Or if he sees tracks coming toward him, that means good luck; and if he has seen green things growing, he is always glad, and he says, 'Fathers, clean your houses and hope for good crops. They have let me see green things wherever I went. Beautiful things were growing everywhere. I know that we shall have a good year.' If he sees anything nice he is always happy and tells the people. Last year (1925) he told the people that he saw rivers coming toward him, but they were all dry rivers, and, indeed, we had no snow all winter, and the rain came late in summer. So it always comes true.

"After he has told the people this, his aunts (father's sisters) come to get him. They take him to their house, and the Dogwood people are all there. They wash his head, and so his part is over."

*Corrections and additions to the above account.*—Pautiwa goes out to Sand Hill about noon. Here he is dressed by certain men of the Sun clan. He approaches the village in mid afternoon. He encircles the village four times in narrowing circles. On the third circuit he plants

<sup>5</sup> See Citsuka's myth, p. 925.

<sup>6</sup> See, however, p. 913 for order of visiting the kivas.

<sup>7</sup> Probably he plants the prayer sticks given him by Dogwood men at this time.

<sup>8</sup> The prayer that precedes Pautiwa's reply is given in text on p. 693.



prayer sticks in permanent excavations on the outskirts of the village, as follows: In a field to the north, near the old well; in a field to the west, near the house of Nastacio; in the bed of the river, south of Sunshine Place. There was probably a planting in a field to the east, but this was not observed. If there was such a planting, it preceded the planting to the north. After leaving the river bed, he goes to look at his "babies." These shrines are visited as follows: Pałtowa (east), Sop'iyahnawa (north), He'kapawa (west), Te'kálnawa (south). (This was not observed.) He enters the village from the west. As soon as he enters the plaza the dancing stops. If Citsulkä and Kwelele still have things left, they throw them quickly to the people. He marks the hatchway of the kiva with four lines of corn meal. The kivas are visited in the following order: He'iwa, he'apawa, tcupawa, muhewa ohewa, upts'anawa. The balance of the account is substantially correct. (Observed 1928, 1929. R. L. B.)

"When Pautiwa comes after Ca'lako to bring in the corn maids he is called mola'kwatoka or a'owakwatoka.<sup>9</sup> On this occasion he must be Mustard (aiyohokwe) clan or child of Mustard. He is chosen by the Mustard people, but he wears the same mask. He brings in the Corn Maids on the last day of Ca'lako, after all the katecinas have left to go to the east.<sup>10</sup>

"The kiva chiefs pick out the men to impersonate the Corn Maids during the night or on the morning of ko'ane (the gods depart, see p. 945). There should be four from each kiva. Their ceremonial fathers must help them dress and furnish their clothing. The young men who are to impersonate the Corn Maids wash their hair and braid it so that it will be wavy. Then his father's wife or sister brushes his hair.

"In the afternoon after the katecinas have gone to the east each man who is going to help bring in the Corn Maids goes out with his wife and a young girl to run for the boy. The wife takes a brush with her, and the little girl carries a water gourd, or a few straws from a broom stuck in her belt so as to run fast. Then when the men have all their things ready they go to Where-the-pumpkin-stands. The girls do not go so far, but stay at Red Earth. The man and the woman take the young man to where the Pautiwa mask is staying.<sup>10</sup> At Red Earth are many girls who are going to run for the boys, and a man from the Mustard clan goes there to start them off. When the girls are all there he will count them to see that there is one girl for each young man. When they are all there he says to them, 'Now, all the katecinas have gone. Now watch me. I am going a little way off to the east and you must watch me. When I give you the signal

<sup>9</sup> For description of the ceremony, see Stevenson, p. 277, and Parsons, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 29:392, see also Plate 60 for Bitsitsi.

<sup>10</sup> At Ko'ane every man takes his own mask to Where-the-pumpkin-stands and after depositing sticks brings it back. The Pautiwa mask, however, is left out in the field until evening.



you will start to run.' Then he lines up the girls facing the east and goes a little way to the east. Then he prays and says, 'Now these corn maids will run. Whoever comes first to Pautiwa will be the first one to come in to Itiwana.' So he says. The girls all watch him and as soon as he throws up the meal they start to run. Whoever leads will stop when she gets right behind Pautiwa and then all the others must stop right where they are. Then they count them off, and each young man will take the place of the girl who has run for him. Then they get ready. The Corn Maids do not wear masks. They paint their faces black and yellow and they wear bright ribbons on their sleeves and shoulders. After they are all dressed Bitsitsi comes and Pautiwa gets up and they bring in the Corn Maids in the evening."

The following myth is told in explanation of the ceremony of the Corn Maids.

#### THE CORN MAIDS

Long ago, the people were starving. The Corn Maids had run away because the people were careless about corn. So the Corn Maids ran away and went to the village of the masked gods. The people played with corn bread and threw it away, and they threw the corn into the corn rooms any way. They did not pile it up carefully the way we do now. So Yellow Corn Maid went to all the houses in the night and told the Corn Maids to come with her. They said, "All right, we shall go." They did not know where to go. Pautiwa in the village of the katchinas heard it and he said to the Yellow Corn, "I have heard that you have decided to run away and that you do not know where to go. I do not want you to go away. Come with me so that my people will not always be punished. They will learn again. Your home is in the village of the katchinas, so that my people may not starve for all time." He did not want the Corn Maids to go to the Hopi or to some other people. So Pautiwa said, "You will come with me." So all the Corn Maids, Yellow, Blue, Red, White, Speckled, and Black followed him. The Black Corn went behind to make the road dark so that the people would not find them. Therefore, when anyone is very lonesome for some one who has died, they give him the juice of the black corn to drink to make him forget.

Pautiwa took the Corn Maids with him and he laid them down in the middle of the lake. He told them, "Now, my children, you will lie still. When I am tired hiding you, I shall go and rest. Do not talk, I do not want my people inside to know that you are here." Inside, the people were dancing. Pautiwa stayed outside in the middle of the lake and the people came out and asked him whatever they wanted to know and they never noticed that he was hiding the Corn Maids.

Here at Itiwana the people had plenty of corn, but it was not good. There was no meat on it. All the corn piled in the corn rooms looked

sick. The people noticed it and began to say, "Why is it that when we put the corn in it looked all right, but now it does not look right, and we are using it up so fast because there is nothing on the ears?" They kept on using up the corn, and when spring came the men planted. The women took out the seeds and the men planted them, but they never came up. It was as if they were dead. Their heart had gone away to the village of the katecinas. One year passed and the next came and the people had nothing. In some houses where they had looked after their corn right they still had corn. Finally the careless people went to work for the other people. They wove and span and ground for them. They worked for those who had corn, and so they had something to eat. Finally those who had no corn gave away everything they had for a basket of corn. So they were punished.

The priests tried to find out what was wrong. They knew that the Corn Maids had gone off and that that was why they had nothing but they wanted to find out what they should do. The town chief spoke thus. Then he sent for the other head men to talk over what they should do. They came and talked about it. Then they sent for Ahayute at Where-the-cotton-hangs. They came in and asked, "Why have you sent for us? We are here." So they said, "Our Corn Maids have been gone for four years, and we want to find out where they have gone to." So they said, "We shall try and find out where they have gone." So they went out and called the Tenatsali<sup>11</sup> boys. These boys are very wise. They came and they said, "We have come. Why have you sent for us?" Then the chief priest said, "We have been starving for four years. We want you to see if you can help us find the Corn Maids. We want you to find where they have gone."

So the Tenatsali boys tried. They went all over, to all the lakes and to the ocean. They looked in all the different directions but they could not find them. Then they called A'naklākia.<sup>12</sup> He went all over, to the north and to the south and in all the different directions, but he could not find them. Then the Ahayute tried. They sent down a fly in the west, just a little dirty fly like we have in the houses. In the village of the katecinas they knew that the Corn Maids were hiding. All the katecina women were inside cooking by the fire and the katecina children were playing outside. They ran inside and said, "The fly is coming." The katecina women were wise. They knew that the Ahayute had sent the fly to find the Corn Maids so they said to the little katecinas, "Here, take this pumpkin stew and set it down outside so that the fly will go for it and burn her tongue." She

<sup>11</sup> Tenatsali is an unidentified plant used by the priests for their prayer sticks. When eaten it enables the user to locate lost property. It is administered by a priest.

<sup>12</sup> Datura (Jimson weed) used by medicine men to detect witchcraft.

is wise, Ahe'a.<sup>13</sup> Then she took her pot of pumpkin stew and poured it into a bowl and set it out. The fly came along and went right for it because it was sweet. She burned her tongue. That is why the fly has never been able to talk since then and could not tell the Ahayute where the corn maids were hiding.

The Ahayute had bows and arrows. They used their arrows with the points down so that they could go up easily. They went up to the sky. They went all around and did not see anything but the wind. So they came down and they went out in all directions, to the west and to the east and everywhere. Whenever they went out the priests did not eat and did not drink and did not go out. They just sat in their room until midnight waiting for them. Then after the third night they came back and said, "Now, our fathers, now this is the third night. We have been everywhere and could not find them. We have always helped you. Everything you have asked we have been able to do. This is the first time we have failed. We are not wise enough. Someone else must be wise to find them for you. We can not find them." The Ahayute had brought the people up when they were down under the earth and they had always been able to help them, but now they knew there was someone wiser than they who had hidden the Corn Maids. Then they said, "There is someone you could try. Try Ne'we'kwe. He might be able to find the corn maids. We have heard that he is as wise as we are. We have always heard that."

So they called a Ne'we'kwe man. They sent for him and he came to the ceremonial room of the town chief and he asked them, "Why have you sent for me?" They said, "You know that we have been starving for four years. We have sent our children to look for the Corn Maids. We have sent three times and no one has found them. Now we want you to work on prayer sticks for your Ne'we'kwe. We know him. He always sits on the Milky Way." So the Ne'we'kwe planted prayer sticks for him to come. Finally he came in the night after sunset. He came in and sat down and he asked, "Now I have come. I would like to hear why you have sent for me." Then the chief priest answered and said, "We have been starving for four years. We have tried three times, and none of our children have been able to find the Corn Maids. They have not found them at all. The Corn Maids must be somewhere. We want them to come back so that we may have crops again, and so that my children may be happy." So he said. Then Ne'we'kwe answered, "Yes, indeed, I shall try. I shall see what I can do. But now I shall ask you people if you really want the Corn Maids to come back for four years (he meant four days, but he was Ne'we'kwe;) you will not drink and you will not eat and you will sit here and wait for me. You will not go

<sup>13</sup> The grandmother of the katchinas.

home to your wives, but you will wait for me here. I shall go for four years, and perhaps I shall find them." So he said to them, and then they asked one another if they would do all he had said. Then the chief priest said, "Yes, my son, we want the Corn Maids to come back. No matter how tired and hungry and thirsty we may be, we shall sit here and wait for you for four years. We really want the Corn Maids to come." So he said, "I am going now. Make your thoughts clean and make your hearts clean that I may bring the Corn Maids." Then he took ashes from the fireplace and went out.

When he got outside he threw up the ashes and right away there was a milky way in the sky. It came down to him and he jumped on it and sat down. It took him to the south and around to the east. At dawn he came down at his home at Ashes Spring.<sup>14</sup> The priests were in retreat. They thought he would be gone for four years, but he always came home at night. It takes a person twenty days to go to the south ocean, but he was wise and went in one day to the south and came back. He went to the north and the east and the west. He went to the west last, and there he dropped down from the Milky Way. Then he said to the Milky Way, "I have made you to protect my people. You will stay in the sky so that everyone will see you and watch you." That is why the Ne'we'kwe have the Milky Way in their ceremonial room and they sit on it.

He came down in the west and dropped into the Sacred Lake. There Pautiwa was hiding the Corn Maids. He just walked through the lake and never got wet. He came to him and he said, "How are you, my father? Are the Corn Maids here?" Then Pautiwa was glad that he had come. Now he could rest, so he was glad he had come. Then he said to the Corn Maids, "Now we shall go back to Itiwan'a. They want you. They will treat you well because they want you badly. They have nothing to eat. Let us go."

So then Ne'we'kwe went first and the Corn Maids followed him. Then Pautiwa got up and dipped his water gourd into the lake and followed them. "Now I shall go with you and take this sacred water so that when my people plant the corn the rain will always come." So they came here to Itiwana and went into the ceremonial room of the priests, first Ne'we'kwe and then the Corn Maids and Pautiwa. That is why Ne'we'kwe always brings the Corn Maids after Ca'lako and Pautiwa brings in the water in his water gourd so that they may have good luck with the summer rains. We call Ne'we'kwe Bitsitsi when he brings the corn maids, and we call Pautiwa Mo'la-kwatokia and A'fowakwatokia.

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<sup>14</sup> A spring near Ojo Caliente, sacred to the Ne'we'kwe.

## THE RETURN OF THE CORN MAIDS

(Variant)

Long ago Bitsitsi was living in the Milky Way. Then the Corn Maids ran away and many people were looking for them. Then the man in the Milky Way saw everything, because he was up in the sky, and he found the Corn Maids and brought them back to Itiwan'a. He saw the Corn Maids and he told the priests that if they would do as he told them he would bring back the corn. Then the chief priest said that they would do whatever he said and he told them, "You must not eat or drink or talk for one night and one day until after dark, and you must not sleep or go out." The chief priest said, "Very well." Then they spread out a blanket for him and he sat down.

After about two hours he went out to the southeast and after he had gone about 5 miles he planted a yellow prayer stick and came back. He stayed there for about three hours and then he went out again to the southeast and about 3 miles beyond where he had planted the yellow prayer stick he planted a blue prayer stick and then he came back again. The people were still sitting there. Then he waited another three hours and went out again and went about 4 miles farther and planted a red prayer stick. Then he came back again and the people were still sitting there. After two or three hours he went out again and went about 2 miles farther off and planted a white prayer stick. Then he came back. The people were still sitting there. He stayed there for two or three hours. The people did not talk or smoke or eat or drink or go out. He said, "Poor people! You must want the Corn Maids to come back." Then he went out again, about 3 or 4 miles beyond where he had put the white stick and here he planted a prayer stick of many colors. He came back again and the people were still sitting there not talking. He stayed about two or three hours and then he went about 4 or 5 miles farther and now he was near the ocean. A little ways from the ocean he planted a black prayer stick.

The Red Corn Maid and the Speckled Corn Maid were sitting on the surface of the ocean and they saw him. Then they went in and told their sisters, "Some one is coming." Then Yellow Corn Maid said, "Very well."

Then the man went back to Itiwana and he stayed there a few hours. The people were still sitting there. They were hungry and thirsty, but they did not eat or drink; and they did not smoke or talk. Then he said "Poor people! This is the last time I am going out. I will surely bring back the Corn Maids." Then he went out and went way off to the ocean. He came there and went right into the ocean. There were many girls there and one of them said, "Let us go in to our sister." So they went in and she spoke to the Yellow Corn Maid, and the Yellow Corn Maid said to him, "How do you



do?" and she told him to sit down. Then she said to him, "What do you know? What did you wish to say?" Then he said, "I want you to go with me to Itiwana." They said, "Why?" He said, "The priests want you." Then she told him, "You go out and bring someone who is always happy, who never worries. Then we will go. If you can find anyone who is happy all the time we will go." Then he said, "Very well," and went out.

He went a little ways and saw a cottontail rabbit. He caught him and brought him in and said, "Here he is. This man is always happy; he never worries." Then the girls said, "He is right. This man is happy all the time. We know it. Now you get ready and we shall go with you. Now kill it." Then he killed the cottontail and skinned and put the skin, ears and all, around his neck. Then he took a piece of bone out of his arm and a piece of the ear and fastened them together and made a whistle.

So he took them to the east to all the different pueblos and finally he came to Itiwana with the Corn Maids. And so when they bring in the Corn Maids after Ca'lako they always come in from the southeast.

*References.*—The mask of Pautiwa is illustrated in Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, Plate II.

The winter solstice ceremony described (incompletely) by Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, p. 108. The Molawia ceremony described fully by Parsons, and by Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, p. 277.

There are frequent references to Pautiwa in tales collected by Benedict (unpublished manuscript) and Bunzel (text versions, unpublished).

*Parallels.*—Hopi: Pautiwa (Fewkes, Hopi Katsinas, Pl. II). A katsina of avowed Zuñi origin, introduced on first mesa with the Sia (Zuñi) Calako, about 75 years ago. This ceremony of the Sitcumovi clans is a Hopi potpurri of important Zuñi ceremonies.

The significant Hopi parallel is with Ahül (Hopi Katsinas, Pl. VII, also pp. 33-35 and 67; Voth, Bunzel, unpublished notes). Pautiwa is functionally related to this katsina who inaugurates the Powamu ceremony, much as Pautiwa "makes the New Year." (Powamu celebrates the return of the katsinas after their long absence.) Ahül marks the hatchway of the kiva with lines of meal, to announce the coming of the katsinas, just as Pautiwa marks the kivas to announce the coming of Teakwena oka, the Salimop'iya, and the various scare katsinas during the four days following. Fewkes identifies Ahül with the Hopi sun god. At Zuñi the impersonation belongs to the Dogwood clan, but Pautiwa is dressed and attended by men of the Sun clan, "because," as the chief of this group explained, "he is our child. He belongs to the sun."

Compare also Hopi Ahülani, the Soyal katsina, the first katsina to return at the winter solstice. He is accompanied by two katsina maidens, who distribute seeds to women in the kiva, as the Zuñi katsina maidens do in the dances following the winter solstice.

#### SATYALI'A

(Plate 21, b)

*Costume.*—The top and back of the mask are covered with coarse white horsehair. He wears a big bunch of eagle tail feathers sticking out behind, and a bunch of owl feathers (muhuku lahatcipon'e). His



face is painted blue. He has ball eyes and a large mouth with long, sharp teeth made of folded corn husks. He has a coyote skin wrapped around his neck. Two blue horns.

When he comes at Itiwan'a, his body is painted black with hekwitola (see p. 859), and marked with crescents of red and blue and white, like the painting on Kolo'wisi. The calves are painted the same as the body, and the thighs are white. He wears a native blue kilt as a breechcloth, and a fringe of black hair around his waist, like Cula'witsi. He wears a white tasseled belt and a blue leather belt. Blue leather armbands with butterflies for the summer birds and the green grass. Fox skin. Two turtle-shell rattles, one on each leg, tied with small red belts and black yarn. In the right hand he carries yucca, in the left uptcialan'e, a staff of wood with black goats' hair hanging from a sinew on one side. He also carries telnan'e for good luck for the New Year. This has the following feathers: eagle, chaparral cock, chicken hawk, isiton'e, red hawk, bluejay, k̄ewia, laialuko, duck (the "turn-around feather").

At the initiation (first and second whipping), he wears many feathers. He wears a downy eagle feather in the forelock and a downy feather dyed red on each horn. In his hair are many downy feathers which are given to the boys. His body is painted with pink clay from the Sacred Lake. He wears a large white buckskin fastened on the right shoulder. The rest of his costume is the same. In the right hand he carries yucca; in the left, bow and arrow. (Pl. 32, a.) He is dressed like this when the priests send for him when there is something wrong. He is always dressed like this when he is "dangerous," but when he comes for the rabbit hunt for good luck, he is dressed as at Itiwan'a.

There are four masks of Saiyali'a. They are kept with the masks of the Blue Sälimoṗiya. (K. 414.) They use the same masks at Itiwan'a and the initiation.

"When the Saiyali'a come at Itiwan'a they are called Puhu'atina-kwe (the ones who do 'puhu').

"It all starts when pekwin tells the people to keep the fire inside. Then on the fifth day of the fire taboo (make teckwi), Pautiwa comes in the night (i. e., the sixth night according to Zuñi counting). Then on the fourth day after this, the Saiyali'a come in in the evening with Citsukā and Kwelele. The impersonators are chosen by the priests. They decide which kiva should take away the bad luck, and they say, 'Perhaps it will be he'iwa kiva.' Then the katcina bow priest goes to the kiva chief of he'iwa and says, 'Our fathers have picked you out and you will be the one to watch and take the old year away. You will pick out some good men who are never unhappy to take the old year away.' Then he answers, 'It is well. I shall pick out men from my kiva.' The priests pick out the kiva that will take the old

year out the day after Pautiwa comes in the night, that is on the sixth day of the fire taboo. Then the kiva chief selects the four men from among the men of his kiva. He goes to the house of the first man and the man says to him, 'Be seated. Why have you come?' Then he answers, 'Yes, I have come. I have thought of this house. I have thought in my mind that our people want us to send out the old year.' Then the man answers, 'I can not say no. I shall be the one.' Then the kiva chief goes to the house of another man and tells him the same thing, and no one can refuse, because the priests have chosen them.

"Then right away the men's wives begin to grind to take food to the members of the Great Fire Society, who sing for the New Year. Then on the fourth night the katchina bow priest helps them to dress. When evening comes Citsukä and Kwelele come in.

(At about this time the Saiyali'a impersonators go to he'iwa kiva. They are unmasked and wrapped in blankets that conceal their costume. The masks have already been taken to the kiva, possibly by the katchina bow priest. R. L. B., 1928.)

"Late at night the Saiyali'a put on their masks and come to the kiva. They dance for the old year. After they have danced a little while, the katchina bow priest goes to their houses and brings in the baskets of corn that their wives have ground. He goes to one house and comes back and then he goes to another house and brings a basket from each. Then he pours water into a bowl and puts the meal in it and mixes it <sup>16</sup> and gives it to the people who are there. In the kiva are all the priests, the keeper of the sacred fire,<sup>17</sup> the Great Fire Society (also men of he'iwa kiva and men of the Dogwood and Sun clans. R. L. B.) All these people drink.

"Just before daylight the Sayali'a go to all the kivas saying 'puhu, puhu, puhu.' No one is in the kivas, but they think the old year is in there and they want to hurry him out. Then they come back to he'iwa kiva and wait for dawn. When they feel the wind from the east, they make the New Year fire in the kiva. Blood-pudding-man <sup>18</sup> makes the fire with a fire drill, and Citsukä lights his torch. Kwelele carries out the ashes and the four Puhu'atina'kwe carry out the sweepings from the kiva. They say they are carrying out the corn. Then they go out to the east, to take the old year out and meet the new year. They go out of the village to the place called Where-the-pumpkin-stands, and leave the fire there. Then they all come back and dance in the kiva. After they are finished, Citsukä and Kwelele wait for Pautiwa, and the Puhu'atina'kwe go off with the

<sup>16</sup> This drink is called *tcuḡina'we* and is considered a great delicacy. The corn is first boiled, then dried and roasted and ground into very fine meal.

<sup>17</sup> *Tsupal'ilona*, "the one who has the blood pudding," see p. 959.

<sup>18</sup> According to more reliable authority, the head of the Great Fire Society makes the fire and lights Kwelele's torch. Citsuka does not have a torch.

old year. They take it away. They swing their staves as they go to sweep away what is left of the old year."

The Saiyali'a come also for the initiation of the little boys. For the description of their part in this ceremony, see p. 978.

They are the only ones to come for the final initiation. At this time they are called TemapiKamaka, "they show them the way." (See p. 998.) They come also as punitive or exorcising katcinas at irregular intervals.

*Folklore:*

HOW SAYALIA GOT HIS COLLAR

When the Sayali'a first came to Itiwana they did not wear the coyote skins around their necks. They had just plain masks. They were poor and naked. They came to Itiwana and finished their dance. Then before going home they went to Corn Mountain to hunt. They went with Ahayute to Corn Mountain and were hunting. Two of the Kānakwe were there too. They also were hunting with Ahayute. Ahayute had been to Itiwana. They had their crooks and were going home.<sup>19</sup> So they asked the Sayali'a to go with them. The Sayali'a were dangerous, but they did not look so terrible before they had the coyote skins on their necks. So the Ahayute said, "There are all kinds of animals where we live, and you can have their skins for your clothing." So the Sayali'a went with them. The Ahayute climbed up Corn Mountain. When they came to their home they began to sing the way the Kānakwe do, "Huīta! Huīta!"<sup>20</sup>

The little coyotes were living on Corn Mountain. They heard it and they came to the Ahayute and said, "Who is making that noise around here? It sounds like a give-away dance." Then Ahayute said, "Don't you hear the katcinas below there? Last night there was a give-away dance at Itiwana and the katcinas came along with us and they are having a give-away dance below here." The Ahayute had a good idea. They had been calling "Huīta," because they wanted the little coyotes to jump off the mountain so that the Sayali'a could use their skins on their masks. "How can we go down?" said the four coyotes; "it is far. How can we go down?" "Just look for corncobs and stick one in your anus and the wind will carry you down." So the coyote looked for a corncob. He went home and got one and came back. "I don't know how to stick it in." "Here; I will do it for you." Then he said, "Now, you just stand here and bend over." The coyote was standing at the edge of Corn Mountain and he bent over and the Ahayute stuck the corncob in his anus. They did the same with all four of them, and then

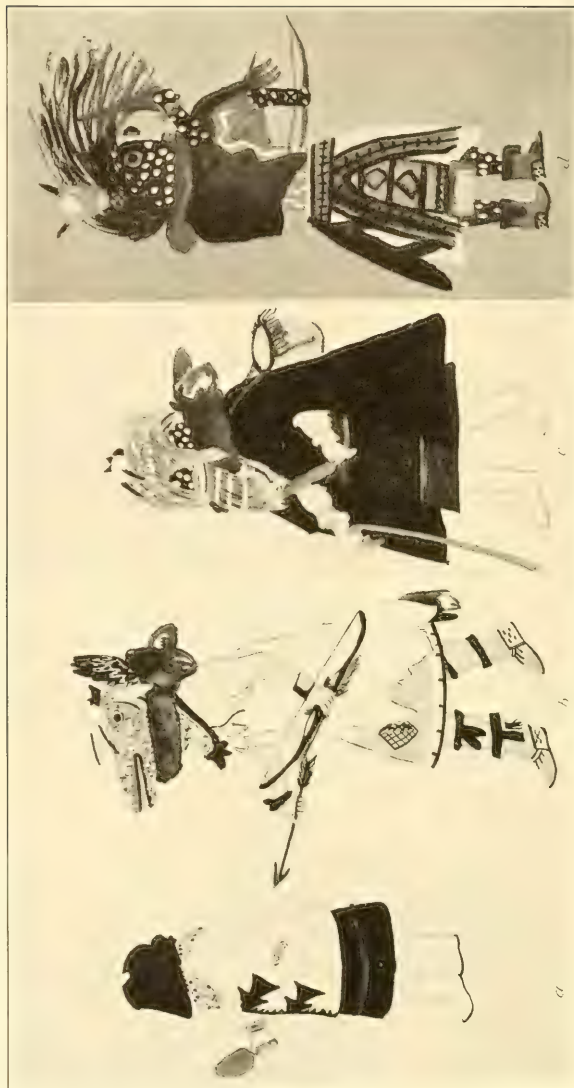
<sup>19</sup> At the winter solstice prayer sticks are offered to all deities, and they are believed to come on that day to get their feathers.

<sup>20</sup> The Kānakwe and other katcinas who distribute food to the populace call out "Huīta," as they throw their things to the people.



MASKS APPEARING AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE

a, Pautlwa; b, Sa'yall'at; c, Citsukit; d, Kwelele



MASKS APPEARING AFTER THE WINTER SOLSTICE  
*a*, Tekwona'ola; *b*, N'abasi; *c*, s'wini of Aboki; *d*, Yende'ola.



they said, "Now, you just go to the edge and jump off and the wind will take you down to where they are having the give-away dance." Then they stood up and went to the edge, and then right over they went, the poor coyotes! There they went down and they burst open. "Oh, oh, oh, oh!" they said, and they died.

There below were the Sayali'a, hunting rabbits. They came there to where the poor coyotes were lying. One came up to them, and he called the others. "Who is it that killed these?" he said. Their fur was so pretty that the Sayali'a said, "Never mind about hunting rabbits. There is not much to eat on them, and their skins are not big enough to wear. Let us skin these." So the four Sayali'a skinned the coyotes. There were just four of them. Then the one who had found them finished first, and he took the skin off and pulled it out and hung it on a tree to dry a little. Then he took it and tried it on his neck and tied it in back. The others looked at him and said, "Oh, how nice you look now! It is much better that way. We will all wear it that way now." Then all of them took their fur and fixed their necks that way. That is how they came to wear the coyotes' skins on their necks. Before that they had come to Itiwana without any fur, but Ahayute gave them these skins. They told the story about the give-away dance, and so they came to wear fur around their necks.

#### CITSUKÄ AND KWELELE

(Plate 21, c)      (Plate 21, d)

*Costume.*—"Citsukä is the white god (koko kohana). He is dressed all in white. His mask is white. His nose is lightning, and over his ears is painted more lightning. On his face is painted hepakin'e (a circular design of different colors, similar to the painting on the masks of Sälimoṗiya) for the differently colored lightning." On his head he wears small feathers from the breast of the macaw and downy feathers of the eagle. At the back lapaṗowa, tail feathers of the macaw and downy eagle feathers. Spruce collar.

"His clothing is all white, white shirt, white embroidered blanket fastened on the right shoulder, white dance kilt with a blue band, embroidered sash, white fringed leggings of buckskin, blue moccasins, black yarn around both legs with bells on the right leg. Yarn and beads on both wrists, and many necklaces around his neck, doubled over the way the society people wear them. He carries yucca in the right hand and a bull roarer.

"Kwelele is called the black god (koko kwin'e). His mask is all black with white crescents for eyes, and a zigzag stripe for nose. His feathers are the same as those of Citsukä. His ears are rolled corn husks. Spruce collar.



"The upper part of his body is nude and painted purplish black. He wears a dance kilt, embroidered sash, red woman's belt, fox skin behind. He wears arm bands of blue buckskin with feathers hanging from them. He has spruce twigs in his arm bands and in his belt. Blue moccasins, yarn on both legs, with little bells. In the right hand he carries yucca, in the left a torch of cedar bark and an ancient fire drill. (The torch is left in the fields at dawn, and he carries yucca for the rest of the day.)

"The masks of Citsukā and Kwelele are kept with that of Koko Lan'a in the house of the Great Fire Society. Their ceremony belongs to this society. Citsukā and Kwelele live at Cipapolima."

*Ceremonies.*—Citsukā and Kwelele come publicly only at itiwan'a, but they bring in Koko Lan'a when he is called in to cure sickness.

When Citsukā and Kwelele come at itiwan'a they must be impersonated by members of the Koko Lan'a order of the Great Fire Society. During itiwan'a they meet to select the impersonators. All members of the society contribute food or things like tobacco purchased at the store for Citsukā and Kwelele to throw away to the people.

They come in on the ninth day of the fire taboo, in the evening. During the afternoon the masks are taken out to a field to the east of the village, by members of the Great Fire Society, who assist Citsukā and Kwelele to dress. Just before sunset they enter the village by the eastern road. They go at once to He'iwa kiva where they dance for a few minutes on the roof. Meanwhile pekwin has assembled the impersonators of Pautiwa and Saiyali'a. At sunset they enter the kiva. Here brief ceremonies are held. After about 20 minutes they come out again and go to the ceremonial house of the Great Fire Society. Here they remove their masks, and eat the supper that has been brought to the house by female members of the society. In the Great Fire Society house are the members of the Koko Lana order of the society, and the choir that is to sing during the night. Late at night Citsukā and Kwelele are summoned to He'iwa kiva by the bow priest. They put on their masks and follow him, accompanied by their choir and the head men of the Great Fire Society. They reach the kiva about midnight. Until day no one must see them except those privileged to be in the kiva. In the kiva are the priests, the chiefs of the Katcina Society, Tsupal'ilona, the impersonators of Pautiwa and Saiyali'a, members of the Pautiwa cult, the Sun clan men who "take care of" Pautiwa, choirs from He'iwa kiva and the Great Fire Society. Anyone entering the kiva during the night must remain in and awake until the ceremonies close at sundown the following day.

During the night the two choirs sing alternately certain named song sequences and Citsukā and Kwelele and the Saiyali'a dance. Anyone

who dozes during the night is soundly thrashed by Citsukā. At one point in the ceremonies the head of the Great Fire Society asperges the audience with water from the medicine bowl on the altar. After this Kwelele runs out and sits on the roof for a while, and is followed by Citsukā, leaving the Saiyali'a alone dancing in the kiva. Both return after a short time. During the night pekwin and the chief of the Great Fire Society both keep watch of the stars, and at the approach of dawn notify the men of the Sun clan to dress Pautiwa. When he is ready, the chief of the Great Fire Society kindles fire with Kwelele's fire drill and lights Kwelele's torch. There are four songs for the making of the fire, and as soon as the fire comes the choir stops and sings the "going away" song. If the fire comes quickly, it is an omen of good luck. Then the gods, pekwin, komosona, and Tsupal'ilona, take the fire out to the east. Kwelele carries his torch, kindled from the new fire, Tsupal'ilona carries a brand from his fire. There is contradictory evidence as to who carries the ashes and sweepings. Citsukā leads, carrying an ear of corn. Wherever he stops and lays down his ear of corn the party stops. Tsupal'ilona lays down his brand, Kwelele extinguishes his torch. After brief prayers the party returns to the village. This is the end of the fire taboo. The people all hasten to take the fire out of their houses, for those who take their fire out early will have good luck during the coming year. It is not yet six o'clock and still quite dark. As soon as the singers of the Great Fire Society return to the kiva from taking the fire out of their own houses, the gods dance until full daylight (eight o'clock or later). At this time anyone may enter the kiva, and many men, women, and children who were denied entrance during the night go to receive the blessing of the gods.

After eating and resting in their house Citsukā and Kwelele return to the kiva and dance on the roof while the crooks of office are being distributed within. As each impersonator receives his crook, the choir calls out the name of the god. After all the crooks and the feathers for the Lewē'kwe dance have been distributed, the choir sings Citsukā's songs, and the two gods dance on the roof, throwing large quantities of food and other articles to the populace. This continues until Pautiwa comes at sunset. (Observed in part 1928, 1929.)

*Mythology*—A long time ago the people were living at Koluwalawa, katcina village, and the Black katchinas (Koko a'kwin'e) were living near katcina village. One day the chief of the katchinas called out a deer hunt for four days from that time, and on the same night the chief of the Black katchinas called a deer hunt for the same time. On the day of the hunt after the midday meal the Black katchinas went about a mile away and made a circle, and the katcina village people made a circle also, and the two circles overlapped and the people began shooting against each other. Then the katcina village

people got angry and went home. About midnight the black gods took their images and rounded up some deer and antelope and mountain lion and jack rabbits and cottontail rabbits and wood rats. Then the porcupine came and made a corral for the deer and one for the antelope and one for the mountain lion and one for the jack rabbits and one for the cottontails. They made five corrals.

The katcinas did not kill any game all year, and there was no rain.<sup>21</sup> Two girls went down to the corrals where the deer were. The katcinas were looking for game, but they never found anything. They ate their buckskin clothes and their moccasins because they could not get any meat.

Way off in the east at Cipapolima lived Citsukā, one of the white gods. Every evening when he was on his housetop he saw lightning in the southwest. Then he said, "I had better go down where the lightning is. There must be rain there."

Next morning he took his seeds of corn of all colors and beans and watermelons and muskmelons and pumpkins and squash and he went down to the southwest. Soon night came on. He had a little dish of sacred meal and some water and some medicine and a bull roarer. He whirled his bull roarer and sprinkled meal to the north, west, south, east, up, and down. Then he went on, far into the southwest. On the fifth day in the afternoon he came to a place where there had been rain just a few minutes before, and lots of water was running down. He went on a little farther and came to a little lake on a hill with water running down from it. Here he planted his corn and beans and watermelons and muskmelons and squash seeds, and he built a little house there. He stayed there and ate his buckskin moccasins and his leggings, and he was as poor as a crow. He stayed there 14 or 15 days, and then one afternoon he went out to see the country. He went out and saw a creek and cottonwood trees by the creek and he saw two girls washing buckskins. They put it into the water and spread it out and then looked to see if anyone was near. Then they did it again. Citsukā stood there watching the girls. Soon one of the girls saw him. They asked him, "Do you know what we are doing?" He said, "Yes." They said, "What?" He said, "You are washing deerskin." They said, "Yes, but you must not say anything. Long ago when our people and the people from the village of the katcinas went hunting deer on the same day, they both made big circles, and our people got all the deer in their circle, and the other people did not get any, and they got angry and went home. Then we rounded up the deer and put them in a corral. If you do not tell anybody we will take you up to our house and you can watch the deer." The young man said, "All right." Then he took the buckskin to help wash it and he saw a little bit of

<sup>21</sup> The implication is that the katcinas withhold rain because they are angry.

meat on the buckskin and he pulled it off and ate it. Then one of the girls said, "Poor man, he has not had anything to eat," and she went up to the house about a half mile from the creek and brought some meat, and he ate it. Then they went on washing the buckskin.

In the evening the girls took him back to their house with them. Their father knew he came from a different country. The girls made supper and they ate. After supper the old man asked questions, and asked, "Where have you been?" He said, "I come from Cipapalima. I was living there and we had no rain. And I looked down here and saw lightning, so I came here and I planted some corn and beans and melons and squash. To-day I was looking around and I saw your girls washing a buckskin." The old man said, "All right. If you stay with these girls you will be all right." Then they went to bed.

After breakfast the next morning the old man told the youth to make a pair of moccasins. He gave him a deerskin and he made a pair of moccasins and a pair of leggings. He had nice clothes again now. In the evening he went to the corrals and called out to all the people to come down. Each family got one deer and one mountain sheep and one antelope and one jack rabbit and one cottontail rabbit and one wood rat. Each family got one of each kind of animal and took them home. The second day he did the same. The man stayed there four days and then he went to look after his cornfield. His cornfield was getting along all right and his muskmelons were nearly ripe. He took deer meat with him. He worked all day in his cornfield and in the evening he went home. Every fourth night he gave each family one deer and one mountain sheep and one antelope and one cottontail rabbit and one jack rabbit and one wood rat.

Up at the village of the katchinas was Pautiwa. One day he put on his duck shirt and went swimming in the lake. He went out to the southwest and after he had gone a long way he saw cornfields and he saw a little lake and he swam into the lake. When he got there he took off his duck shirt and went up to the camp house and looked in. He saw the young man eating a dinner of deer meat. The young man heard him and put the deer meat under his knees. Then Pautiwa went in and greeted him. And the young man said, "Sit down." Pautiwa sat down and talked to the young man. "I think you are eating deer meat." "No, I never eat deer meat." "Yes, you look well. You have enough to eat. Perhaps you are married." "No." "Yes, you look well. I think you are married," Pautiwa said, "You tell me. I have a nice daughter and I will bring her to you to-morrow." Then the boy told him, "A long time ago the people from the village of the katchinas went out to hunt deer, and the black dancers went to hunt deer the same day. And they made a large circle and the black gods rounded up all the deer in

their circle. Then the people from the village of the katcinas did not get any and they went home and the other people drove all the game into corrals. After a while I saw the lightning here and came and made a cornfield and the two girls took me to their house to watch the game." "Is that so?" "Yes. I will show you. To-morrow night I shall give each family a deer." Then Pautiwa said, "Well, to-morrow I will bring my daughter and you will stay with my daughter. She is a nice looking girl, but she's a little thin because she has not had enough to eat." The boy said, "All right. I think I have some meat here." Then Pautiwa ate the meat, and then he went home. After that the boy went home.

Next day he went to his cornfield, and his wife wanted to come with him, but he said, "No, you stay here." He took along some meat for his dinner. Soon two ducks came swimming up the lake. Pautiwa took off his duck shirt and went into the house, and the girl did the same. The man saw the girl and he brought some deer meat and they had dinner. Then Pautiwa said, "I must go home. Tonight you take some deer out and you and my girl come to the village of the katcinas." Then the young man said, "I will make them all black crows<sup>22</sup> tonight, and don't you let them eat any corn." Then Pautiwa went home, and his daughter stayed in the field that night.

In the evening the boy went down to the corral. Everyone came down and he gave them each one deer. Then he said to the two girls, "You had better go into the mountain sheep corral." Then he put a mountain lion in to watch the deer, and then he went to the mountain sheep corral and put a wolf in with them, and he went to the antelope and put a yellow coyote in there, and he went to the jack rabbits and he put a wild cat to watch them, and he went to the cottontails and put a badger to watch them. Then he went home. Everyone went home. He killed a deer and skinned it. Late at night the two girls went to bed. Citsukā sat by the fire. He took a handful of corn pollen and a handful of salt and put it into the fire and covered it over with ashes. Soon the salt got very hot and popped. Then the deer started to run out, and the mountain lion ran after them, and the wolf and the wildcat and the coyote and the badger did the same. Then all the crows went down to the man's cornfield, and Pautiwa's daughter was busy all night chasing the crows away, running from side to side waving her arms and calling out. After a while the crows flew away and the deer ran all over the country. Then Citsukā took Pautiwa's daughter home to the village of the katcinas.

That is the reason why every year at the end of December Citsukā comes from the east, and next day Pautiwa comes in from the west, and they go down to the village of the katcinas together.

That is all.

<sup>22</sup> The overworked pun on the words koko, crow, and kateina.



## VARIANT

Citsukā came up at Cipapolima. Now in the east there was no rain. The earth was all dry and nothing could grow. So Citsukā and Kwelele came out and came toward the west. They came to a place called Epati (Moccasin) a little to the east of Corn Mountain. Here a few little green things were growing. They stayed there and went hunting because it was dry in the east. So they stayed and went hunting at Epati. When evening came they sat down facing the west, and way off in the west they saw lightning and black clouds. But at Epati there was no rain. They saw the lightning again, and Citsukā said to Kwelele, "Do you see the lightning?" "Yes." "It must be far off. I wonder how long it will take us to go there. Let us try to go there. There must be people living there. Let us go tomorrow." So he said to Kwelele, and he answered "Very well."

Next day they awoke and went to the west. It took them only one day to go to the village of the kateenas, because they were wise. They came to the mountain near the village of the kateenas and they climbed the mountain and sat down on top and looked down into the lake. There was a vapor hanging over the lake. From where they were sitting on the top of the mountain they could see the pretty kateena maidens working at the lake. They were washing a buckskin in the lake. "Oh," they said, "Here we are. I think this must be what we saw making the lightning last night. These must be the people whose lightning we saw last night. Look, they are washing a buckskin. We have had no deer, but see what good luck they have here. They have rain and deer too." So they said as they sat on the top of the mountain. "Now let us go down and go in and see them," they said. So they went down and went toward where the kateena maidens were working. As soon as they saw them coming they said, "Oh dear, now they have caught us. They have seen us washing the buckskin. Let us go right in." They were trying to hide the game from the Kāna'kwe. So they picked up the buckskin and ran in. They came in and said, "Oh dear! There are people coming. They are right outside. They saw us washing the buckskin. Now what shall we do?" Then Pautiwa said, "We shall just tell them that you were washing your clothes, for they are white like the buckskin."

Just as they were talking in came Citsukā and Kwelele. As they came in everyone was making a noise and one could not hear the other. They came in. Then Pautiwa said, "My children, be quiet for a moment. Someone has come here." So he said to his people. Then they all stopped dancing and they made the two strangers sit down. Then Pautiwa asked them, "What place have you come from? We thought that we were all together here, but you were not here." So he said. Then Citsukā said, "Yes, my father, we have come from the east. Our home is over in the east at Cipapolima.



But over there everything is dry. There is not a drop of rain. There is no lightning and not a mark in the sky. It is dry, and the sky is all clear and shining. There was nothing growing and there were no animals. We are starving. We came out to look around (hunt) and we thought we would go back home, but then we thought that maybe we had better come here. Then we came to a damp place and grassy, and we thought we had better come in and see you before we went back home." He said this so kindly, but even as he spoke he told of the great trouble he had had. Everyone listened to him with sympathy because he spoke so kindly. Then right away the katcina maidens liked him and Pautiwa also liked him, so he said, "I am glad you have come. You have had much trouble to find a damp place. Now you have come to a damp place. You were looking for deer, and now you have come to where the deer are. You shall stay here a few days, and then you shall go out and look around and you shall take the deer and rain back to the east with you." They had not sent out the deer and the rain because they knew of Citsukā and they wanted him to come to them.

Then he stayed there for a few days. Right away Pautiwa's daughter loved him and that day he married Pautiwa's daughter. After he was married he went out with Kwelele to hunt around the village of the katcinas. He brought in many deer. He stayed for four days at the village of the katcinas, and then he said to Pautiwa and to his wife, "Now I have stayed here long enough. I can not live here. I must live at Cipapolima because I belong to the society people. I shall only come here once a year. You will meet me at Itiwan'a and I shall come to visit you. The people at Itiwan'a think that you bring the new year, but I am really the one who brings the new year from the east. You will meet me in Itiwan'a, and take me with you to see my wife. That is the only time that I shall see my wife." Pautiwa was very pleased, because he had sent for Citsukā to come. That was why he had kept back the rain and the deer and that way finally got him to come. And now his son-in-law promised him that he would come each year to bring the New Year from the east, and Pautiwa promised him that he would meet him each year at Itiwana and bring him to the village of the katcinas to see his wife. So after he had stayed for four days at the Sacred Lake he went back with Kwelele to Cipapolima.

That is why Citsukā only comes at the winter solstice. He comes to bring the New Year and then Pautiwa comes to meet him and takes him to see his wife. He stays there for four days. And that is why Citsukā's society, the Great Fire Society, always sing and drum for them when they come to make the New Year. And that is why the people always think that the New Year comes from the east. And when babies are born they think of them as coming from the east, too.

When a woman is in labor they say, "The baby is coming. I think it is at Nutria now, or perhaps a little nearer, at Black Rock."

That is the story of how Citsukā came to find the village of the katchinas. They needed him there and they made him come. And that is how he comes to bring the New Year.

(See also Stevenson "Zuñi Indians," p. 135.)

#### TEAKWENA OKA

(Plate 22, a)

*Costume.*—The mask is a chin mask, painted black with round yellow eyes and mouth. Her hair is done up behind like a Zuñi woman's.

The drawing shows how she is dressed when she comes to dance with Towa Teakwena. Then she wears an ordinary woman's black dress, with a cotton underdress, and an embroidered white blanket folded and fastened on the right shoulder. White moccasins. Many bead necklaces, back and front, and on both wrists. White downy eagle feather in the hair. She carries a gourd rattle.

But when she comes at the New Year and for the ceremonial rabbit hunt after the initiation "she looks dangerous." She wears the red feather (the badge of society membership) in her hair. Her dress is the ancient Zuñi native garment, black with a dark blue embroidered border. It is fastened on both shoulders and is open down the front. She wears no belt (because of her connection with childbirth?). On her feet she wears sheepskin boots, with strips of rabbit fur wound around her legs. Otherwise her legs are bare. She carries a gourd rattle and rattles as she goes.

This is an old mask. It is kept in a Badger house near the bridge (K. 201). In 1925 they made a new mask for her, which is kept along with the old one in the same house. The following account of the occasion is not without interest.

"This spring (1925) they made a new mask for Teakwena Okā because twenty years ago a man died while he was wearing the mask and ever since then we have had much sickness and especially many babies have died.<sup>23</sup>

"Teakwena Okā comes at the winter solstice in the evening before Pautiwa brings in the new year. That day the man who is going to be Teakwena Okā gets his things ready. He gets the old Zuñi dress of black native cloth with a blue border and he gets the boots of sheepskin and the rabbit-skin strips to bind around his legs. He gets all his things ready and then he picks out young men to come with him as Sālīmōpiya and he tells them to dress and wait for him on the west side of the village. Then when he has everthing ready he goes

<sup>23</sup> From whooping cough during the summer of 1924.

for the mask. The mask is kept in a jar in a house near the bridge. On this night the man went to this house to get *Tcakwena Okä*. He stood in the room where she is kept and said, 'Now, my mother, our time has come. Now we shall go out to meet our people, for our time has come. You are the one to bless my people with children. And now this year whoever is with child you shall give an easy delivery and bless her that her baby may grow to maturity.' He said this as he stood beside the jar in which the mask was kept. And they say that as he put out his hand to take the mask it shook itself from side to side. The man saw it but he thought that perhaps he had knocked the jar with his foot and shaken the mask. He was not sure, but he put in his hand and took the mask out. Then he said to his son who had come with him to help him dress, 'I think I saw our mother shake her head, but I am not sure. I may have knocked the jar and made it so.' Then his son said to him, 'Yes, I guess you just touched the jar.'

"So they went out and went five or six miles to the west to the place where *Tcakwena Okä* used to live long ago. When they came there it was near sundown. The boy helped his father dress. He put on the dress and the boots and tied the red feather in his hair and last of all he took up the mask and said, 'Now we shall go in to our people. They are all there; we shall go to them for they are all waiting for us to bless them with children. Now let us go.' So he said, and put on the mask. As he put it on the son tied the strings that hold it in place. Then the son said, 'Now I shall start. I shall go ahead slowly and wait for you.' Then *Tcakwena Okä* went four times around her rock praying and saying that she was going to *Itiwana* to bless the women with children.

"By this time the men who were going to be *Sälimoṣiya* were all dressed and were waiting for her on the west side of the town. So she started from her rock and came along calling out her cry. When she got to Wide River she called out again and all the people waiting for her on the west side of the town heard her coming and went to Wide River to meet her.<sup>24</sup>

"So she came in. The man was perfectly well. He had no cold and no pain anywhere. They all came over the bridge and came into the village and he stopped at every door and said, 'I have come to bring you good luck and especially to bless you with babies.' As the people in the houses heard her coming they all went out. They took their rubbish and ashes to the door and just as she came they threw it out. They throw out all their bad luck with the ashes and rubbish, and she brings them good luck in its place. So she came along Sun-

<sup>24</sup> Long ago she used to come before sundown and then all the *Sälimoṣiya* dressed at Wide River and met her there. But now she comes after dark and therefore the *Sälimoṣiya* do not dress. They just put on their masks and wrap themselves in blankets. They get ready in *Heḱapawa kiva* and go out to meet her.

shine Place <sup>25</sup> and she came to our house. The people in the next house got their ashes ready to throw out and they had the corn meal ready to sprinkle with a prayer as they threw out their ashes. She came to our door and we threw out our ashes and sprinkled meal. So she went on. But she went just a few steps and suddenly she groaned and fell down. I thought that it was all part of her performance and I laughed. But all the Sälimopiya ran up to her and picked her up. She was trembling all over. They were going to bring her into our house, but someone said, 'Don't take her there. There are children in that house. Better bring her in here.' And so they took her into the next house. They brought her in and laid her down, for they thought she was fainting. They rubbed her stomach for they thought perhaps she had a chill. But after about fifteen minutes they saw that she was not getting any better, so someone said, 'Take off her mask.' So the man's son tried to take off the mask, but it was stuck fast to his face. So they pulled it and finally they got it off and his skin came off from his face with it. Then the people saw that he was already dead and they all cried. Then they called in all his people and many people went in there and tried to cure him, but he never came back to life. The Sälimopiya were all in there. They still had their masks with them, but they were afraid to go out and finish up. Way late at night the katcina chief heard that they had not been to all the houses of the village, so he went there and he said, 'Our child is dead, but you must finish up your work, no matter how sorrowful you feel. You must finish, because misfortune will surely come to our people if we do not go through with everything.' So then the dead man's young son put on the mask and went out and went to all the houses of the village. He finished it up. He never thought that the mask was dangerous and might kill him also.

"It was an old mask, and no one thought of burying it with the dead man. It had his flesh on it, for it had stuck to his face when they tried to take it off, but in spite of this they never thought of burying it. But ever since then we have had misfortune. We have had much sickness, dysentery, and tuberculosis, and many bad sicknesses. So after a while the people began to think that perhaps it was on account of this mask, for Teakwena Okä comes to bless the people with children, and to have itsuma'wa <sup>26</sup> for them. Last spring the bow priest decided that they would have the ceremonial rabbit hunt, although there was to be no initiation. They wanted Teakwena Okä to come with the rabbit hunt so that all their bad

<sup>25</sup> South of the village along the river.

<sup>26</sup> A ceremonial term for planting, applied to certain type of fertility magic practiced at the winter solstice and in connection with the rabbit hunt. Images of clay are placed on an altar and later planted as the seed from which the real object shall grow. For description of the rabbit hunt, see Stevenson, p. 88; Benedict, ms.

luck might be taken away. So they came to the dead man's son and asked him to have a new mask made, for they were afraid they would have misfortune if they used the old one again. So the man had the mask made. The Katcina Pekwin made it for him. And now maybe they will bury the old mask, for it is dangerous."

She comes at *it'iwan'a*, to bring women good luck in childbirth. This is in the evening, after *Pautiwa* has gone after "making the New Year."

In the afternoon of the New Year the man of the Badger clan who owns the ritual of *Tcakwena Okä* goes to her shrine, about two miles west of the village, to dress. About the time *Pautiwa* leaves, the *Sälimoṗiya* impersonators are also seen going out toward the west. These are appointed by the *kiva* heads, and most of them are very young boys.

After nightfall (about nine o'clock), *Tcakwena Okä*, accompanied by the *Sälimoṗiya*, enters the village from the west. She is masked and clothed as described above. The *Sälimoṗiya* are masked, but fully clothed in ordinary shirts and trousers. They do not wear blankets. They carry yucca switches in both hands. *Tcakwena Okä* leads, walking very fast and shaking her rattle continuously. She is followed by the *Sälimoṗiya* in line. Some of them leave the line occasionally to strike with their yucca anyone who comes too close. They are followed by a boisterous crowd of boys who try to see how close they can come without being whipped. The *katcinas* walk close to the houses, winding in and out past every door. As they approach each doorway, the women of the house, who have been waiting up for them, open the door and throw out at them a shovelful of live coals. These have first been waved around in every room of the house, as a rite of purification. After throwing out the coals, all the women of the house stand in the doorway, sprinkling meal on the shoulder of each *katcina* as he hurries by. On reaching the dance plaza, *Tcakwena Okä* enters the house of the town chief for about ten minutes, while the *Sälimoṗiya* wait in the plaza, running about and giving their call, and lunging with their switches at any passers-by. The crowd that is following them becomes quite rowdy.<sup>27</sup> Every few minutes women in the houses on the plaza open their doors to throw out more coals. After a few minutes *Tcakwena Okä* comes out and shakes her rattle to call the *Sälimoṗiya*. The party then leaves the plaza and the village. (Observed January, 1929. R. L. B.)

Mrs. Stevenson reports that this group is accompanied or followed by unmasked personages, whom she calls *Lelele*. The writer saw no such persons, although various informants assured her that *Lelele* had, indeed, come. She surmises that this is merely another name

<sup>27</sup> This was the only occasion on which the writer was molested on the streets of *Zuñi*, although she frequently went about at night unaccompanied.



for the Sālimoḥiya on this occasion. The Sālimoḥiya "and Ļelele" return without Teakwena Oḱā on the four following evenings. The writer did not see them on this occasion. If they came, they came very late and did not visit the house east of the village where she was staying.

Following the initiation Teakwena Oḱā comes for the rabbit hunt with the kateinas. To this rabbit hunt everyone goes on foot. They hunt in the old way, forming circles and driving the game toward the center. The blood of the first rabbit killed is rubbed on the legs of Teakwena Oḱā "so that Zuñi women may have their babies easily, like rabbits." After the rabbit hunt Teakwena Oḱā lies in for the increase of livestock and babies. She lies on a sand bed in one of the kivas, and is tended by women who wish for her blessing in child-birth. Men who desire her blessing on their flocks and herds bring miniature animals of clay to the house of her lying-in.

Teakwena Oḱā also comes as solo dancer with the Towa Teakwena dance set. "She never had any chance to dance, so Pautiwa let her come with Towa Teakwena. She is their sister, so she comes with them and dances in front and gives the calls for their dance." She was observed dancing with Towa Teakwena after Ca'lako in 1928, but not in 1927. Doctor Parsons reports seeing her with them after Ca'lako in 1925. On that occasion she was impersonated by a famous la'hmana. (Notes on Zuñi, p. I, 213.)

*References.*—The appearance of Teakwena Oka at the winter solstice described by Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, page 140; Parsons, Notes on Zuñi, page 169. The rabbit hunt and the subsequent lying in of Teakwena oḱā is described in Zuñi Indians, pages 89-94; Parsons, Notes on Zuñi, pages 157, 179. Also in the unpublished Benedict manuscript.

Her myth is recorded briefly in Cushing, Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths, page 424; Zuñi Indians, page 36; also text version, p. 599.

*Parallels.*—Hopi. Teakwaina mana (Hopi Kateinas, Pl. IV), "the elder sister of the Teakwaina," who dances with that set, resembles Teakwena Oḱā in name and appearance. It is a war impersonation. The headdress and paraphernalia of this kateina are those of the Zuñi Kola'hmana, with whom the impersonation is probably related.

There are marked similarities, also, with Hehe'e, a phallic impersonation with Hehe'a (Hopi Kateinas, Pl. XI). Compare also with Hopi Kokyan wūqti (Hopi Kateinas, Pl. XXIX), spider woman, the grandmother of the war gods. Compare also with Hahai wūqti, the mother of the Natackas, who comes with them during Powamū.

Laguna. Compare Shotorok'a, Parsons, Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna, pages 97-99, Figure 6.

#### NATACKU

(Plate 22, b)

*Costume.*—The mask comes down over the head and has a huge snout. It is painted pink with spots of white. On his head he wears the "great feather" of the bow priests (lacowan lan'a) made of two



eagle wing feathers bound to reeds, and surrounded with downy eagle feathers and feathers from the neck of the duck. The base is covered with red flannel. Blue horns, with small feathers hanging from them. Fox skin collar.

The body is painted pink with clay from the sacred lake. Large white buckskin fastened on the right shoulder, embroidered white dance kilt, blue moccasins. Yarn on both legs. Many necklaces. In his right hand he carries spruce, in the left a bow and arrow.

The mask is an old one, but I could not learn in which house it is kept. There seems to be no cult of Natacku. He has not appeared in many years.

"Long ago, Natacku used to come after itiwana to frighten the children. This used to be the day after Pautiwa brought the New Year, or the next day. He would go around the village and ask for meat in the houses where there were children. They have not had him come for many years."

#### ATOCLE OTSI

(Plate 22, d)

*Costume.*—The mask is painted black with white spots. He has long coarse hair falling over his face. Large ball eyes, a red snout. On his head lacowan lan'a. Around his neck a fox (?) skin collar and a wild-cat (?) skin over his shoulders.

The body is painted red with zigzag marks in white. The thighs are white, the forearms and calves black with white spots. He wears a buckskin kilt, embroidered sash, and red belt. Fox skin behind. Blue moccasins, and blue leather arm bands. In his right hand he carries a large knife, in the left bow and arrow.

(The drawing was secured by Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons, and there is no accompanying information.)

#### ATOCLE (SUYUKI)<sup>28</sup>

(Plate 22, c)

*Costume.*—She has long coarse gray hair with eagle down in it. The mask is painted black with white spots. She has protruding eyes "so that she can see better," and a large mouth. On her head she wears lacowan lan'a "because she is strong and dangerous." There is eagle down in her long beard. She wears a fawn skin collar.

She wears a black woman's dress and blanket. Formerly she did not wear the cotton underdress, or the fine white moccasins, but moccasins of rabbit fur. She carries a cane and a rattle of deer

<sup>28</sup> Both names are used, apparently without distinction. Both seem to be generic terms for cannibals. In folklore there are an Atole man and an Atole woman, and both may, on occasions, be called Suyuk or Suyuki. It is the cannibal woman who figures prominently in mythology. There probably are several distinct, but similar, impersonations.

hoofs in her right hand and a big knife in her left. On her back is a large carrying basket in which to carry away naughty children.

Her call is *su-'u-ki'*.

"She may come any time they want her. Sometimes she comes with the mixed dance, but she can come at any time. If a woman has a naughty child she will ask the kiva chief to bring in Suyuki. Then she will come and frighten the children. She shakes her cane at them and threatens to carry them off and eat them. She doesn't touch them.

"She used to come sometimes after *itiwan'a*."

The following is a native account of a visit of Atocle to the peach orchards in summer. During July and August when the peaches are ripe the old people and the children camp at the peach orchards to keep off marauders, and later to pick and dry the peaches. Atocle sometimes comes at this time to beg for fresh meat and peaches.

"So there, after a few days, on Corn Mountain, Atocle built his fire at night. He made his fire on Corn Mountain. Grandmother said to me, 'Hiya! Atocle is about to come down!' So she said to me, but I did not believe it. 'She is lying to me,' I thought. But indeed she was right. He was going to come down. We went to sleep. Next morning again his smoke rose. So indeed it was right. Atocle was about to come down. 'You didn't believe it!' grandmother said to me.

"Just at noon he came down. 'Look over there! He is coming down!' grandmother said to me. The children who were staying with their parents at the peach orchards cried, 'Oh, dear! Atocle is coming down!' they said. Then I ran away to my other mother, my old mother.<sup>29</sup> 'Mother! Atocle came down!' I said. 'All right, go into that rock crevice over there,' she said to me.

"Meanwhile he came to where my grandparents were staying. Atocle: 'Where are the children who live here? They are very disobedient. Therefore I have come down,' he said. 'There aren't any naughty children here,' my grandmother said. 'But this old man—now he has no sense at all!' Thus she said about her husband. She told Atocle. 'Well, what did your old man do?' 'Well, he was going to eat all the tortillas by himself. He hid them.' So the old woman told Atocle. 'I think it's true. Your old man has no sense.' So Atocle said to her. 'No, indeed I have sense!' So grandfather said to Atocle. As he said this to him he sprinkled corn meal on him. He sprinkled corn meal on him, and he gave him peaches and meat. Then, right there, wherever the people were staying, he went about making them come out. He collected lots of food,

<sup>29</sup> Mother's elder sister.

peaches and meat and bread. When he had lots of food he went to his village of the katchinas. So he went.

"This is what happened. That's all."

*Mythology.*—When the earth was soft Su'u'ki used to come into the village and go around. Sometimes the women took their babies to the peach orchards and put them to sleep under the trees while they worked. Then if the mother went to the spring or anywhere out of sight Su'u'ki would come. She was always watching. She could smell out the babies and she always waited around the peach orchards near where the mothers left their babies and as soon as the mother left the sleeping baby and went to get a drink of water Su'u'ki came and took the baby and put him in her basket and carried him off. Finally she came home with the baby. Then she put him down and came back and took another one and put him in her basket and took him home too. Then the mothers came back happily after having a drink at the spring, and there the babies were gone! They saw Su'u'ki's tracks. She went barefoot and had long toenails. Then the mothers cried very much, but they were afraid to go after their babies. Then the women who had lost their babies came home and told the people, and they all went out to look for the babies, but they never found them. Finally they came to where the people used to dry their peaches. They knew that Su'u'ki lived there, and they watched for an opportunity to kill her because she had taken their babies.

One day they all made bows and arrows and went out to kill Su'u'ki. They all met together in the kivas and decided that they would not have their babies stolen any more. The women had to go and work in the fields and help their husbands, and they did not want to have their babies taken while they worked. So they all went out. They went into all the caves and all the crevices of the rocks. Finally they came to the place where she lived. She yelled at the people and came out screaming and waving her great knife, with her hair flying. The men were all frightened, but they shot her with their bows and arrows and finally they killed her. Then they buried her and said, "This is where you are going to lie. Now you must behave from now on. We have killed you because you stole our babies. Now we shall call this place Su'ukonakwi."<sup>30</sup>

After they had killed her they made her mask because she was a raw person. Even though she was evil she was a katchina, so they made a mask for her, and they still make feathers for her too, to please her, because they do not want to have any trouble. After they had killed her they thought maybe they had done wrong to kill her because she was a katchina, and so they made feathers for her, and they made a mask for her so that she could come back to Itiwana. The man

<sup>30</sup> This is on the road to the south of the village and the people still believe that Su'u'ki lives there. When she comes to dance she always comes from the south.

who had seen her close painted the mask and fixed it the way she had looked. Then in the winter when they were having the mixed dance he came. Early in the morning before sunrise he took his clothes and the mask and went with his relative to the south where they had killed Su'uki. The people knew that they had killed her at Su'ukonakwi, but no one knew that he was coming in his mask. When they got there the man who went with the personator helped him dress and fixed him up the way Su'uki looked. He put the basket on his back the way she had carried it.

While they were dancing in the west plaza the people standing on the housetops saw her coming. She was tossing her head and running shouting her call. Then the people cried, "There is the woman they went out to kill. She is coming! She has come to life again, and she is angry because the man came after her. She must be very wise." They were terribly frightened, especially the women. They ran away and hid their babies. The men who belonged to the personator's kiva knew that it was he, but the rest of the men did not know. They said, "The one we killed is there. She is coming. Is it all right that she should come, or shall we go and chase her out?" Then the katcina chief went to the kiva that was giving the dance and asked them what they thought. They told him that she was not the real Su'uki, but that they had just made the mask. So they let her come in. So she joined in the dance, but while she was there the mothers would not let their children come out to see the dance. She was carrying her basket the way she always had, and the people who had children were very frightened. But some of the people did not care, and they went out to watch her. In the evening they would not let her stay in the kiva, but she went out to the south the way she had come.

The next day they danced the second time. There was one woman who was not afraid of Su'uki. Her children were very naughty. She wanted to comb their hair and take out the lice, but they would not let her do it. So she told her children, "There is a woman who eats naughty children. She ate a little child the other day. She is a katcina, and she is coming in. I am going to call her because you are very naughty children." So she went to the katcina chief and told him, "My father, will you please tell this katcina that my children do not behave and will not mind. I know she is not the real Su'uki, but just an impersonation, and I think it would be a good idea if he would talk to the children who are naughty and make them behave. He could take them away in his basket and frighten them so that they will behave and mind what they are told." Then the katcina chief said, "That is a good idea, and it will surely be good for some of the boys. She can frighten them so that they will not tell the secrets of the katcina society. I shall tell my people to tell the

woman to come and frighten your children." So he went to the kiva, and he told the people what the woman had said.

Then the woman went home and told her children that Su'uki had come into the plaza to take them away. She dressed them and took them to the plaza and waited in the plaza with her children. Finally the Su'uki personator was told by the katecina chief and all the people that it would be a good idea to frighten the children to make them behave. So she came out and danced in the plaza and there was the woman with her two little children. When the dance was over Su'uki looked around all the housetops, and the people waited to see what would happen. Then the Koyemci said to her, "What are you looking for, grandmother?" All she said was, "Su-'yu-ki'." Then the woman said to her children, "She is looking for you because you don't mind me. Here they are," she said to Su'uki. Then Su'uki said, "Bring those little children here and put them in my basket. They do not mind their mother. I want children to behave, and if I find out that they don't obey their mothers and fathers, then I will eat them up. They have fresh meat on them. Fresh meat for my evening meal!" Then the Koyemci said, "We are going home with grandmother. We are going home to our home in the Sacred Lake with grandmother to eat this fresh meat."

The woman had a strong heart and was not ashamed and she took her two babies and put them in Su'uki's basket, and Su'uki carried them around the plaza four times. The babies were crying terribly. Then she said, "I am going home now. I shall have fresh meat this evening." So she pretended to carry them off. All the people thought that the children must be frightened to death. Some of them said, "That is a good idea. She will bring them back. She is not really a katecina." The people all thought it was good to frighten the little ones. When she had taken them out of the plaza she changed her mind and brought them back and said, "I am bringing you back to your mother. Now you must always mind your mother and not be naughty. If you do not mind your mother I shall come and get you again. I always hear you. I always hear when the young ones talk back to their mothers, and I will surely come and eat any children that are bad." She said this in the plaza and then she set down her basket and the Koyemci took the children out and took them back to their mother.

That night the children became very sick and on the fourth day they died. Then the people were all talking about it. They said it was not right to allow the katecinas to touch the babies or to carry them around because they are dangerous. They come from the Sacred Lake. They are the dead people, and they are raw. So now when Su'uki comes she does not touch the children any more. She comes and shakes her stick at them. She carries a basket on her



back and says she will carry the children away and eat them, but she never touches them. A woman whose children are naughty tells the kiva chief that she wants her children punished and then when Su'uk'i comes the children give her meat so that she will not have to eat them. They tell the children to pay her to leave them alone. So we always say to our children when they are naughty, "I am going to send for Su'uk'i to eat you up."

*References.*—The visit of the monsters is described by Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, page 143; Parsons, Notes on Zuñi, I, 153, 172, 173; Parsons, the Zuñi adoshle and suuke, American Anthropologist 18: 338-347.

*Parallels.*—Hopi: Natacka (Hopi Katsinas, Pl. IX), (Zuñi Natacku); Natacka Wüqti or Soyok Wüqti (Pl. X), Zuñi Suyuki; Atocle (Pl. XIII), Zuñi Atocle Otsi. They are accompanied by Hahai Wüqti (Pl. VII), (Zuñi Ahe'a).

Fewkes describes their visit as follows: "Later in the day (the sixteenth of Powamu) three groups of Soyoko or monsters, each group consisting of four Natackas, one Natacka mana, one Hahai wüqti, one Hehe'a kateina, and two Hehe'a kateina manas, went to every house of their pueblo, demanding food from the inmates, as they had notified the people they would eight days previously. Hahai wüqti acted as speaker, assuming a falsetto voice, the Natackas emphasized the demands, and Hehea, armed with lassos, tried to rope those who refused. It is customary for the boys to first offer Hahai wüqti a mole or rat on a stick. This is refused, and then a small piece of meat, generally mutton, is held out. The Natacka examines it, and if not large enough hands it back as he did the rat, shaking his hideous head. When the desired quantity of meat is presented, it is given to the Natacka mana, who transfers it to a basket she carries on her back. The girl or woman is then asked for meal, and she offers meal that she has ground from the ear of corn presented by the monsters on their previous visit. This is refused, and more meal is demanded until enough is given to satisfy the monsters, who transfer it to the basket of Natacka mana, after which they retire. (Hopi Katsinas, p. 39.)

Fewkes points out a circumstance noticed by the writer, that Soyok (Suyuku) is a Keresan word, related to shkoya, giant.

In a series of articles Fewkes identifies the Hopi Natacku with masked monsters in Aztec codices. (Fewkes, On Certain Personages who Appear in a Tusayan Ceremony, American Anthropologist, VII, 32-52.)

#### THE COMING OF THE GODS (CA'LAKO)

The coming of the gods (kok'wa'wia) or ca'lako, so called from the most conspicuous participants, is the great annual cycle of ceremonies of the kateina priests. The esoteric ceremonies last throughout the calendar year, starting with the appointment of impersonators at the winter solstice and culminating in a public festival of 14 days' duration in the early part of December, shortly before the winter solstice.

On the ninth day of the winter solstice the priests of the council make the crooks of appointment (telna'we) for the impersonators of the gods at this ceremony and for the households in which they will be entertained. Those for Cu'la'witsi, the Saiyataca party, and the Koyemci are brought to he'iwa kiva that evening by the impersonator of Pautiwa, and are distributed by pekwin next morning to the men whom the priests have chosen for these offices. Some-



time during the preceding week the priests had notified the chosen men of their selection and obtained their consent to serve in these exacting offices. The presentation of the crooks constitutes their formal appointment.

The same afternoon Pautiwa leaves on the roof of each of the six kivas the crook of appointment for the Ca'lako from that kiva. The kiva chief takes the crook and, as soon as convenient, confers with his associates and chooses two impersonators for each Ca'lako, inducting them into office by the presentation of the crook. Although formally appointed by the kiva chief, the Ca'lako appointees, like those of Saiyataca, receive their sanction from the priests, whose crook they hold.

At the same time men (or women) who are willing to undertake the expense of holding the public ceremonies in their houses in order to invoke the blessings of the gods on their households, volunteer to entertain the gods and receive from the priests (or the kiva chief) the longest of the sticks included in the bundle which comprises the *telnan'e*. There should be eight such houses, but the expense is so great that not enough men volunteer, and the groups double up as the time for the ceremony approaches. In dearth of volunteers, the obligation of entertaining the gods falls on the priests and kiva chiefs.

The duties of the impersonators commence on the day of their appointment. That evening, after sacrificing in the river to their ancestors, they meet in their ceremonial houses to learn the prayers and other details of their office. These meetings continue throughout the year. In the case of the Saiyataca group and the Koyemci they are held every night, with brief intermissions at the seasons of lambing, sheep shearing, and harvest at the outlying villages. The Ca'lako meet formally only on the four nights following each prayer stick planting, but may meet informally on intervening nights, especially as the time for the public ceremonies approaches. The *wo-we*, trustees of the cults, are present to instruct. The Saiyataca group meets in the house of the impersonator of Saiyataca, the Koyemci in the house of their "father," the Ca'lako, each in the house of the elder brother. The meetings begin shortly after dark. The early part of the evening is spent in discussion. After the family has retired the prayers and chants are intoned until about one o'clock.

All the impersonators must arise before day, summer and winter, and offer prayer meal to the rising sun in a field to the east of the village. At nightfall they must take a portion of food from the evening meal and offer it with suitable prayers in the river at a point west of the village (Wide River, *akwak'äpa*).

Each month at the full moon prayer sticks are offered to the katcina priests at distant shrines. The first ten plantings are at springs in the mountains south of Zuñi.

On these days they gather early in the morning in their ceremonial houses to make their prayer sticks. Long prayers are recited at the conclusion of their work. Then after a feast they leave for the shrines which lie to the south at distances of from 4 to 8 miles. The prayer sticks are deposited beside the spring in regular order, and long prayers are offered. The text of this prayer is given on p. 706. The impersonator of Saiyataca recites the prayer, the others joining in, according to the extent of their knowledge. Toward sunset the party approaches the village, marching in regular order across the plains, singing songs of the masked dancers.

Throughout the year each group of impersonators must work for the household which is to entertain them at the great public festival. From midsummer on, every day is spent in labor for their hosts. They do all the work of the fields and build the new home in which the gods are to be received.

On the morning of the tenth planting, which takes place early in October, the impersonators of Saiyataca and Molanhakto receive from the priest the two day counts, cotton strings containing 49 knots. One knot is untied each morning until the day of the great public ceremony. During this period there are plantings at intervals of ten days at rock shrines to the southwest of the village.

The public ceremonies start on the fortieth day,<sup>31</sup> with the arrival of the Koyemci in the evening. They come masked, visiting each of the four plazas to announce the coming of the gods in eight days. They then go into retreat in the house of their father where they remain in seclusion, with the exception of brief appearances in the plaza, until the festival is concluded 15 days later.

Four days after the appearance of the Koyemci, the Saiyataca party comes in in the evening and goes into retreat in the house of the impersonator of Saiyataca. On the same night the Ca'lako impersonators go into retreat in their respective houses.

On the eighth day there is another planting of prayer sticks with elaborate ceremonies at which the gods are summoned from the village of the masked gods.

After they are clothed and masked they approach the village. The giant Ca'lako gods wait on the south bank of the river, but the katecina priests—Cula'witsi, Saiyataca, Hututu, two Yamuhakto, and two Salimoŋia—enter the village in mid afternoon. After planting prayer sticks in six excavations in the streets of the village, they repair to the house where they are to be entertained for the night. This is always a new or at least a renovated house, and the visit of the katecinas is a blessing—a dedication. Prayer sticks are planted inside the threshold (formerly under the outside ladder) and in a

<sup>31</sup> That is, if the ceremony is not postponed. However, almost without exception, a postponement of ten days is necessary.

decorated box suspended from the center of the ceiling. The walls of the house are marked with corn meal. In an excavation in the center of the floor seeds of all kinds are deposited. Similar rites are performed later in the evening by the six Ca'lako and the Koyemci in the houses where they are to be entertained.

After the blessing of the house, the gods are seated by the pekwin, their masks raised. Reed cigarettes are brought and each katcina smokes with the person seated opposite him, exchanging with him the customary terms of relationship. Then the host (in the Saiyatata house, the village chief serves as host) questions the gods concerning the circumstance of their coming. In the long recital that follows he reviews all the events leading up to the present moment, and invokes upon the house all the blessings of the gods, especially the blessing of fecundity. Two of these chants are recorded in text below.

This litany, chanted in unison by the four leaders (Cula-witsi is not required to learn it), takes about six hours to perform. It is chanted in loud tones and very slowly, in monotone except for the last syllable of each line which is higher in pitch, heavily accented and prolonged. The text of this is printed on p. 710.

The chants of the Ca'lako, which omit the recital of the 29 springs visited by the gods on their way to Zuñi, and curtail other portions, take from one to two hours to perform. The text of one of the shorter ones is printed on p. 762.

All are finished at about 11 o'clock at night, when an elaborate feast is served in all the houses. After this all the masked personages dance until day in the houses of their hosts.

At the first sign of approaching dawn Saiyatata ascends to the roof of the house where he has spent the night, and facing the east, unties the last knot in his counting string while he intones another prayer. Returning to the house, he repeats the prayer. He then thanks the members of the society choir who furnished the music during the night. The dancing continues until sunrise when the heads of all impersonators are washed by the women of the houses where they were entertained, as a symbol of their permanent association with these houses. They receive gifts of food, and sometimes of clothing, from their hosts, but these gifts are in no measure a compensation for their services.

At about noon, after planting prayer sticks and performing magical ceremonies in a field on the south of the river, the Ca'lako gods and the Saiyatata group depart for their home in the west. This closes their year, and the impersonators of the Saiyatata group and the Ca'lako are now free after the exacting period of service.

The Koyemci, however, are not yet free. Throughout the year their duties have been heavier. They hold nightly meetings, participate in the monthly plantings of the other impersonators. Further-

more, at all of the dances of the summer series (six in all, lasting from one to eight days) they must come out and "play," observing all the usual taboos from the evening preceding the dance until the final departure. They may appear also in winter, and if they do must observe the same restrictions. If any extra dances are inserted into the calendar in the summer and fall, as frequently happens, the Koyemci are required to attend.

For five nights following the departure of the Ca'lako gods, dancers from each of the six kivas are supposed to visit all the houses which have entertained the gods. Some of them dance in the plaza during the day. Throughout this period the Koyemci remain in strict retreat in the house where they were entertained. At night they dance in their house; during the day they "play" in the plaza and attend any dancers who appear there. These are days of great festivity.

On the fifth evening they eat early and sparingly, and from this time on food and drink are taboo until the following night. Speech also is forbidden them, nor may they appear unmasked. After they enter upon this period the character of their dancing changes, becoming more solemn. They do not indulge in their usual obscenity. On the following morning they come out early and are taken to be "washed" in the house of the village chief. Here the women give them gifts of food. On coming out, they are taken by men of their fathers' clans to the houses of their fathers' sister. Here they receive valuable gifts from all members of the fathers' clan. Each personator will receive as many as thirty slaughtered sheep, as many baskets of corn or wheat flour, bread, melons, and miscellaneous gifts of clothing, frequently of great value. The gifts are brought to the plaza where they remain until night. Meanwhile, the Koyemci attend upon the various dancers until later at night.

At nightfall the last of the dancers, the Molawia, (see p. 913) have departed. Then the Koyemci in pairs visit every house in the village to invoke upon it the blessings of the gods. At each house they receive gifts of food from the female inhabitants. Returning to the plaza, they take their prayer sticks out to plant. They return to the house of their father late at night, and removing their masks for the first time all day give them to their father to return to the house where they are kept. When he comes back, he thanks his children for their year of work and sets them free. Then for the first time since the preceding evening they drink, and after eating and bathing, return to their homes. Their retreat, 15 days, is the longest in Zuni ritual.

The culmination of the Ca'lako ceremony is fully described—that is, as fully as any one person can describe any elaborate Pueblo ceremony—by Stevenson (Zuni Indians, pp. 227–277), and by Parsons (Notes on Zuni I). The writer observed different portions of the ceremony on two successive years and has little to add in the way of ritual to these excellent accounts. Her more important observations

concerned the economic and social aspects of the ceremony. A native account, in text, of preparations will be published elsewhere.

An abridged version of the Ca'lako is performed at the village of Siteumovi on the first mesa, and is a recent importation from Zuñi. It came in about 70 years ago when a great famine caused numerous migrations throughout the pueblo region. The ceremony is described by Fewkes in Hopi Katcinas.

### KOYEMCI

(Plates 23 and 24)

There are 10 Koyemci, differing slightly in appearance and conduct. All wear knobbed masks of cotton cloth, stained with the same pink clay that is used on their bodies. The knobs of the masks are filled with cotton wool and seeds, and (Parsons, Notes on Zuñi) dust from the footprints of townspeople. Wrapped around the base of the mask is a piece of native black cloth. Under this they wear concealed their packets of seeds.

The Koyemci carry the seeds of various native crops, as follows:

A'wan tateu, native squash.

Pekwin, yellow corn.

Pi'lanciwan'i, blue corn.

Muyaḡona, white corn.

Ecotsi, red corn.

Nalaci, black corn.

Itsepaca, speckled corn.

Posuki, sweet corn.

Ḡalutsi, water gourds.

Ts'alaci, cipitako.<sup>32</sup>

When the Koyemci come to play for the katcina dances they wear only a kilt of black cotton cloth. They do not wear under this the otherwise indispensable breechcloth. Instead they have tied about the penis a cotton cord. This makes erection of the penis impossible, and symbolizes the sexual impotence of the Koyemci. The Koyemci on occasions remove their kilts and stand naked before the people. "It is all right for the Koyemci to take off their covering, because they are just like children."

When the Koyemci come to announce the opening of the Ca'lako festival they are clothed in the usual ceremonial costume of white shirt, trousers, and native moccasins. Hanging from the right shoulder they wear pouches made from the whole skins of fawns.

When dancing in the Ca'lako houses, they wear brown moccasins, and carry their fawn skin bags, as shown in the drawings. In their own house the mask and moccasins are laid aside. The masks are kept in a basket on the altar, and when not in use, the moccasins and pouch of each Koyemci are hung on a peg above his official seat.

<sup>32</sup> "The corn that is all puffed out with the kernels broken open. These symbolize the person who is always happy and laughing. A mother who wants her baby to be happy and to laugh all the time will eat this kind of corn. The youngest of the Koyemci brings it so that the people may always be happy."

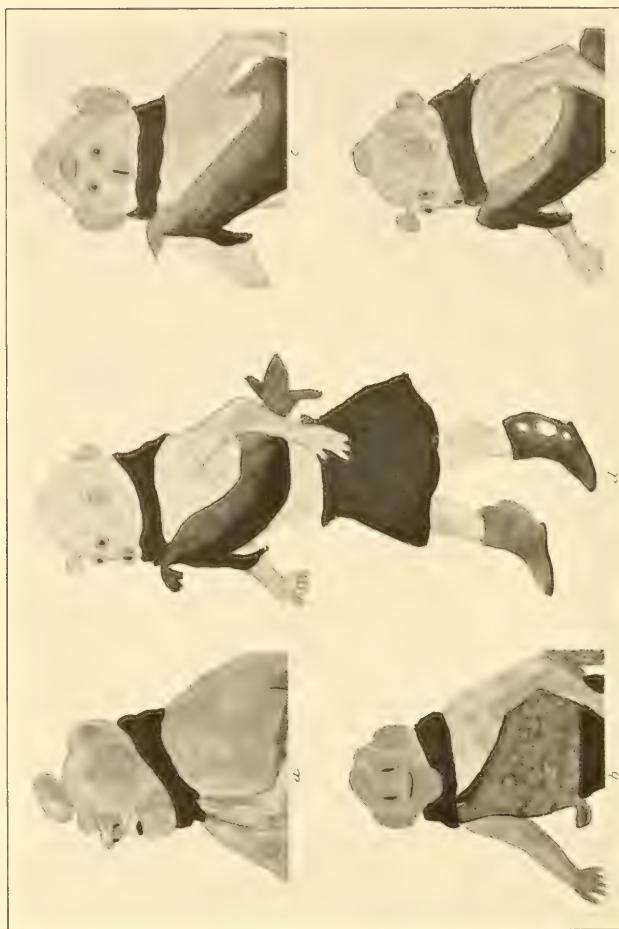




THE KOYEMCI

a, A'wan tate; b, A'wan pekwin; c, A'wan jo, te'wan; d, Mux'apom; e, E'och.





THE KOYEMCI

a, Nahaci; b, Itsepaca; c, Pesuki; d, Kilitutsi; e, Tshadi.

One informant contributes the following comments on the Koyemci:

"The father of the Koyemci is chosen by the priests on the last night of it'wan'a, the night when the Puhu'atinakwe go around. He is chosen by the priests, and therefore he can not refuse to serve. He is always a member of some society, and after he has been chosen he consults the headmen of his society.<sup>33</sup> He chooses the men he wants to go in with him. If possible he will take the same ones as served with him the last time. They always pick for Koyemci the children of important clans, so that they may be well paid by their fathers' clans for their year's work.

"The Koyemci are the most dangerous of all the katecinas. If anyone touches a Koyemci while he has his paint on he will surely go crazy. They carry the sacred butterfly, lahacoma, in their drum to make people follow them. That is why they are so dangerous. Anyone who follows lahacoma will go crazy.

"The Koyemci are different from all other dancers. They do not go home with their paint on. In the evening when they finish dancing if no one has asked them to dance again their wo'le takes sand to their father's house, and they all go there to wash off their paint before they go home to their wives. But if they are to dance again the next day they do not wash their bodies that night, because they must stay in their father's house that night, and may not go home to their wives. They may not go home until they have finished their dance. Other dancers may go home for their supper, but not the Koyemci. When they go around the village to collect food to give away in their dances, their wo'le goes to their houses for them, for they must not go to their own houses, even with their masks on.

"The Koyemci never go out without their full number. Sometimes if one of them can not dance they will have to get someone else to take his place. There must always be ten of them when they go out. The last rain dance started late in the day because one of the Koyemci was sick and they had a hard time finding someone to take his place.

"One must never refuse anything to the Koyemci, because they are dangerous. Last year around Ca'lako my mother received a present of a box of apples. She was wondering whether she should give it to our 'child' when he was washed. She was thinking it would be nice if she would keep that box of apples. While she was whitewashing the house she fell off the ladder and bruised her leg. Then she knew that she must give that box of apples to the Koyemci. She was hurt because she had withheld it from them even in her thoughts. The Koyemci are dangerous."

<sup>33</sup> This, apparently, is the traditional method of selection, which seems to have undergone considerable change. (See p. 949.)

Cushing (Zuñi Origin Myths), gives the following description of the appearance and conduct of the 10 Koyemci:

"In time there were born to these twain 12 children. Nay, neither man children nor woman children, they! For look now! The first was a woman in fullness of contour, but a man in stature and brawn. From the mingling of too much seed in one kind, comes the twofold one kind la'hmon, being man and woman combined. . . . Yet not all ill was this first child, because she was born of love, ere her parents were changed; thus she partook not of their distortions. Not so with her brothers; in semblance of males, yet like boys, the fruit of sex was not in them! For the fruit of mere lust ripens not. For their parents, being changed to hideousness, abode together witlessly and consorted idly or in passion not quickened of favor to the eye or the heart. And lo! like to their father were his later children, but varied as his moods. . . . Thus they were strapping louts, but dun colored and marked with the welts of their father. Silly were they, yet wise as the gods and high priests; for as simpletons and the crazed speak from the things seen of the instant, uttering belike wise words and prophecy, so spake they, and became the attendants and fosterers, yet the sages and interpreters of the ancient dance dramas of the ka'ka.

"Named are they not with the names of men, but with names of mismeaning, for there is pekwiná, priest speaker of the sun. Meditative is he, even in the quick of day, after the fashion of his father when shamed, saying little save rarely, and then as irrelevantly as the veriest child or dotard.

"Then there is pi'tan shiwani (bow priest warrior). So cowardly he that he dodges behind ladders, thinking them trees no doubt, and lags after all the others, whenever frightened, even at the fluttering leaf or a crippled spider, and looks in every direction but the straight one whenever danger threatens!

"There is eshotsi (the bat) who can see better in the sunlight than any of them, but would maim himself in a shadow, and will avoid a hole in the ground as a woman would a dark place even were it no bigger than a beetle burrow.

"Also there is muiyapona (wearer of the eyelets of invisibility). He has horns like the catfish and is knobbed like a bludgeon squash. But he never by any chance disappears, even when he hides his head behind a ladder run or turkey quill, yet thinks himself quite out of sight. And he sports with his countenance as though it were as smooth as a damsel's.

"There is potsoki (the pouter) who does little but laugh and look bland, for grin he can not; and his younger brother Na'ashi (aged buck) who is the biggest of them all, and what with having grieved and nearly rubbed his eyes out (when his younger brother was captured and carried off by the Kyamakyakwe or snail ka'ka of the

south), looks as ancient as a horned toad; yet he is frisky as a fawn, and giggles like a girl; yea, and bawls as lustily as a small boy playing games.

"The next brother, itseposa (the glum or aggrieved), mourned also for his nearest brother, who was stolen by the ka'ka, too, until his eyes were dry utterly and his chin chapped to protrusion; but nonetheless he is lively and cheerful and ever as ready indeed as the most complaisant of beings.

"Kyalutsi (the suckling) and tsalashi (old youth), the youngest, are the most willfully important of the nine, always advising others and strutting like a young priest at his first dance or like unto the youthful warrior made to aged thinking and self-notioned with early honoring.

"And while the father stands dazed, with his head bowed and his hands clasped before him or like to broken bows hanging by his sides, these children romp and play (as he and his sister did when turned childish), and verily are like to idiots, or to dotards and crones turned young again, inconstant as laughter, startle to new thought by every flitting thing around them; but, in the presence of the ka'ka of old, they are grave, what though so uncouth. And they are the oracles of all olden sayings of deep meanings; wherefore they are called the kayemashi (husbandmen of the ka'ka or sacred dance drama); and they are spoken of, even by the fathers of the people, as the alashi tsewashi (sages of the ancients). And most precious in the sight of the beings and of men are they!"

The Koyemci used to be selected in rotation from four societies.<sup>34</sup> As in Mrs. Stevenson's time, there are now four groups that serve in turn, designated by their ceremonial affiliations as follows:

He'ikwe, a group of men from He'iwa kiva. They served for the first time in 1920 and again in 1924.

Cowe'kwe,<sup>35</sup> an informal group of men who gamble together. They served in 1925.

Make łana'kwe, a group from Great Fire Society (make łana'kwe). They served in 1926.

Cowe'kwe, another informal group, not the same as above. Served in 1927.

The 10 impersonators form a more or less permanent group. The leader, their "father," receives a crook of appointment from the priests at the New Year, and selects those who will assist him. Ordinarily he will select the same men who served with him at his last turn in office, filling any vacancies caused by death from members of his kiva, society, or some informal group with which he may be associated, always taking into consideration in his appointments clan

<sup>34</sup> Stevenson, p. 235; Parsons, Notes on Zuñi, I, 183.

<sup>35</sup> Stevenson lists Cowe'kwe as a doubtful fraternity. She was taken in by a Zuñi jest. They say of the youth who wastes his time gambling that he belongs to Cowe'kwe Society.

affiliation. Any vacancy will usually be filled by a man of similar clan affiliation. The office of Koyemci is a desirable one, because of the rich payments at the end, and there will always be a number of young men who have signified their willingness to serve from whom the leader may choose. The appointments are made as soon as possible after the New Year. Should the group whose turn it is to serve have done anything to cause the disapproval of the priests, it will be passed over in favor of a new group, perhaps one of the groups of no ceremonial status that impersonate Koyemci during the winter dances.

The Koyemci have a very full year. They share all the duties of the other appointees for the Ca'lako—the nightly meetings, the monthly planting of prayer sticks, the work for the house that is to entertain them. Entertaining the Koyemci is the most expensive participation in Zuñi, because in addition to the expense involved in building the house, and the feast on the night when the gods come, the 11 men, the 10 Koyemci and their wo'le are in retreat in the house which entertained them for six days following the ceremony and must be fed throughout that time. So often the crook for entertaining the Koyemci is not taken, and their father is obliged to entertain them in his house. In that case the labor of housebuilding does not begin until the fall. However, throughout the spring and summer the Koyemci go individually to work in the houses of their "aunts," all the women of their fathers' clans, whenever they have special work afoot. In addition to the ceremonies of the Ca'lako the Koyemci must assist at all dances of the katchinas. They attend the dancers in the plazas, and between the rounds of the dance amuse the audience by clowning.

The presence of the Koyemci at the winter dances is not obligatory, but they may appear, if they wish, at any dance after their first prayer-stick planting. If the "real" Koyemci do not wish to appear at any dance, their masks may be borrowed by any other group. There are several more or less permanent groups that "play" at the winter dances, and at extra dances interpolated into the calendar in the summer or fall.<sup>36</sup>

Usually the first public appearance of the Koyemci is after the summer solstice. On the afternoon of the third day following the planting of prayer sticks to the sun, the Koyemci enter the village from the west. They are naked except for their usual kilt of black cloth, and unmasked, with their hair unbound and falling over their faces. Starting on the south side of the village, they pass every house. As they pass, the women of the house douse them with water from the housetops, to induce prompt rain. After visiting every house in the

<sup>36</sup> Such a group from he'iwa kiva appeared when Hilili was danced after Ca'lako was over in December, 1927.



village the Koyemci retire to their ceremonial house. On this occasion they are called Tumitcimtci, from the first word of their song. (Observed June, 1926. R. L. B.)

If the quadrennial pilgrimage to the Kacina Village is to take place, the Koyemci leave with other members of the pilgrimage party at dawn the following day. Otherwise they remain in retreat in their house until the third day, when they leave at dawn, some going with the pilgrimage party to Rainbow Spring, the others taking the monthly offering to spring required for their Ca'lako planting. On their return in the late afternoon both groups meet on the plain where they dress and mask. They enter the village with a group of KoKokci dancers just before sundown. Everyone in the village goes to the southwest edge of town to wait for the return of the gods after their long absence. The high loud calls of the KoKokci can be heard long before the gods are visible. When the writer observed the ceremony in 1926, the gods entered the village in the midst of the first summer shower after a month of grilling heat, which made the occasion even more joyous than usual. The Koyemci accompany the dancers on their round of the plazas and then retire to their ceremonial house, where the fourth night of their retreat is consumed in dancing. One of the medicine societies has been invited to sing for them. Late at night they visit the KoKokci in the house where they are similarly in retreat. They do not come out when the KoKokci make their early morning rounds of the plazas, but come out later in the morning to play.<sup>27</sup>

In general their play might be characterized as childish, in contrast to the more adult and subtle satire of the Newe'kwe. This is in accord with the childish, unformed character attributed to them in mythology. Their sexual character has already been alluded to. Nevertheless they are possessors of the most potent love magic. The game which they have been observed to play most frequently between rounds of dances is the bean bag game, a kind of tag, which their grotesque appearance and uncouth behavior make ludicrous. Occasionally they burlesque dances, but such burlesques as the writer has observed have been crude and unfinished, and lacking in any satirical touch. For their more serious moments when they first come out in the morning, they have the guessing game described by Parsons (Notes on Zuñi, II, 229-237). There are set times at which this is played. Obscene games have been described by Parsons. Also, by a Zuñi informant, a game in which one Koyemci, impersonating a familiar female character in folklore, goes through the motions of intercourse with another (Benedict, ms.). Another popular game is where one Koyemci is trapped on the projecting beams of the kiva and threatened with fire until he throws down his one garment.

<sup>27</sup> For accounts of their games see Parsons, Notes on Zuñi.



The Koyemci are the first of the katcinas to "go home" in the fall, and they are the first to return at Ca'lako. They come in eight days before Ca'lako night, in the evening, soon after dark. Again everyone waits for them, and they are sprinkled liberally with meal on their progress through the village. They visit all the plazas to announce the coming of the gods. This announcement is printed in text in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. But before A'wan pekwin makes his announcement, all the others are given a chance to make obscene or ridiculous speeches. Stevenson (p. 952) gives some of these speeches. Parsons quotes her informants, who belonged to the Protestant Mission group, as saying that no such remarks would be made. However, on the two occasions on which I have heard these announcements, many remarks of this character were made. The favorite topic seems to be bestiality. The following is typical: "Now that those who hold our roads, night priests, have come out standing to their sacred place, we have passed you on your roads. Our daylight fathers, our daylight mothers, after so many days, eight days, on the ninth day you will copulate with rams." (At this time of year the rams are put back into the general herds.) Many remarks of this character which I failed to hear were repeated for me the following day by two little boys of 12 who belonged to my household.

After visiting all the plazas the Koyemci retire to their house and are in strict retreat for eight days (nights). On the seventh day they go early in the afternoon to White Rocks to plant their prayer sticks and to dress. When they return to the village in the evening they wear their Koyemci costume, with brown moccasins and their fawn-skin pouches. They have white buckskins over their shoulders. Their masks are pushed up on their foreheads, exposing their faces. They are the last group to enter the village. It is fully dark when they come at about 9 o'clock. Before going to their own house, they visit the houses of the Ca'lako and Saiyataca. They stand before the door, calling the inmates by name in song, and twitting them for stinginess, laziness, domestic infelicity, fondness for American ways. For example, "Our mother —— gives her children thin coffee and peaches." (There had been no peach crop that year, therefore these had been hoarded. December, 1927.)

When they reach their own house the three leaders, A'wan Tatcu, A'wan Pekwin, and Pi'laciwan'i, are first brought in by the host. They dedicate the house by planting prayer sticks under the door before they enter, by marking the walls with corn meal, and planting prayer sticks in the roof and seeds in the excavation in the floor. Then the others enter and are seated and "given smoke" by ten men, members of the household, friends or relatives. The three leaders then intone a chant which consumes about two hours and is very similar to the chant of the Ca'lako. After this their masks are

removed and placed on the altar, and a feast is served. All go out to sacrifice food to their ancestors in the river. After eating they dance for a while in their house, then all but the three leaders mask and go in couples to dance in the other Ca'lako houses. Their visits are occasions of great merriment. (Observed December, 1927, 1928.)

They do not appear for the morning ceremonies of the departure of the Ca'lako, but early in the afternoon they appear in mask and costume and visit again all the Ca'lako houses. They dance and sing on the edge of the housetops. After finishing their song, they descend, exchange bantering words with those within, terminated by the women of the house dousing them with water. Unfortunately, the words were unintelligible to the writer because of the mask. On this occasion they are called Haliliku (mountain sheep), from their dance and the words of their song.

For the following six days they remain in strict retreat in the house which entertained them. They do not leave the house except in mask to fulfill their ceremonial program. If it is necessary for them to leave their ceremonial room, they are accompanied by their wo'le. On the first evening they dance for a short time in their own house. They are in costume but not masked. On the second, fourth, and sixth nights of kot'ina (the katcinas stay), the Koyemci, after their house has been visited by all the dance sets that are out, go, accompanied by their society choir, to sing and dance in all the Ca'lako houses. These are most solemn occasions. The society members, in full regalia, sing, the koyemci dance in slow rhythm in a circle. There are special songs for this ceremony, very different in character from the dancing songs of the societies. After one song has been sung, long prayers are exchanged between the society chief and the host. Sometimes society members play a guessing game with someone in the house, or perform feats of jugglery. After another song the group withdraws, and all present sprinkle the Koyemci with meal. If any of the dancing katcinas have been dancing in the house at the time of the entrance of the Koyemci, they withdraw, and resume their dance after the others have gone. But usually this rite closes the ceremonies for the evening.

On the intervening nights the Koyemci dance in their own house between the performances of visiting dance sets. Here they are unmasked. Their dance step is rapid and energetic, and they dance with the most intense concentration, which is especially moving since most of the men are past middle age, and clearly show the strain of physical exertion.

On the third and fifth mornings of kofina, the Koyemci appear in the plaza with their society choir. They use the same song and dance as on their evening rounds. On these days they play their familiar guessing game, giving away a considerable amount of property to the

persons called from the housetops to participate. On other days they appear in the plaza for a few hours in the afternoon, fully clothed and wrapped in blankets (ordinarily the weather at this season is inclement and intensely cold).

On the final (sixth) night, the Koyemci eat their evening meal at sundown (about 5.30 o'clock). The people of the house bring in 10 bowls of meat stew, 10 baskets of paper bread, and 10 tubs of wheat bread and set them down before the impersonators. The father of the Koyemci slowly dips his roll of paper bread into his stew. After he has taken four mouthfuls, he lays down his uneaten roll of bread. This is the sign for the others who have been eating rapidly, to stop. The balance of the food is removed by the wives or sisters of the Koyemci who have come for this purpose, and taken to their houses. From now on until they are freed sometime the following night they may touch neither food nor drink. Large numbers of people go to the Koyemci house to watch this curious evening meal.

On this night the full quota of dances is performed. The dance sets all visit the Koyemci house early in the evening. By 10 o'clock all have been there. Shortly after the Koyemci mask and visit the Ca'lako houses, as described above, for the last time. This is a very solemn occasion. The Koyemci do not now indulge in any clowning or joking. On leaving each house all present sprinkle them liberally with meal. This sprinkling of meal is by no means perfunctory on this occasion, and the murmured prayers are most earnestly spoken. The rite shows the great reverence in which the Koyemci are held. (Observed December, 1927, 1928.)

Early the following morning, the society choir takes the Koyemci to the plaza and sends them home, bidding them farewell in a special farewell song which runs as follows: "Our fathers, Molanhaktu, now you are about to go to your village of the masked gods. From there surely you will not fail to send us your waters."

The balance of their day is admirably described in the following native account. (All the events recorded, except those in the house of the priests and the father's house have been observed in 1927 and 1928. For the ceremonies not observed, the full texts of the prayers were recorded from another informant. These are given on p. 777.)

"Eight days before Ca'lako the Koyemci go into retreat in the house of their father and after Ca'lako they stay in for six days more. So they are in for 14 days. The day that Pautiwa brings in the Corn Maids is the last day they are in. On that day their aunts (i. e., father's sisters) bring them presents because during the whole year they have been praying for the people of Itiwana.

"On the last day in the morning they come out of their father's house. Each brings sacks and buckskins and wagon cloths, and they take them to the plaza. Here they dance. Then pekwin comes

out and takes them into the ceremonial room of the priests. In that room are the wives of all the priests and the women of all the houses where they keep the sacred bundles of the priests. Each woman brings with her 10 loaves of bread and 10 rolls of paper bread. All the head priests are met in their ceremonial room. Then the Koyemci come in and their father talks to the priests and the women and says, 'All year we have been praying for you and now we have finished our year. We have worked hard for our people that their crops may grow. We will never forget, our fathers, that you have picked us out for this.' In his prayer he tells them that they have all been praying for their people and that now they have finished their year. Then all in the room breathe in. Then the village chief prays also and says that he is very thankful that all year they have worked and prayed for the people.<sup>39</sup>

After they have finished their prayers, the women spread out sand on the floor. They take the father of the Koyemci first. He comes forward to the women of the sacred houses. Then he removes his breechcloth and stands there entirely naked and the women wash him all over because the Koyemci are the most valuable of all the gods. Their paint is valuable, and therefore, they must be washed in the sacred room of the priests. All the others watch him and do just as he does. They all remove their breechcloths and stand there naked while the women wash them. They do not try to cover themselves, but stand there naked in front of all these women. After they have all been bathed the pekwin takes them out to the plaza. As they are going out the women all stand in line and as each goes by each woman gives each of them one loaf of bread and one roll of paper bread, because she has touched their bodies.

Then they come out into the plaza. There their fathers' brothers are waiting for them. They get them and take them to their houses.<sup>40</sup> They take them to their houses; each goes to the house of his father's sister. All their father's clan are met in their father's ancestral house. Long ago the men used to bring deer meat and the women bread. Now they bring whatever they have and presents from the store—meal and flour, meat, whole sheep, bolts of cloth, blankets, and new clothing. All the women are sitting around the wall, and each has her presents on the floor in front of her. The Koyemci sits facing the east. His real aunts mix yucca seeds and sprinkle his head with water. He does not unmask. Each man brings a prayer stick for him to pray for their long life and for the rain and the crops. His father's brother bundles up the feathers and hands them to the Koyemci, and they both hold them and present them to the six directions. The man gives them to him with a

<sup>39</sup> For these prayers see p. 777.

<sup>40</sup> "Someone always meets the kateinas when they are through dancing. For the others it is their fathers' sisters, but the Koyemci are different. It is always their fathers' brothers who meet them."

prayer. Then the Koyemci tells them that all year he has been praying for his aunts, for their long life and for their crops and for all good things for them. Then they all say, 'Thank you,' and his father's brother gives him the prayer sticks. Everyone sprinkles corn meal on his head. Then they all bring him their presents. There will be really valuable presents like blankets and clothing from his real aunts. All the men bring whole sheep, and the women grind and bake. Then he takes as much as he can carry on his back, and the other people take the rest and they carry it all up to the plaza. The women follow him with the flour and bread on their heads, and the men take the meat and store things in a wagon. Each Koyemci's things are piled up by his place in the plaza. All the Koyemci come like that from the houses of their aunts.<sup>41</sup>

In the evening after all the dancing is over, after Pautiwa has brought in the corn maids and they have finished their dancing in the kiva and gone out, then the Koyemci's people will come and take their presents away. They will take all his things to his own home, to his wife's house if he is married, otherwise to his mother's house. Then, after everything has been taken away from the plaza, father Koyemci divides the village into sections and assigns each section to one of the Koyemci, telling him to go to certain houses and thank the people for their presents and wish them good luck. So they start out from the plaza. Everyone else has gone home to his wife. The Ca'lako people are in only three days, and they have gone home long ago. These poor men want to go home too, for it is way late at night, but they are still working for the people. So they go around to all the houses and stand outside and say, 'Mothers!' They say it so that those inside can hear them. Then they answer. Then he says again, 'May you have long life.' (T'on tekohanan yaniktciaut!) 'I am praying for you.' ('To'na ho' tekohanan ceme'a!') Then they say, 'Thank you.' Then they give to him again. They have already given in the morning, and now they give to him again. The woman of the house takes a basket of broken paper bread for the people of the village of the katchinas<sup>42</sup> and some fresh paper bread for the Koyemci. Then she goes out and sprinkles corn meal and gives the bread to him. He puts the whole paper bread into his blanket on his back, and the broken paper bread he puts into his fawn-skin bag for the ancients. So they go around to all the houses. Every house in the village is visited this way that night. Sometimes his brother or someone in his wife's family will go around with him and help him carry his things, and take them home for him when he has too much to carry.

"After every house in the village has been visited they come back to the plaza. There is a big fire burning there. Then their father

<sup>41</sup> Observed in houses of the Badger clan December, 1927, and 1928. R. L. B. See p. 777 for prayers.

<sup>42</sup> To be sacrificed in the river.



takes them to his house. All his people are there, and his wife has been cooking and baking for them. They come in and go right in to their ceremonial room, because they still have their masks on. When they have all come in each one takes off his mask and prays, 'Now, my father, now I am finished with you. We have finished our work of looking after our people's welfare. May I be fortunate as you have always been. When you were a person long ago you had no misfortune. Now give me long life and a strong body like you used to have when you were a person. Do not draw me back with you, but give me a strong heart.' Thus they all say and set down their masks. Then their father comes and he wraps up the masks in a ceremonial blanket. He says, 'Now, my children, wait for me until I come back.' The poor men have had nothing to eat or drink since the evening before when they had their supper, and now it is midnight already. They have been in retreat for 14 days. They look tired and sick. They have had their masks on all day and their hair is covered with corn meal. Their father takes up the masks and goes out. He goes to the west side of the village to the house where they keep the masks. He gives them to the woman who takes care of them and prays for the people in that house, and they pray for him and thank him. Then he leaves the masks and comes home. He has been gone nearly an hour.

"When he comes back there is a jar of fresh water in the room and a new gourd. He dips out some of the water with the gourd and says, 'Now, my children, rest.' Then he takes a little sip of the water and holds the gourd for the next one and he drinks a little. They all drink a little bit and then when they have each had a sip they get up and go over to the jar and really drink. Until each one has had a sip of the water they are all sacred. Then their father tells them again that he is glad that they have finished their year, and he tells them that they should always be kind to everyone and never hurt anyone. 'Even if you have finished your year you must be kind to everyone now so that when our time comes again we may not have a bad name. Our time will come again in four years.' Then their father sprinkles them all again, and after he has sprinkled them with water they are free. Then the women bring in the food and they eat, and that is the end of it."

The Koyemci occupy so important a place in the life and thought of the people that no paper about the pueblos fails to mention them. The more important accounts of their mythological character have been quoted above. Doctor Parsons's various papers on Zuñi contain many allusions to their practices and to the awe with which they are regarded by the people.

The whole question of the interrelation of the various masked and unmasked clown groups of the different pueblos is too involved to be



treated here and must be deferred to some later publication. In this case the idea of masking seems distinctly secondary and the Koyemci are probably more nearly related to clowning societies on the Plains and other parts of North America than to the masked rain beings of the pueblos. Doctor Parsons has pointed out that they are perhaps caricatures of the Spanish padres, nor should their possible relation to the masked devils of Mexican and European carnival dancing be overlooked.

C'ULA'WITSI

(Plate 25, a)

*Costume.*—On his head, feathers fastened to a short stick; from front to back these are: Turkey, hawk, bluejay, onoliko, humming bird, duck. Two thick cotton cords hang over his face on the left side. The mouth and eyes are small holes.

The mask and body are painted black all over with *kekwinā* and *hekwitola* and then spotted with yellow (*heluptsikwa*), blue (*akwali*), red (*icilowa yältokā*, made from the juice of a plant, mixed with red corn), and white (*he'kōhakwa*).

"When he comes at Ca'lako he should be all naked. That is the way he used to come, but now he wears a small breechcloth of black cloth, painted like the body. He wears a fawn-skin bag over his shoulder. This is filled with seeds. On his back he carries a bundle of birds and rabbits which his father kills for him. He gives these to the house where he stays. In his right hand he carries a torch of cedar bark, in his left *yamuwe*, two sticks of black wood, measured from the inside of the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, with feathers at both ends.

"When he comes for the initiation he wears a belt of blue leather with a long fringe of goat's hair hanging from it. In the right hand he carries a torch, in the left *yamuwe*. But when he whips the children and goes around the village to take away the bad luck he puts away his *yamuwe* and carries *yucca* in the right hand and a torch in the left."

There are really two distinct *Cula'witsis*. There are two ancient masks. The one that is used at Ca'lako is kept with those of *Saiyataka*, *Hututu*, and *Yamuhakto* in house 56. At that time the impersonator is a little boy, from 10 to 14 years of age. He is selected indirectly by the priests, and must be Badger clan or child of Badger.

The mask that is used for the initiation is kept with the mask of the many colored *Sālimoṣiya* in house X163. This house, also is Dogwood. The impersonator on this occasion is an older man. He is picked out by the head men of *uptsanawa kiva*, and must belong to that *kiva* and the Badger clan.

*Cula'witsi* is frequently referred to by the Zuñis as the fire god, but in their own language he is usually called *Ṗekwin ts'ana* (little *Ṗekwin*).



THE SAIYATACA GROUP

a, Cularwitsi; b, Saiyataca; c, Yamulakto; d, Iirtutu.



THE CA'LAKO HOUSE

There is some association between fire, the office of *pekwin*, and the Badger clan. *Pekwin*, in addition to being a sort of "talking chief," is also an officiating priest in charge of the altar. (Possibly he also takes care of the fire?) The *katsina* *Pekwin* must be Badger clan.<sup>43</sup> Fire making is always the prerogative of the Badger clan. Anyone who builds fires easily and quickly is dubbed *tonaci-kwe* (Badger person).

On the day preceding the winter solstice the priests select a man of the Badger clan to tend the fire that is kept burning in *he'iwa* kiva throughout the ten days of the solstice observances. This man is called *tsupal'ilona* (the one who keeps the blood pudding), and the sacred fire is his "pudding." He in turn selects the impersonator of *Cula-witsi* from among the young boys of his family. *Cula-witsi* must be Badger clan one year and child of Badger the next, so *tsupal'ilona* selects either his sister's son (Badger) or his own son (child of Badger). In selecting a man for the office of *tsupal'ilona*, the priests must consider whether the man has in his family a boy of suitable age, intelligence, and character for the rôle of *Cula-witsi*. The office of *tsupal'ilona* is hard to fill for other reasons. He must spend most of his time during the ten days of the solstice alone in the kiva, where it is cold and cheerless, although he is permitted to return to his home to eat and sleep. For ten days he must abstain from all animal food, and, of course, observe continence. The priests are sometimes compelled to appoint a man who has no suitable candidate for *Cula-witsi*, and in that case the man himself must serve in this capacity.

A woman whose son had served as *Cula-witsi* gives the following description of his appointment: "Late at night the bow priest came. We were frightened and asked him what he wanted, and he told us that they wanted to put our boy in to be *Cula-witsi*. At first I did not want it and I cried. He was so young. He was only ten years old and had only just been initiated. But I was proud, too, that the priests had picked him out. So we said it would be all right. No one would have thought of picking Jack (another son) to be *Cula-witsi*, because he has no sense. He might talk back to his parents or get into a fight with another boy, and that would never do for *Cula-witsi*. But everyone knew that Bob was a quiet, sensible boy and would not make any trouble, even if he was so young.

"So right away his grandfather started working on moccasins for him to wear to the kiva when he went to get his *teñan'e*. We could not buy him new clothes at the store because we are *ciwanni* in this house and we can not trade for 10 days during *ti-wan'a*. So he wore his father's blanket when he went to the kiva.

"Pete had put him into the *Katsina* Society, and so he should have come in with him as his 'father,' but Pete had been *Ca'lako* and had

<sup>43</sup> Among the Hopi the corresponding office, that of fire-maker for the *katsina* chief, must be filled by a man of the Badger clan in villages where that clan exists, otherwise by one of the related clans.

just finished his year, and it would not have been right to ask him to do all this work for another year and so Pete's kiva father took his place, and brought Bob in.

"Bob is a sensible boy and knew what to do. When they took him to the kiva he was not a bit bashful in front of all those priests and head men. He spoke right out and greeted them<sup>44</sup> and called them father. They were all surprised to hear him talk so nicely, because he was so little. So they answered him and made him sit down. This year Cula-witsi was much older (he was 14) but still he did not know that he should greet the priests. He just stood there and said nothing until his 'father' told him what to do."

Little Cula-witsi is not required to attend the nightly meetings of the katchinas, and he need not learn the long prayers. However, he attends with his "father" the formal meetings of the Saiyatata party with the wo-we on the four nights following the monthly offerings of prayer sticks. The members of the group convene immediately after their evening meal, but the formal recital of the chants does not begin until about 11 o'clock. By this time poor little Cula-witsi is nodding on his stool, but his "father" sees that he does not sleep, although as the night advances, he can barely keep his eyes open. The meetings break up about 2 o'clock, and a very sleepy little boy goes to school that morning.

Cula-witsi offers prayer sticks with the rest of the Saiyatata party. His father helps him to make them, but he himself plants them. His father goes with him to the spring. The springs are from 4 to 8 miles distant. The party leaves about 11 o'clock in the morning and returns before sunset. Cula-witsi and his father lead the group, as they do at Ca'lako. It is frequently very difficult to have boys excused from school for this religious duty.

After kohaito, the plantings are made every ten days for forty days, and then again on the forty-fourth day. On this day the planting is made in the evening. After they have planted their prayer sticks, Cula-witsi kindles fire by friction. This is a difficult job, which requires both skill and strength. As soon as the kindling of cedar bark ignites, Cula-witsi lights his torch, which his father has made for him earlier in the day. He has also gathered great piles of dry brush to be burned as signal fires. In 1928 there were six such fires, two at White Rocks, two at Grease Hill (about halfway in) and two on the Salt Lake Road, just beyond the last houses. The light, dry material flares up quickly, burns brilliantly for a short time, and dies

<sup>44</sup> Literally, "he called them by terms of relationship." The person entering a room always speaks first. On entering the chamber of the priests, or any other formal gathering, the proper greeting is: "My fathers, how have you lived this while" (hom a'tateu, ko'na ton tewanan a'teaiye) to which the answer is "Happily. Be seated." (ġetsanici. i'finaġä.) A priest on entering such an assembly or the house of a layman would say, "My fathers, my children . . ." or "My fathers, my mothers, my children . . ." "even if there were only one person there." Second person plural is always used in formal or polite address.



down quickly. As the kateinas stride back and forth before the fires, giving their calls, they are silhouetted against a background of yellow flame. The party enters the village about 11 o'clock and goes into retreat in the house of Saiyataca. Cula-witsi remains in retreat with them for the four following days, again encountering opposition from the school authorities.

On the day that the kateinas come in publicly, Cula-witsi is the first to come. The party leaves White Rocks, where they have dressed, at about 2 o'clock, the hour depending on how long it takes Cula-witsi to kindle his fire. All the gods enter a house south of the village. After a short time Cula-witsi and his father come out and cross the river and visit the six permanent excavations in the village streets, which pekwin has uncovered as soon as the party was seen leaving White Rocks. Into each of these excavations Cula-witsi sprinkles meal. He recrosses the river and again enters the house on the south bank. Shortly afterwards all the kateinas emerge. Cula-witsi and his father again are in the lead. His father goes ahead, carrying his basket of prayer sticks, and handing them to him as required and instructing him in regard to planting them. After he plants in each excavation he goes on to the next without waiting for the rest of the party to complete their rites. He reaches his house about the time the others leave the second excavation. Here he is met at the foot of the ladder by the head of the house. He plants inside the threshold, and then enters through the roof. He marks the walls of the house with his torch, thus extinguishing it. He then places prayer sticks in the box hanging from the ceiling, and seeds on the floor. Then he is met by pekwin, who leads him to his seat, seats him, and raises his mask until it rests on his forehead, exposing the face. Thus he sits waiting for the rest of the party.

He does not join the others in the intonation of the long chant which follows the ceremonial smoking. However, later in the night he joins in the dancing, dancing with the others with brief rests, until daylight, at about 8 o'clock.<sup>45</sup>

The part which Cula-witsi plays in the initiation of boys is deferred to the complete description of that ceremony.

<sup>45</sup> When the ceremony was witnessed in 1928 at the height of an influenza epidemic Cula-witsi was the only one of the impersonators who was shown any consideration, although at least two others of the party were seriously ill with influenza on the night of their ceremony. Nevertheless they danced throughout the night. "They have to dance all night. If they sit down for more than maybe one or two songs to rest, the wove come to them and make them get up to dance." Cula-witsi, however, after dancing for a short time early in the evening, was permitted to rest for the rest of the night, sitting huddled in his corner, wrapped in a blue bedquilt. However, he seemed none the worse next day for his experience. Nor, for that matter, did a young man suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, aggravated by influenza, who collapsed early in the evening, and was seen later, dancing as vigorously as ever.



## SAIYATACA

(Plate 25, b)

*Costume.*—On his head he wears the downy feather and a bluejay feather “because he is a priest,” and also the feathers of the summer birds. The feathers are actually fastened to a prayer stick. He has one long horn (whence his name, “long horn”), on the right side,<sup>46</sup> “because he brings long life to all his people.” His eyes are long, too. But on the right side his eye is small. That is for the witch people, so that they may not live long, but on the left side his eye is long for the people of one heart, “so that they may have long life.” Black goat’s hair hangs from the horn, and over the forehead. White cotton threads hang down behind. The mask is made of elk skin. The face is painted turquoise. The collar is made of elk skin stuffed with wool.

Long ago he used to wear a buckskin shirt, but now he wears a shirt of white cotton cloth cut very full. Over this he wears an embroidered white blanket folded double and fastened on the right shoulder. He wears a white cotton dance kilt, with a band of blue, embroidered sash, red woman’s belt, fringed white buckskin leggings, blue dancing moccasins. He wears a fawn-skin quiver over the right shoulder.<sup>47</sup> He has black yarn about both legs, and many valuable necklaces of shell and turquoise about his neck, back, and front, and on both wrists, “because he is very valuable.” In the right hand he carries a rattle of deer scapulæ, in the left a bow and arrow and many prayer sticks.

This is an old mask. It is kept with others of the Saiyataca party, in a Dogwood clan house on the south side of the plaza. The people of this house are suspected of witchcraft. (K. 56–57.)

The impersonator of Saiyataca holds a position of great power and responsibility in the pueblo. Throughout the period of his incumbency he has the rank and prestige of one of the major priests. He is referred to by title (Saiyataca mosona), rather than by name, the Zuñi way of showing respect. His counsel is sought in all matters of ceremonial importance. He lives, also, under the same restraints as a priest. He must not mix himself up in worldly affairs, he must not quarrel, he must not leave the village for more than a day or two at a time, not even to stay at his sheep camp;<sup>48</sup> he must engage in no

<sup>46</sup> The horn should be blue.

<sup>47</sup> Not shown in the picture. But see Hututu.

<sup>48</sup> During six months that I lived in the household of the impersonator of Saiyataca he was almost never away from his house, except when he was working for the house which was to entertain him, or absent on some ceremonial visit. Most of the time he sat alone by the fire, engrossed in thought. Although he has a well-founded reputation for lairiness, he worked diligently all year for “his mother,” to the great amusement of his wife’s family. During the period of his office, he laid aside hat and shoes in favor of a silk head-band and native moccasins.

unseemly conduct. Above all "his heart must be good." He must be kind and gentle with all his people.

The other impersonators, both the other members of the Saiyatata party and the 12 Ca'lako impersonators, share these responsibilities and restrictions, but to a lesser degree. They also are expected to observe the proprieties. Adultery, which usually is regarded lightly, is a grave offense among those appointed to impersonate the gods. However, hardly a year passes that one or another of the appointees does not have to be publicly rebuked for this.<sup>49</sup>

When an offense of this kind is discovered, it rests with the impersonator of Saiyatata whether the offender shall be put out or publicly rebuked. He does not himself execute his judgment, for that would desecrate his sanctity. Hututu, his bow priest, will do this for him. The rebuke is administered at the next monthly prayer stick planting, during the visit to the spring, in the presence of the other impersonators.

Saiyatata has responsibility also for the calendar. He must make observations of the moon and notify the father of the Koyemci and the other impersonators two days before the date for the planting of prayer sticks. He must decide whether the first planting and kohaito shall be at the first quarter or at the full moon. All other plantings must be at the full moon. And he must use his discretion about the inevitable requests for postponement. In this matter he takes counsel with pekwin, so that the dates for Ca'lako may not conflict with those for the winter solstice, but the final decision rests with Saiyatata.

The impersonators of the Saiyatata party are generally chosen by the priests while the societies are holding their winter retreat. The priests will decide on a suitable man for the rôle of Saiyatata, and then fill the other offices (Hututu and the two Yamuhaktu; Cula'witsi is differently chosen) from the membership of his society, "so as to get men who are good friends and who will work well together." If their service is satisfactory they will be returned to office, provided they are willing to serve, after four years. The rotation of societies in the appointment of the Koyemci, as observed by Stevenson, probably arose in this manner. This rotation has never become so fixed in the case of the Saiyatata group. If, however, the group proves unsatisfactory for one reason or another, it will be passed over in favor of a new group.

<sup>49</sup> In 1927 one of the Ca'lako impersonators was accused of having had improper relations with the wife of a Kiva mate. This added the sin of incest to the wrong of adultery. Kiva mates are brothers, therefore, according to Zuni social rules, he was lying with his own sister. The offense was discovered after kohaito, and at this late date it would have been difficult to get a substitute. Therefore Saiyatata mosona decided not to remove the man from office. Hututu, accordingly, administered a scathing rebuke at the next planting of prayer sticks. "But if it had been the wife of a 'valuable' man, they would surely have put him out." In 1928 the katchina chief was compelled to rebuke publicly the impersonator of Saiyatata for deserting his wife and quarreling with his mother-in-law.

It is very difficult to get a man to serve as Saiyataca more than twice. By that time he has had all the honor to be had from the office, and is reluctant to assume the responsibilities. The office is costly as well as arduous. Should he refuse, one of the other men who served with him will be asked to serve, should there be one among them of sufficient wealth and intelligence, and of unquestioned character. The priests will try to find a man who has served in one of the lesser rôles, because he will already be familiar with the prayers and chants. Frequently consideration will be given to the wishes of the people who have taken the crook of entertainment. I know one case in which a man who took the Ca'lako crook for the second time asked that the same man be appointed as Ca'lako as had come into his house on the previous occasion. This young man was not even a member of the kiva whose crook his host had taken, but he was nevertheless appointed. In 1928 the people in the Ciwana'kwe society house took the Saiyataca crook, and the Saiyataca party was chosen from the Ciwana'kwe Society. I did not hear specifically that the women requested the appointment, but the general impression seemed to be that the choice had been made in deference to their wishes.

Saiyataca is an impersonation of the greatest dignity and solemnity. The impersonator is generally a man of middle age or older, who is deeply impressed with the weight and importance of his office. He is, therefore, inclined to be heavy. Everything in the impersonation tends to this impression. Saiyataca's gait is ponderous; he walks with exaggerated long strides, very slowly, always standing with one foot poised in the air before bringing it down heavily. At each step he shakes his rattle of deer scapulae with a terrific clatter. His "talk" is declaimed in a loud voice, very slowly, and with marked emphasis, and is of incredible length. His evening chant takes about seven hours to perform. He talks publicly on other occasions also. He has three speeches in the morning, a chant on the housetop at dawn, which is afterwards repeated in the house, a long prayer to the society choir, thanking them for their service, and a farewell speech to his hosts. All are declaimed in the same weighty manner. Altogether, Saiyataca is a very pompous gentleman.

An informant offers the following comments on the impersonation:

"The people think a great deal of Saiyataca. They think of him making the New Year along with Pautiwa. He is the leader. The priests choose him at Itiwan'a from any clan, so long as his heart is good. There is a special wo'le for Saiyataca who holds office for life and teaches the impersonators all the things they must do and all the prayers.

"The Saiyataca people meet every night from itiwana until Ca'lako to practice their prayers. Their wo'le teaches them. Then when they have finished their year they go to the house of the wo'le, the day

after they go out, and he takes their words back again. He sits holding Saiyatata's hands as he speaks his long talk and the morning talk and the other talks, and at the end the wo'le inhales from his hands, but Saiyatata does not inhale and so the words go out from him.

"Saiyatata plants prayer sticks at the different springs each month with the rest of the Ca'lako people. He is the leader of the party.

"The priests who look after the world pick him out to make the days warm. Each year they pick out some one to look after making the days warm. He is always someone who has a good heart and prays regularly. Each morning before the sun rises he goes out and goes around all the fields and says, 'Now you will go on and produce for my people. They need you. Please hurry and make my people happier.' So he prays during the summer for his people in all the fields. Each morning he prays to the sun and says, 'Our father, sun, let your rays make the days warm so that the crops may grow quickly, and send us your rains, too.' So he prays every morning and every evening, and especially early in the summer and early in the fall when the people fear that the frosts may spoil their crops. When he thinks it is going to be frosty, he goes to his wo'le and says to him, 'Father, I have come to ask you what I should do for the cold days. I am afraid of these cold days. Is there anything I can do for it?' The wo'le is glad to see him, and to see that he is mindful of his duties. He teaches him all the things he must do. The wo'le answers him and says, 'Get baked sweet corn which has been ground to fine meal and take it to the fields in the morning before the sun comes up. Go early and wait for the sun to come up, and then place the sweet corn in your mouth and blow it through your lips to the sun, praying for warmth that the frost may not kill our corn.'

"So that is the way he comes to make the days warm. The people think a great deal of Saiyatata. They think of him making the New Year along with Pantiwa.

"Four days before the Ca'lako come the Saiyatata people go out to White Rocks, and in the evening Cula-witsi lights his fires on Grease Hill. Then they come in and go in to Saiyatata's house. They stay in for days and during that time their wowe stay with them and teach them all the things that they must know. They make prayer sticks and get their masks and clothing ready.

"Then the day the Ca'lako come in they take their masks out to White Rocks, and dress out there. They come in in the afternoon and go out to the house where they are going to stay for the night. When he comes in to his father's house he prays as follows:<sup>60</sup>

"'I have been praying for my people that they may have much rain and good crops and that they may be fortunate with their babies and that they may have no misfortunes and no sickness. I have been

<sup>60</sup> His two chief prayers are given in text on pp. 710, 756. Nevertheless, the following picturesque paraphrase is presented as given.

praying that my people may have no sickness to make them unhappy. I want them all to be happy, and to wait for me when my time comes.' So he says, and then he prays again:

"I am here that my people may have good luck in everything. I am here to throw out the people with double hearts. I have come that my people may have good luck and be happy. I have been planting feathers in all the springs that they may be happy and that they may have plenty of seeds in their back rooms, that their houses may be so full that they have no place to walk in their back rooms. And if anyone tries to injure my people I want them to watch for whoever is doing this, so that he may stand up in the daylight and the daylight people may know who is trying to injure them. I want my people to reach old age and to come to the ends of their roads, and not to be cut off while they are still young. I want my mothers to have many children, so that each may have one on her back and one in her arms, and one walking behind while she is with child. I want my people to have large families.'

"So he prays, and his kindness makes the people cry. It is so beautiful. They love him so much that the tears run down their cheeks when he prays for his people.<sup>51</sup> And especially when he leaves in the morning, all the people in the house cry because he is their child and they do not know when they will see him again.

"He tells them his own story, and says, 'When I was young I was so poor that I thought I never would grow up at all, and now they have chosen me to be the father of my people. When I was young I was so poor and no one thought anything of me, but now I pray for my people in Itiwan'a, so that they may have good fortune. My fathers, the priests, have thought of me in their prayers, and they have chosen me to come here. I thought I would never come to Itiwan'a, but here I have come. I bring my counting string and will untie the knots for you. I have been chosen by my fathers to pray for my people. Besides, I am the one who will make the days warm for the crops, so that they may grow. I can not tell you how this happened, but some day you will hear of it.' So he says, and finishes."

There is no myth about Saiyataca. He is frequently mentioned in folk tales, along with Pautiwa, as chief or priest of the masked gods, who receives messengers from Zuñi and hears their requests. Stevenson (p. 32) refers to him as town chief (*Kakwemos-i*) of the village of the katinas, but in prayers he is always called "Saiyataca, bow priest."

<sup>51</sup> As a matter of fact, the two years the writer observed the ceremonies in the Saiyataca house no one was present during the intonation of the chant except the priests and members of the household, who came and went freely. This is not due to exclusion of the populace, but to indifference. Most of the people are bored by the long prayers. They sleep early in the evening and come to the houses about midnight or later for the feasting and dancing. Then the houses are jammed. But for the ceremonies of departure in the morning, the house was crowded and the people deeply moved.



*References.*—The ceremonies of the Ca'lako are described by Stevenson, page 227. On page 247 she describes the ceremonies in the Saiyatata house. These are not esoteric ceremonies, but are open to anyone who may wish to attend. Also Parsons, Notes on Zuñi I, p. 183.

*Parallels.*—Hopi: "Caiastacana," Fewkes, Plate II. He figures in the Hopi version of the Ca'lako, which is performed in Sichumovi. He does not appear in any other Hopi village. The Sichumovi ceremony is recognized as having been recently imported from Zuñi. There is no Hopi equivalent of any antiquity.

### HUTUTU

(Plate 25, d)

He is Saiyatata's deputy. His mask is the same as Saiyatata's, except that he has no horn, and both sides are alike. He is dressed the same as Saiyatata, except that he wears a buckskin fastened on his shoulder instead of the embroidered blanket.

His mask is kept with that of Saiyatata in House 56.

Hututu is slightly less ponderous in manner than Saiyatata. His gait is different; he tramps rapidly instead of slowly. His call is deep. He is named from his call.

*Parallels.*—"Hututu," Fewkes, Hopi Katecinas, Plate III. A recent importation in Sichumovi.

### YAMUHA KTO

(Plate 25, c)

*Costume.*—On his head small macaw feathers and downy eagle feathers. Across the top of his head is a stick of cottonwood (yamun'e), from which he is named, with a tassel of yarn of all colors at each end. The top of the mask is covered with black hair. The collar is of buckskin stuffed with wool or hair. The whole mask is painted blue.

The upper part of his body is painted red with ahoko, mixed with clay from the sacred lake. The shoulders, arms, and legs, and dots down the body and the arms are of yellow paint (heluptsikwa). He wears a skirt of white buckskin, a tasseled white belt, fox skin. His things are painted white. He wears blue moccasins, and many necklaces, back and front and on both wrists. He carries deer antlers in both hands.

It is an old mask, kept with that of Saiyatata (K. 56). The cottonwood stick is also ancient, and is always put away with the mask.

"Yamuhakto comes only once, at Ca'lako. Sometimes he comes in the mixed dance, but then they never use the old mask, and they call him Hopi Yamuhakto. He comes to bring all kinds of things for the people, so that they may get property easily. He prays for the trees so that they may have wood for their house and for firewood. He stands beside Saiyatata when he prays and helps him, and they mention the trees and all the things he is bringing to the people.



"Pautiwa brings in all kinds of good things for the people and the Ca'lako bring all kinds of seeds, and they mention all these things in their prayers and songs. Long ago the priests had their minds on all these things. They had Pautiwa bring all kinds of good things, and they had Ca'lako bring in all kinds of seeds for the people, and then they thought, 'Now who will be the one to come with them. There is no one to look after the trees so that the world will be beautiful and so that we may have wood for our houses and firewood. There is no one to pray for them.' So they thought, 'Now who will be the one to do this?' They thought of all the katecinas. Now there was one katecina who had nothing. The katecina chief and his pekwin were in the ceremonial room of the priests, and so they sent for this one. Finally he came. When he had come in he asked, 'My fathers, why have you sent for me? I am here and I should like to know.' So they said, 'Everyone is bringing in all kinds of seeds. We want nothing to be forgotten. That is why we have sent for you. Is it all right that you should be the one to pray for all the trees and for all kinds of wood for all the world?' So he said, 'Yes, indeed, I shall be the one. I thought I was very poor. I thought I should never be chosen for anything. But now you have thought of me to be the one to be the father of the wood and I shall be the one to pray for it.' 'Now we shall give you a name. You shall be called Yamuhaktu (carrying wood). You are a tree and under your body the deer lie down to rest at your feet. And when you come to Itiwana you shall carry deer antlers in your hands. When you come to Itiwana there will be Saiyatata praying for all good fortune for his people, and when he has finished you will follow after him.' So, he comes. He just stands beside Saiyatata while he prays and helps him, and they mention all his trees and all the good things he is bringing too."

Two Sālimōpiya (see p. 988) accompany the Saiyatata party at Ca'lako. These are yellow and blue one year, red and white the next, and the third, many colored and black.

The impersonators are chosen by the katecina chief the day before Saiyatata comes in to go into retreat. They go out with the Saiyatata party that night, and when the group comes in, lighting their signal fires, it is the Sālimōpiya who make the most noise. Their call is loud and high.

They remain in retreat for four days in the ceremonial house of the Saiyatata party. On the final day they come in with them and spend the early part of the night in the Saiyatata house. They do not plant prayer sticks in the streets, or in the house. Later, when the dancing starts, they leave to dance in all the Ca'lako houses. Like the Ca'lako, they strike with their yucca any one whom they see asleep.

On the following morning they accompany the Saiyatata group to the field south of the village where the concluding ceremonies are

held. While the Ca'lako run, they run back and forth along the river. If one of the Ca'lako should fall, they cross the river and whip all present, "to take away the bad luck," that is, to avert the misfortune that will result from this mishap. They do not whip the offender, although the disaster is laid to his incontinence.<sup>52</sup> This is the most important part of their duties.

After the ceremonies are concluded the impersonators plant prayer sticks and observe continence for four days longer.

The Sälimopiya are among the most brilliant of all Zuñi impersonations. Young men with beautiful bodies are always chosen for these rôles. Their only clothing is the loin cloth, although they always come in winter. They are continually in motion. All their movements are quick and darting. They never walk, but always run, uttering their high, loud call. They have certain characteristic quick movements of the head, with its huge ruff of raven feathers. They make sudden sallies among the spectators, striking out with their yucca switches. They are "dangerous," but they give good luck. The whole impersonation is one of exuberant youth and abounding vitality. Much emphasis is laid on their personal beauty. "Little boys do not mind being whipped by the Sälimopiya, they are such pretty dancers."

Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed with the choices for Sälimopiya for the Ca'lako ceremony in 1928. One was thought too thin for the part, and neither of them gave their calls loudly enough nor acted with sufficient energy to satisfy the spectators.

#### CA'LAKO

(Plate 27)

*Costume.*—The Ca'lako are giants, fully 10 feet tall. The mask is set on the top of a long pole which the impersonator carries in his hands. The garments are distended by hoops of flexible willow, bound together by thongs. The impersonator looks out through an opening in the blankets. When Ca'lako "sits down" in his house during the night ceremonies, the pole is stuck into the clay floor, and the hoop skirt collapses.

On his head he wears small feathers from the yellow macaw and downy feathers. Across the top of the head is a tall crest of tail feathers of the eagle, and standing up behind lapaṓawan'e, tail feathers of the macaw bound to little sticks, and covered with downy eagle feathers. He wears a red feather hanging from each horn. The face is painted turquoise. He has large ball eyes and a long snout. This is carved of wood of two pieces which are operated by strings held by the impersonator. They open and shut with a terrific clatter. He is the only kateina with a mouth like this. They say that the

<sup>52</sup> For a discussion of flagellation, see p. 506.

person who carries Ca'lako must never look up, because if he looks up he will surely die. Therefore, no one except the wo'le knows how it is put together.

Ca'lako has long hair hanging down behind, with downy feathers in it. He has a collar of raven feathers, and below that are two fox skins. These are his arms. Around the shoulders is a dance kilt and below that two embroidered white blankets.

The Ca'lako impersonators wear warriors' caps of white buckskin decorated around the forehead with red ribbon and silver buttons. They wear shirts of native black cloth, trimmed with ribbons of many colors on the shoulders and sleeves. They wear a native breechcloth of black wool, fastened with an embroidered sash. The legs and thighs are bare. Their knees are painted red, their calves yellow. They wear high moccasins of red buckskin, cut like the blue dance moccasins. They carry stone axes in their belts, "because they are warriors." When they carry Ca'lako only their legs are visible. They have yarn about their legs with little sleighbells on each leg.

They have their faces painted with tsuhapa.

There are two impersonators for each Ca'lako. The elder brother brings Ca'lako in in the evening, and the younger brother walks ahead carrying the basket of prayer sticks. When they go out the following morning, the younger brother carries Ca'lako and the elder brother walks ahead.

There are six Ca'lako masks, one belonging to each kiva. They are kept in six different houses, along with the different things Ca'lako uses—the pole and the body, etc. These houses are: He'iwa (K. 387); muhe'wa (K. 538, out of town; old house 325); teupa'wa (K. 130); ohe'wa (K. 159); upts'anawa (K. 150 feciwan'i); hekapa'wa (K. 108).

"Before Ca'lako the Ca'lako wo'le goes to the house where the mask is kept and looks it over, and if there is anything wrong with it he mends it. If there is anything wrong with Ca'lako, if the strings are broken or if anything is torn, something terrible will happen in the house of the people who keep it. Last year the buckskin of the mask that is kept in our house was torn, and the wo'le said that it meant that some misfortune would come either to our house or to his. And right after Ca'lako, our aunt who had helped us cook for Ca'lako died, and we knew that this was what he meant."

One day during the summer the men of the kiva work for the house that keeps their mask. They offer their services through the kiva chief, and the head of the household sets them to whatever work should be done.

On the third day after the Koyemci come in before Ca'lako, the Ca'lako masks are taken out. On that day feasts are prepared in the six houses where these masks are kept. Early in the morning women

who "belong to this ceremony," and the wives of all the men who "belong" to it, bring gifts of food to the house for the mask. Every one who has ever witnessed the ceremony of the taking out of the mask and sprinkled meal on it at this time must return for the ceremony every year, or at least send an offering to the mask, on pain of meeting with disaster. He will fall off a ladder or cut himself with a knife (the two usual punishments for failure in ceremonial observation; falling into the fire and being kicked by a horse are others). The women remain in the house all day to grind and cook.

After dark the back room is swept and a fire is lighted in the hearth. Embroidered blankets and other valuable articles are hung on the walls, and a white buckskin is spread on the floor on the side of the room away from the door (usually the west end). Then the people wait for the men who will come for the mask. Or if the men of the household are priests, they will bring out the mask before the *wo'le* comes. The *Ca'lako* masks are "dangerous." No one but a priest and the *Ca'lako wo'le* would dare touch them.<sup>53</sup> The head of the priesthood removes his shoes and enters the inner room where the mask is kept hanging on the wall. He sprinkles corn meal and takes up the mask. His associates take the body and other paraphernalia, and they bring them into the outer room. He prays, presents the mask to the six directions, and finally sets it down on a cross of corn meal on the buckskin. The body is laid beside it, and the whole covered with another buckskin, to protect it from the eyes of the uninitiated. Only *Ca'lako's* long snout sticks out from under its white coverings. Then all members of the household and visitors who "belong" to *Ca'lako* are admitted. They remove their shoes before entering the room. Each one prays and offers corn meal, even the smallest children being taken to receive the blessing of the god.<sup>54</sup>

Late at night when *Cu'la-witsi* lights his signal fires on Grease Hill, the two impersonators of *Ca'lako* and two *wo'we* come for their mask. Long prayers are recited by the chief *wo'le* and the head of the household. Then food is brought by the women to the visitors. After they have eaten, they get their mask out of the inner room and bundle it in blankets. The two *wo'we* carry the mask and the body, and the *Ca'lako* carry large bowls of stew and baskets of bread given them by the house (because they have worked for the house during the year). All this they take to the house of the elder brother *Ca'lako* where the two impersonators and their *wo'we* go into retreat that night. After

<sup>53</sup> When the people who keep the *muhe'kwe Ca'lako* moved out of town they sent for the *wo'le* of *muhe'wa* to transport the mask.

<sup>54</sup> When the writer witnessed this ceremony in the house of *he'iwa Ca'lako* she was taken in to see *Ca'lako* at this point. She was injudicious enough to offer a pinch of corn meal on the altar. When the report of this got around to the *kacina* chief he was very indignant. "For," as my informant explained, "one doesn't give corn meal away for nothing. One always asks for something in one's thoughts, and the people are afraid you will take all their good luck with you when you go, because of your corn meal."

they leave all the women are given bowls of stew and baskets of bread to take home.<sup>55</sup>

When the Ca'lako leave the village after their final ceremony they disrobe at White Rocks. The wo-we bring the mask and other paraphernalia back to the village under cover of blankets. They take the mask and the body to the house where it is kept. Here Ca'lako is "made to sit down" again, and sprinkled with meal by all present, before he is finally returned to the inner room where sacred paraphernalia are kept. The mask is completely undressed before it is put away. The wo'le takes the clothing and feathers to his house. He puts the feathers away carefully for another year. These are never used by any other kadcina, although the clothing may be loaned. Whatever clothing has been borrowed, he returns with his blessing. The rest he puts away carefully.

The Ca'lako impersonators are chosen by the chief men of the kiva as soon as possible after the New Year. Generally young men are chosen for these offices. Like the Saiyatata impersonators, they must be trustworthy and "of good heart." Throughout the year they meet frequently to rehearse their prayers. They meet with their wo-we the four nights following the monthly prayer stick plantings, and informally as often as possible. They plant at the same times and with the Saiyatata group. Each group cuts its prayer sticks in its own ceremonial house (the house of the "elder brother") and the various groups start out separately but meet on the way to the spring. Their wo'le helps them make their prayer sticks, but does not go with them to the spring.

The Ca'lako are in retreat for four days before their public ceremonies. They go in the night Saiyatata "calls out." On the third day they go early in the afternoon to White Rocks to plant prayer sticks and to dress. There are elaborate ceremonies here that symbolize the visit to the village of the kadcinas to get the gods. On the west slope of the hill is an inclosure known as "Ca'lako house." Within it are six boxlike shrines, full of prayer sticks. These are called Ca'lako's seats. They are the places "where Ca'lako sit down when they are getting ready to come." It is probably here that the masks are set after they are assembled, while the impersonators smoke with the wo-we and tell them that they have come for their "father."

The Ca'lako leave White Rocks about the time that Saiyatata reaches his house after planting prayer sticks in various parts of the village. They arise suddenly over the crest of the hill, and come rapidly down to Hepatina. Here they run back and forth on the

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<sup>55</sup> This minor ceremony is described in full because it is so characteristic of the vast amount of secret household ritual that revolves about the handling of every sacred object. Every old mask is taken out with just such ceremony and with just as complicated economic exchanges.



field and at about sunset proceed to the level field along the south bank of the river where the masks are set up, while the impersonators go to their house to eat and put the finishing touches to their costume.

As soon as it is quite dark the six Ca'lako cross the river quietly and then suddenly rise out of the river bed, each surrounded by a group of singers from his kiva, all singing antiphonal songs. This is the most impressive moment in the Ca'lako ceremonies. The songs are magnificent, and the sudden appearance of the six giant figures in the moonlight is superb. As soon as they reach the village the groups separate, each going to its own house. Here the mask is set down before the door, surrounded by its group of singers who continue their song, while the impersonators enter and bless the house. The rite of the blessing of the house is beautifully described in the prayer of the Ca'lako (p. 762). The mask is afterwards brought in and set down by the altar, while the impersonators are seated and smoke with their hosts and repeat their long invocation.

During the night the two impersonators dance, sometimes "naked," without mask, and sometimes one of them dances with the effigy. It fills the room, from floor to ceiling, and its crest of eagle feathers brushes the beams. Dancing in the house they resemble nothing so much as animated gargoyles with their huge heads and tiny legs and their clattering beaks. They bend over and clap their beaks in the face of anyone who dozes in the house. In one house where I watched two Ca'lako dancing, they both pursued the visiting Koyemci, clapping their beaks at him, and finally chasing him out through the window. When dancing "naked" the impersonators carry yucca switches which they use on anyone whom they see dozing.

The ceremonies of the following morning have been described by Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, p. 256) and Parsons (Notes on Zuñi, I, 199), and I have nothing to add to these accounts.<sup>56</sup>

A Zuñi informant offers the following comments on the Ca'lako impersonation: "All the priests wanted Ca'lako to come, because he and Saiyataca are the most important ones to bring good luck for the people. At the New Year Pautiwa brings in the crooks for them to come. He brings one crook to each kiva. Then the wo-we take them. During the preceding night the priests have chosen the impersonators for Saiyataca and his companions, but after Pautiwa has been here and gone, the wo-we select the men for Ca'lako, two from each kiva, and they decide who shall have Ca'lako houses. The Ca'lako crook con-

<sup>56</sup> For the running of the Ca'lako and the final episode in their departure, compare the following account of the running of the Shiwanna at Cochiti. (Dumarest, p. 186.) "Each Shiwanna runs four times. If the other runners do not catch them they go away to Wenima. Then the principales summon them back in half an hour for another race. They run again. The principales name the runners at large from the pueblo. When the Shiwanna lose, they declare they will give much hiani. If they are not caught they will give nothing. Men make such efforts to win that I have seen them die suddenly from running."



tains one long stick and two short ones.<sup>57</sup> The long one and one short one are for the house which will entertain Ca'lako. The other short one is for the man to take away the bad luck from the village.<sup>58</sup> . . . . After they are through with dancing to take away the bad luck, this part of the crook is planted. The long crook and one short stick are left. The wo'le takes these to the man who will entertain the Ca'lako. This man plants prayer sticks each month in his field on the same day as the Ca'lako impersonators plant at the springs.

"After kohaito, he takes the short stick from the long one and plants it. He still has the long one. Right after Ca'lako there are five days of dancing. On the last day the Koyemci come and take the crook, and all the people in the house stand in the middle of the room while the Koyemci goes around the walls with the crook, taking away all the bad luck. He does this in every room in the house and then takes the crook to the plaza. He plants it later with his own prayer sticks.

"After Pautiwa brings in the crooks, the Ca'lako people begin to learn their prayers from the wo'le. They pray for all the people and for all good things. When Ca'lako comes in in the evening the owner of the house has a cigarette ready, which he gives him to smoke. Then he says, 'How have you prayed for us? If you tell us that, we shall be very glad to know it.' Then he starts to pray:

" 'I have come from the sacred lake and I have come by all the springs.' (Then he names all the springs where the Zuñi people stopped when they came up.) 'I have come to see my people. For many years I have heard of my people living here at Itiwan'a and for long I have wanted to come. I want them to be happy, and I have been praying for them; and especially I want the women to be fortunate with their babies. I bring my people all kinds of seeds, all the different kinds of corn and all different kinds of fruit and wild green things. I have been praying for my people to have long life; and whoever has an evil heart should stand up in the daylight. I have been praying that my people may have all different kinds of seeds and that their rooms may be full of corn of all colors and beans of all colors and pumpkins and water gourds, and that they may have plenty of fresh water, so that they may look well and be healthy because of the pumpkins and the beans and the corn. I want to see them healthy.

" 'As I was coming by Rainbow Spring, there was a frog with red legs ready to come with me. I did not want anyone to miss me, so I brought him with me. Then I came to P'ocowa and there was a little duck ready to come with me, so I brought him along too, because I did not want anyone to stay behind. All the springs I passed, and

<sup>57</sup> This is incorrect. There are three short sticks. The third is given to the impersonator of Ca'lako, who plants it with his first monthly offering.

<sup>58</sup> A rite of exorcism held after the New Year. Each kiva sends in one masked god to go about the village. They do not all come the same day.

everywhere some one was ready to come with me. I did not want anyone to stay back, so they have all come with me here. They will bring my people long life, and so I did not want any one of them to stay behind. We have all come. We are all here, bringing you good fortune. I want you to be happy. I wish you to be well and to have strong hearts. I have brought you seeds to plant with your crops next spring. I want your houses to be full of seeds and I have prayed that you may be fortunate with your babies, and that no one in this house may drop down. Yes, I have worked hard and prayed for all my people. I do not want any of the roots to rot. I do not want anyone to sicken and die, but I want everyone to stand up firmly on his feet all year. This is how I have prayed for you.

" 'I was poor when I was a little boy, but my fathers, the priests, have thought of me. Someone wise has picked me out. It was in their minds to pick me out and here I am. I was poor, but they have thought of me in their prayers and wanted me to come. So I have come up that you may all be happy tonight.'

"So he finishes, and they set down meat for him to eat. Then they take some of the meat in paper bread, and they go out with the wo'le to Wide River and feed it to the people of the Sacred Lake.

"When Ca'lako comes he brings in all different kinds of seeds, wild things, and peaches and pumpkins and beans and corn. Then when spring comes, the man who has had Ca'lako house plants these seeds in his fields."

### THE INITIATION

This rite, through which all boys pass between the ages of 5 and 9 (the age may be delayed now, due to the irregular celebration of the ceremony) is called i'pu'anaḱā—initiation, the same word that is used for initiation of adults into esoteric societies. It is not an initiation in our sense of admitting the novice into esoteric mysteries. The children learn nothing of the mysteries of the cult at this time and are not yet entitled to participate in its rituals. This final admission is deferred to a later date, when youth is believed to have reached years of understanding (10 to 14, depending on the boy's natural discretion). However, it partakes of the essence of Zuñi initiation, which is the formation of a bond between the individual and powerful supernatural forces. Initiations into special cults are always "to save one's life," from witches, from one's victim in war, from supernatural pursuit. In the case of children, they are initiated also "to save them; to make them valuable."<sup>59</sup> Before this they have no ceremonial status. If they should die they could not enter Koluwala'wa.<sup>60</sup> The rite, therefore, is similar in purpose to the Christian baptism,

<sup>59</sup> A'tehyaḱāna, the word has a double meaning.

<sup>60</sup> There is some confusion in regard to this point, but the most orthodox opinion seems to be that only the initiated may enter the dance house of the gods. There seems to be a modern softening of this doctrine.

which tentatively admits the child to the congregation of the elect until, having reached the age of understanding, he establishes his relations with the supernatural by voluntarily partaking of communion, just as the Zuñi child must, after reaching years of discretion, complete his initiation by being inducted into the mysteries of the cult.<sup>61</sup>

The enormous importance of the rite of flagellation in this ceremony establishes it as primarily a ritual of exorcism and purification.<sup>62</sup>

The preliminary initiation of boys into the katcina cult should be held quadrennially in the spring of the year. It has not been held, however, since 1919, due to the absence of boys in school and changes in the hierarchy. The ceremony was commanded by the priests for the spring of 1929. Unfortunately the writer has never witnessed this important ceremony, so the following pages must be considered merely as notes to fuller accounts. The ceremony is described by Stevenson, Fifth and Twenty-third Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and best of all in the unpublished Benedict manuscript.

When the ceremony is to be held the head of the Kāklo cult receives from the priests at Itiwana a *temnan'e*, his order to serve. He notifies other members of the cult group and immediately they start nightly meetings to rehearse their "talk," review the various rituals, and otherwise prepare for their ceremony. The ceremony is timed so that the final public rites fall on the day of the full moon of the third month following the solstice.<sup>63</sup> The retreat, therefore, begins when the moon is six days old. On this night the Kāklo people get their mask and go after midnight to dress at White Rocks. See below (p. 981), for accounts of the ceremony on this night.

Kāklo leaves Sand Hill (near White Rocks) at sunrise and comes rapidly to the village, borne by the Koyemci. He visits the six kivas and departs at sunrise the following day. In each of the kivas he recites his *Teimiḱānapka penan'e* (talk of the first beginning). The recital in each kiva consumes over three hours. Kāklo speaks very

<sup>61</sup> The writer, however, fails to find any validity in Mrs. Stevenson's distinction of "involuntary" and "voluntary" initiations. The second initiation is no more voluntary than the first. The Zuñis certainly do not use any such terms, nor have they any such feeling concerning them.

<sup>62</sup> The use of flagellation is discussed in another place, p. 506.

<sup>63</sup> I am indebted to Doctor Parsons for pointing out the striking coincidence in time with Easter. Easter in western Christian churches falls on the first Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox; in other words, shortly after the third full moon after the winter solstice. In certain villages of Mexico it is customary for men to whip their little boys in the church on Sabata Gloria (Holy Saturday) "to make them grow." The importance of rites of flagellation in the Good Friday observances of the Penitentes need scarcely be pointed out. It is also interesting to note in this connection that the spring months from Easter until Corpus Christi in all Catholic countries are the usual time for administering first communion to children from the ages of 6 to 9.

rapidly and without pause. His "talk" is the longest of any of the kateinas and the most esoteric.<sup>64</sup>

In the kivas are all the officials of the kotikān're. As soon as Kāklo leaves each kiva, the officials there assembled appoint the impersonators of the two Sālimopiya and the other gods who come with them and who are considered as belonging to the Sālimopiya party. They plant prayer sticks the day following their appointment and for eight days observe strict retreat.

Meanwhile the Koyemci go around to all the houses to learn the names of children who are to be whipped. Each Koyemci takes a certain number of houses and remembers the names for these houses, but Tsitsikā must remember them all.

The parents of boys to be initiated notify the boy's ceremonial father—the husband, son, or brother of the woman who first touched him at birth. If he has no father, or if his rightful father, for one reason or another, does not wish to serve, another man is selected. Any boy over 5 who has not already been initiated will be initiated at this ceremony.

Meanwhile in the houses of the boys' aunts (fathers' sisters) the women of their fathers' clan grind for the food that must be given to the ceremonial father. The full account of gift exchanges in connection with this ceremony must be reserved for another place.

On their visits to the boys' houses the Koyemci appoint those who are to cook the dishes of beans of various colors for the gods. To be so selected is a very great honor. On the final day the Koyemci take these bowls of bean stew to the kiva.<sup>65</sup>

On the eighth night the Kāklo people again go to White Rocks and enter the village at daybreak. He visits all the kivas again, reciting in each an abbreviated version of his chant. He leaves the village when he hears the approach of the other kateinas. The following gods in mask and costume come into the village from the west in the evening:

Kolowisi and Tsitsikā.  
Two Muluktakā.

<sup>64</sup> The text recorded by Mrs. Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, pp. 43-88, is not the complete "talk." A member of the Kāklo cult explained that it was a recital of the order of episodes occurring in "talk" but not the talk itself. The other explanation is that it is the talk used by Kāklo on his second visit, eight days later. On this occasion he stays in the village only from sunrise until sunset, and recites in each kiva an abbreviated version of his earlier talk. But the text as recorded would scarcely fill the two hours allotted to each kiva. Furthermore, the style of the text, so different from the imaginative poetic style of other rituals, lends weight to the theory that it is a mnemonic device. Unfortunately I did not have an opportunity to record the text in full. My connections with the Kāklo priesthood were formed too late in my visit to get this text. The songs of the Koyemci as recorded by Mrs. Stevenson are substantially correct. This is one of the most important of Zuñi songs. It is a great favorite. Everyone knows it and sings it on all occasions, especially for children. Presumably it is intelligible to the Zuñi but no one can explain it, even those who would gladly do so.

<sup>65</sup> The initiates must eat no meat for four days following their initiation. I did not ascertain whether this restriction falls on the impersonators. If so it would explain why beans are required. On the other hand, compare the importance of beans in the Hopi festival Powamū at which children are initiated.

The Koyemci.

Ahe'a.

Twelve Sälimopiya (two each of the six colors).

Two Lelacoktipona.

Two Nawico.

Two Anahoho.

Cula-witsi.

Two Upo'yona.

Four Saiyati'a.

They go into Hekäpa'wa kiva for the night. There are probably night ceremonies of some sort.

The first event of the following day is the dancing of Hacinakwe (see below) at sunrise. Early in the morning Ahe'a and the two Muluktakä, carrying young spruce trees, dance with Kolowisi in Hekäpa'wa plaza.

Meanwhile the members of the Great Fire Society have been setting up their altars and meal paintings in He'iwa and Ohewa kivas.<sup>66</sup>

At about noon the Sälimopiya come out as related in the following native account:

"In Heiwa kiva are two yellow Sälimobiya with two Lelacoktipona. Then one of the yellow Sälimobiya and one Lelacoktipona come out and go around to show the people that they are ready to go in and drink to become frenzied.<sup>67</sup> One Sälimobiya and one Lelacoktipona remain in Heiwa kiva all the time. When the people see them come out they are careful not to let the children go out. Finally they go into Heiwa kiva and drink from the "spring." Then they go out again and go around and go into Muhewa kiva. Here they walk up and down the room four times. The blue Sälimobiya and four Sayalia stay in this kiva. When the yellow Sälimobiya comes in one blue Sälimobiya goes out and shows the people that he is ready to drink. Then he drinks in Heiwa kiva and comes out and goes around the village and goes into Teupawa kiva. He walks up and down the room four times. Here are the red Sälimobiya and two Nawico. Then one red Sälimobiya and one Nawico come out and the others remain in the kiva. Then they do the same. After the red Sälimobiya has drunk he goes to Ohewa and here are the white Sälimobiya and Anahoho. One of each come out and go to Heiwa and the white Sälimobiya drinks<sup>68</sup> and they come down and go to Uptsanawa kiva. Here are the speckled Sälimobiya and Cula-witsi. There is only one Cula-witsi. Then one Sälimobiya comes out and goes to Heiwa kiva and drinks and goes to Hëkiapawa, where the black Sälimobiya and Upo'yona stay.

<sup>66</sup> In 1919 there was great difficulty because the Great Fire Society man who "knows how" to make these paintings refused to do them until the head of the Onawa priesthood (a personal enemy whom he wished to humble) came and begged him to do it. His vanity thus assuaged, he consented. He has since died, and there is great concern felt as to who will succeed him. He had a reputation, and indeed bragged about being "stingy" with esoteric knowledge.

<sup>67</sup> This is in the morning.

<sup>68</sup> Anahoho does not drink, but stands on the roof of the kiva while the white Sälimobiya goes in.



Then one black Sälīmobiya and one Upo'yona come out and drink. Then they go to Muhewa kiva, and they know that every one has drunk. Then the second pairs that had stayed in all this time start to come out and go around, beginning with the ones in Heiwa kiva. After they have all drunk they all come out and go in pairs around the village to take the bad luck away.

"Then the people all come out. The man of the house makes the road for the katecinas and then runs away. One of the Sälīmopiya runs after him and whips him to take away the bad luck.<sup>69</sup> Before they go out the wo'le tells them, 'Now, my children, you will go around and look at the village. You will look carefully, and if anyone is not carrying his mother (i. e., an ear of corn) you will not spare him. Be strong and whip him hard. These are the only ones you will whip. But be careful. Look carefully and do not whip anyone who is carrying corn, and do not whip anyone who is carrying water, and do not whip any woman who is with child.'<sup>70</sup> After everyone has drunk, and after they have gone around whipping for a little while, then the Sayali'a comes out. Then they all go around the village. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon they are called,<sup>71</sup> and all the katecinas go into Hekiapawa kiva. Here the yucca is ready for them, great bunches of it, and at one end it is tied round and round into a great ball. As soon as one bunch becomes soft they go back to the kiva for another bunch.

"Then they all come out and go to the dance plaza. The pekwin comes first, and then one yellow Sälīmopiya, then one blue, one red, one white, one black, one speckled, then one Lelacoktipona, one Nawico, one Upo'yona, two Anahoho and Culawitsi. The others are still in Hekiapawa. The katecina chief and the katecina pekwin look after the children in the plaza and see that their fathers do not put too many blankets on them. Then they divide the children into two groups, and when the katecinas are all in line in the plaza, the fathers carry in their children, and the Koyemci count them. Then the first one, the yellow Sälīmobiya, whips them four times and then they go on to the next one. They go down the whole line, six Sälīmobiya, one Lelacoktipona, one Nawico, two Anahoho, one Culawitsi. When they have been whipped by Culawitsi they go up the ladder to Heiwa kiva. The boy looks at the pictures on the wall,<sup>72</sup> and he takes the feather from one of them.

<sup>69</sup> Anahoho mounts to the housetop. Here someone from the house brings him a basket or a pottery jar. He waves this around and throws it down into the yard where the Sälīmobiya are waiting. At Acoma at one point of the initiation ceremonies, immediately before the whipping, the cacique destroys a pottery bowl filled with ashes mixed with water. (White ms.)

<sup>70</sup> During Powamu the Hopi whipping katecinas who go about the village whip to remove sickness and "bad luck" but especially for barrenness. (Cf. Roman Lupercalia.)

<sup>71</sup> Nawico do not go around, but stand on the north side of the church watching the shadow. When the shadow of the church is 3 feet wide, they call the dancers.

<sup>72</sup> There is great confusion as to whether these paintings are on the wall or on the floor. I believe they are mask paintings on the floor.



"The boys always want to be whipped first, so as to get the feather of an important katecina like Pautiwa, or one of the nice-looking katecinas. There is one katecina for each boy that is whipped, and if there are many boys they have to draw all the funny katecinas like Ho'wiwi. Tsitsikya keeps track of the children and their names and sees that everything is right.<sup>73</sup> The boys just go down into the kiva and get their feathers and come back to the plaza.

"After the first group of boys have all been whipped, the pekwin takes the katecinas back to Hekiapawa kiva, and the second set comes out. They whip the second group of boys and after they are finished the pekwin takes them back. Then the Sayalia come out, four of them. They come to the plaza and all the little boys are there. Then one little boy kneels down in front of his father, with two women, one on each side, holding his blankets. The Sayalia stand in pairs facing each other, with the boy in the center. They are very terrible looking and jump around all the time shaking their rattles, and the little boys are terribly frightened. They are not afraid of the Sälimobiya because they are pretty katecinas who come to dance in the winter time with society songs, but the Sayalia are always dangerous. After each whipping the katecina chief and the katecina pekwin remove one blanket. If the father tries to shield the little boy by putting his own leg over the child's back, they will surely kill the father. The Koyemci stand beside them and count the strokes. The little boys cry terribly. They always whip first the boys who have beans cooking in their houses, first the boy who has the yellow beans, then the boy who has the blue beans, and so on.

"After the whipping, the boys are taken to the kiva to have feathers tied in their hair, and later to Hekapawa where Kolowisi vomits for them water and seeds."

For four nights the novices fast from animal food. On the fourth morning the ceremonial father removes the boy's hair feather, the symbol of his novitiate, and takes him to his house where his head is bathed. He is given meat to eat.<sup>74</sup> Again there are exchanges of gifts.

#### KÄKLO

(Plate 28, a)

*Costume.*—"On the head, hawk feathers bound to a reed with a fringe of goat's hair. Over each ear a squash blossom. These used to be made of dyed rabbit fur wound over four little sunflower stalks. Now they use red yarn. He wears two squash blossoms so that the people may have many squashes and melons. Other katecinas wear only one. Around the face is painted the rainbow and the milky way. The lines under the eyes and mouth are rain drops.

<sup>73</sup> It was estimated by Zufis that there would be 149 children to be whipped in 1929. So the Koyemci said.

<sup>74</sup> Compare similar ceremony in society initiations.



CA'LAKO



MASKS APPEARING AT THE INITIATION  
*a*, Kuklo; *b*, Hemokatsik; *c*, Le'acokupona.

"He wears a white shirt, formerly made of buckskin, but now made of cotton. Over this he wears an embroidered blanket folded and fastened on the right shoulder with tassels of yarn of all colors. Embroidered kilt with blue band, embroidered Hopi sash, red woman's belt. White buckskin leggings, fringed in front. Blue moccasins. Yarn on both legs, with little bells on right. Beads and yarn around the neck and on right wrist. Beads and bow bracelet on left wrist. The whole body is painted white, except a strip from the chest to the navel.

"In his right hand he carries a duck called *neton'e* (sticking out in front). He holds it in his hand while he tells his story in the kivas, and if anyone falls asleep during the narration he hits him on the head with the duck's bill. When *Kāklo* is to come, the *Kāklo* priest looks for a wild duck. When he finds one in some lake he kills it and removes the skin without cutting. When the skin is dry it is stuffed with cotton and seeds. This is what *Kāklo* brings."

*Ceremonies.*—"Kāklo comes only for the initiation of young boys, but at that time he comes twice. He comes first when the moon is six days old. Then the *Kāklo* priesthood<sup>75</sup> comes together in the house of the oldest member. Here they get all their things ready.<sup>76</sup> Then during the night they go to the house of the *Katcina Pekwin*. He keeps the *Kāklo* mask in his house, but he himself will not touch it. During the night two men of the Corn clan come.<sup>77</sup> The women of the house of the *Katcina Pekwin* have been cooking, and when the Corn clan men come they set out meat and paper bread and they eat. After they have eaten they bring out the mask. They spread an embroidered blanket in the valuable place. Then the *katcina pekwin* takes the men into his back room. They take up the mask and say, 'Now, our father, we have come here for you. Your days have been made when you will come in. Do not bring us any trouble, but bring us long life for all your children. You will come and tell the story of how we came up here. You will bring us all long life. Do not bring trouble or danger.' So they say. Then they take the mask out and bring it to where they have spread out the blanket. They make a cross of corn meal on the blanket and set the mask on it and cover it with a buckskin. Then they sit down and wait for the *Kāklo* priests, the two men of the Corn clan, and all the people in the house.

"At about midnight the *Kāklo* priests come in, first the man who is going to impersonate *Kāklo* and then the others behind him. The

<sup>75</sup> There are at present four members in this priesthood. The chief priest died in 1924. The men meet at frequent intervals to practice their "talk." They take turns in impersonating *Kāklo* so that even if the older members die there will always be someone who knows the "talk." During the months following their appointment until their ceremony they meet, like the *Saiyatata* impersonators, every night.

<sup>76</sup> The day before their leader has notified the father of the *Koyemci* of the approaching ceremony.

<sup>77</sup> The men of the Corn clan are the same men who look after the *Kāna-kwe* masks, "because corn is the most important of all things." Note, however, the striking similarity of masks. Also *Kāklo* first visits *teupawa kiva*, the kiva associated with the *Kāna-kwe*.

people in the house have seats ready for them. They say a short prayer and then they sit down. Then the man who is going to be Kāklo says, 'Now you, our people, are waiting here in this room for us. We have come for our father. Every night we have looked to the west and now the moon is about to grow up. We have come to our father, where he is sitting very still. Now his time has come. We have come here where you are waiting for us.' Then everyone says, 'Yes, indeed.' Then they eat. After they have eaten they take a roll of paper bread and pray for the people of the house who have taken care of the mask. After they have prayed the man who is going to impersonate Kāklo takes up the mask. Then the others follow him and they go out. They take the paper bread with them and before they go to their house they go to Wide River and sacrifice the food to their dead predecessors.<sup>75</sup>

"Then they go to the house of the head of the cult. They get everything ready. Before they went for the mask they had practiced, so now when they come in they rest. When it begins to get light they go out to White Rocks. They take their mask and clothing with them and when they get there the one who is going to be Kāklo dresses. Soon afterwards the Koyemci come there, but they go to a separate place not far off and dress. The man who is going to be Kāklo dresses and the others help him. When he is ready his people say to him, 'Now you are ready. Here is your nētone.' The Koyemci are already dressed and are lying down on the hillside hiding themselves. When Kāklo receives his duck he starts to shake it and the little bells on its neck begin to jingle. Then he begins to say, 'Kāklo, Kāklo, Kāklo,' very fast.

"He keeps on for a long time and then he says, 'Grandfathers!' (a'nanai!). Then the Koyemci jump up and say, 'What is it, grandchild? Have you come? We did not see you.' They pretend that they have just come from the Sacred Lake and have come up from the spring. So they come to him and he says, 'Grandfathers, sing for me.' Then they start their song. He calls them again and says, 'Carry me on your back and let us go to Itiwana.' Then one of the Koyemci comes to him and offers to carry him, but he will not get on his back. He strikes him with his duck. He picks out the smallest one to carry him, and finally they start. They sing as they go. In their song the Koyemci always call him Iwaiyuhuna. This is his name. Kāklo is only his call. They take turns carrying him in. Whenever they change they spread out a blanket and put him down. Each time they set him down he gives his call and says, 'Grandfathers, carry me on your backs!' When they come near the village they set him down for the last time at the mission school. He will not let them carry him over the bridge. He strikes each one

<sup>75</sup> A prayer recited by the Kāklo chief at some time during this night is printed in text on p. 690.

in turn as they come to take him. Then they say, 'I think our grandchild is afraid of this thing.' The river is full of snow and ice, for it is winter, but they walk right in, and the mud and slush come up to their waists. Kāklo has on all his fine, valuable clothing, but they drop him right into the river. They handle him very roughly and he treats them just the same. When they come out of the river on the north side they are all wet. The people are all on the housetops to watch them come in, for Kāklo comes only once in four years.

"When they come in they take him to tcupawa kiva. When they get to the foot of the ladder they make him sit down. He makes a lot of trouble there, for he wants the smallest and weakest of the Koyemci to carry him up the ladder. Then the smallest one carries him up and the others help him. They stand below him and support him so that he will not fall. When they get to the top he sits down in the hatchway and the Koyemci sing for him. They sing, 'Now, our grandson Kāklo, you will take one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight steps to go down and to go to the place prepared for you. You will sit down there.' Then Kāklo goes down and sits at the foot of the ladder in the kiva. Then they sing again, a different song. 'Now you will use your own feet to go to the decorated place.' As they sing they run backward. After they repeat this four times he goes to the decorated place. In the kiva are the heads of tcupawa kiva and all the tcupawa people, the Kāklo priesthood, and the Sālīmōpiya wo'le. Kāklo sits down in the corner and the rest of the priesthood sit beside him. Then he starts his prayer. He starts just as the sun comes up. It takes about two or three hours. The wives and sisters of the Kāklo priests have all been grinding corn for his drink. When the women bring the meal the wo'le takes it and transfers it to another basket and fills the women's basket with all kinds of rubbish to tease them. As Kāklo comes to the end of his prayer he says, 'And in eight days I shall come again.' Then he finishes and goes right out and goes to muhewa kiva. The rest of the Kāklo priesthood have already left and gone to another kiva. As soon as Kāklo goes out the head men of tcupawa kiva select the men to personate the katchinas at the initiation. They select two to be Sālīmōpiya and two to be Nawico. Kāklo goes to all the kivas in the following order, tcupawa, muhewa, ohewa, uptsanawa, heiwa, hekiapawa, and when he has been to all the kivas he goes to Wide River. Here the other Kāklo priests meet him and help him undress. Then they take the mask and the clothing back to the house of the head priest.

"On the eighth day in the morning Kāklo comes again and gives his talk again in each of the six kivas. This time, however, he does not give his whole talk because he must finish in hekiapawa kiva before Kolowisi comes in. He comes to hekiapawa at about sunset and a



little after dark he hears Kolowisi blowing on the great shell. Then he stops at once and gets right up and goes out and goes to Wide River. Then the other Kāklo priests meet him there and help him undress and they go back to the house of the head priest.

"Early the next morning just as the sun comes up Kāklo comes in gain from a Pumpkin Place<sup>80</sup> with one Kāna'kwe and all different kinds of katecinas. They are not dressed in full costume, but they wear masks and are just wrapped in blankets. Kāklo comes ahead and makes the road for them. They go around the village to bring good luck for the children who are to be initiated. Long ago each man carried an ear of corn with him and when they had gone around the village he went to the house of his father's clansmen. Here everyone sprinkled his head with water. Then they took him into the back room and he undressed there and went home. Now all the men do not carry corn, so they just go around the village and then Kāklo takes them all to Wide River and they undress there. This is called *haciatinakwe*.

"When Kāklo goes out to Wide River the other men of the Kāklo priesthood are waiting for him there. The katecina pekwin and the two men of the Corn clan also go there. They take the Kāklo impersonator to the house of the katecina pekwin. All the relatives of the katecina pekwin are there and all the women of the Corn clan. He comes in and there are many women there. They set out a bowl of water and then they all sprinkle his head. His father uses an ear of corn, but the women just dip the water with their hands. Then they all eat. While he is eating the two men of the Corn clan take the mask to the back room where it is kept. Then after the Kāklo impersonator has eaten he gets up and says, 'Now, my people, be happy.' Then he leaves and goes home. That is all."

*Mythology.*—Kāklo's myth has been recorded by Cushing in his *Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths*,<sup>81</sup> and an abstract of his version is given herewith. None of my informants knew of the existence of this myth. In folklore Kāklo is the kopekwin of katecina village, and one of the rulers of the katecinas.

Kāklo, elder brother of Siwulu'siwa and wisest of the seven sons of Kowimas, first sent out by his father to search for the middle, wandered to the north. His face became white from the frozen vapor of his breath; he was blinded by the light and his face became streaked with tears, and his mouth splayed with calling. So he died and was transformed. He cried aloud and duck heard him and offered to guide him. He hung tinkling shells on duck's neck to guide him. But Kāklo could not follow her into the lake that lay across their path. Rainbow-worm hearing the song of the sacred shells calls to

<sup>80</sup> East of the village.

<sup>81</sup> Thirteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 406 et seq.

Ḳāklo, offering to bear him. Ḳāklo offers him a prayer stick with lacowa'we of duck feathers. When he offers the prayer stick to rainbow, who bends down to receive it, the rainbow reflexion becomes fixed on Ḳāklo's forehead. So by bending and straightening, rainbow carries Ḳāklo to the south and sets him down on the northern shore of the sacred lake. As he rests here, after all his misfortunes, he hears from the conversation of the Koyemci all the evils that have befallen his people and is further saddened.

Duck therefore goes to koluwalawa and is conducted within by a Sālimopiya. Pautiwa questions him and he reports the sad plight of Ḳāklo. Pautiwa orders duck to entice the Koyemci to the lake, and, when their father recognized Ḳāklo's shells, to bid him make a raft and assist Ḳāklo to reach koluwalawa.

Duck does as Pautiwa bids him. The Koyemci meet their brother, and, singing a dirge-like song, bear him to the lake. The Koyemci may not enter koluwalawa (they are not dead), but Ḳāklo, conducted by Sālimopiya, enters, scattering meal before him. As he enters Cula'witsi lights his torch, and so Ḳāklo regains his sight. He is welcomed by all the priests of the masked gods. Pautiwa decrees that since Ḳāklo was a good listener and wise, he should be the keeper of the myths of the koko, and their speaker. There he learns all the customs and rituals of the koko.

The Sālimopiya conduct him out. Hearing the tinkle of his shells, the Koyemci come to meet him in the sunrise. He commands them to carry him to his people so that they can bring them the messages with which he has been intrusted, and instruct them in the rites of the katecinas.

So, singing, they bring him to the village of the people. Here he is recognized and welcomed with honor. Ḳāklo brings the people news of their lost children, and recites for them in all the six assembly houses the whole of his Tcimḡānapkā pena'we. Ḳāklo gives his words (by spirits into the mouth) to four of his listeners who hereafter constitute his cult.

As he and the Koyemci leave, the Sālimopiya, fast runners of the koko, bring in the two Anahoho, Ḳāklo's younger brothers, also sent out ahead of Siwulu'siwa as messengers. They had sought Ḳāklo in the deserted villages, and finding him not they smote their faces with their sooty hands.

As soon as they arrived, they began to visit the housetops, throwing down from each baskets and jars, which the Sālimopiya destroyed as offerings to the dead and the katecinas.

HE-'MOKĀTSIK<sup>1</sup>

(Usually called Ahe'a from her call)

(Plate 28, b)

*Costume.*—On her head she wears a wig of white goat's hair. The mask is a regular face mask with the long chin and nose fastened on. The face is painted all white with red spots like Komoḡātsik<sup>1</sup>.

"She is not so well dressed as the picture would indicate. She has no nice pitone, and no nice white moccasins, but only the short moccasins of buckskin. Long ago she did not wear the cotton underdress. She used to wear the embroidered Zuñi dress (black with blue embroidery), but now she wears a Hopi dress."

She carries spruce in both hands to make the world green.

*Ceremonies.*—She comes for the initiation. She comes in in the evening with Kolowisi and goes into hekiapawa kiva with Kolowisi and the black Sālimopiya. In the morning she dances in the west plaza and suckles Kolowisi.

"She may come in with any dance, because she comes to bring long life, because no one wants to die young. She is always funny when she comes. She always says, "Ahe'a," and sighs. Sometimes when she is dancing with Hilili she gets the songs mixed and dances out of step. Then the Hilili get angry and strike her and knock her down. But she never gets angry when her children knock her down, and if anyone gets angry easily we always tell them 'Ahea never gets angry the way you do.' Everyone likes to see her come."

*Myth.*—Hemokātsik<sup>1</sup> is the great-great-grandmother of the katcinas. Over in the sacred lake the younger ones call her "older sister."<sup>82</sup> She is the great-grandmother of the little ones like Hehe'a and Nawico. She is the only one there who grows old. All the others are young. But here at Itiwana the people used to die when they were young, so they sent in one very old katcina that the people of Itiwana might live to old age. That is why she comes.

Long ago they were having an initiation at Itiwana and over in the Sacred Lake the Sālimobiya and Kolowisi and the two Mulaktakia were ready to come. When Kolowisi was dressed with his fur and feathers, then Hemokātsik said, "I am not going to let my child go alone." Hemokātsik cooks and bakes for Pautiwa and Saiyataca and Ca'lako and all the head men there. They never let her come to Itiwana, and so she just stays there and cooks for them. She is very poor looking, she has no pretty dress and her hair is all tangled, and so they never want her to come. Still she wants to come. So this time

<sup>82</sup> Ikilaci, older sister. I was informed this is correct Zuñi usage, but Kroeber does not record the term. Ikina is the man's term for younger sister. Ikilaci is, therefore, "old little sister," and is a semihumorous term similar in feeling tone to a diminutive.

Kāklo said, "No, you must not go. You can not go there. You are too old. And all our young ones look so pretty. You will disgrace them. We do not want you to go with all the pretty young ones." But she did not want her child to go without her. She is the nurse of Kolowisi, and so she wanted to go with him. So they sent her into the back room where Pautiwa and Saiyatata were sitting. They left her there to stay at home. Then the Koyemci and the Sālimobiya took Kolowisi out of the lake and the two Muluktakia came along with the tree. They told Kolowisi not to cry out lest she should hear him and want to come along. So they came out quietly. But as they left there was a great deal of confusion and they all asked one another, "Have you forgotten anything?" "Have you got your rattle?" "Have you got your seeds?" "Are you ready?" After they had gone it was very quiet so Hemōkātsiki asked, "Are my children still here?" and she looked around. Then Pautiwa and Saiyatata told her, "Yes, they are still here. They are not going to have the initiation after all. They thought that you were going to follow them and so they postponed it."

Then they sat with her for a while, and after a while they became tired. Then they went out to practice their prayers. Saiyatata went out to pray and Pautiwa went into the other room where the people were all dancing. Then she got up and went out. She looked for Kolowisi and could not find him, so she knew that they had gone. Then she said, "I am going anyway. I don't care how poor and old I am, I am going. They have treated me badly, my grandchildren, but I shall not be angry with them. I am going after them."

Then Pautiwa came back to his room again and she was gone. He said, "Our great-great-grandmother has gone after the grandchildren. Please go after her and bring her back. Do not let her go there. We do not want her to show herself at the initiation." Pautiwa said that to the young dancers like the little Hehe'a and the little Nawico and the people in the mixed dance.

So they went after her. She had only gone a little way when they caught up with her, and they tried to bring her back. But she ran away and went along holding her knees. Then the young ones got tired and said, "Oh, let her go!" So they came back and told Pautiwa, "She went. We tried to catch her, but she ran away and would not come. So she has gone." Then Pautiwa said, "Well, all right. I have changed my mind. She will go there and give my people long life, so that they may grow old as she is. I do not want my people to die young. She shall go and wait on her great-grandchildren so that they may grow to be old."

As she went along she was saying, "Oh dear, oh dear! Ahe'a, ahe'a! I am the one to bring long life to my people. I shall cause them all to grow old. They shall live to take care of their great-grandchildren

as I am doing now. I shall make them all grow old." So she walked along wiping her face and holding her knees. She was a very, very old woman, but she was acting as though she were young.

So she came by the Place-of-the-winds<sup>83</sup> in the evening. All of the Sālimoṗiya and Kolowisi and the others were waiting at Hepatina<sup>84</sup> and there she caught up with them. Then the Sālimoṗiya said, "Why have you come? We left you at home." Then right away she exposed her breast and Kolowisi came and sucked at her breast. When the Sālimoṗiya saw that they did not say anything more, because Kolowisi always wanted to nurse from Hemokātsik<sup>1</sup>. Then the Sālimoṗiya said, "All right," for they knew that if Kolowisi nursed from her he would have a great deal of water to throw up with the seeds for the boys. So they came in and went into hekiapawa kiva late in the evening. When Kolowisi went into hekiapawa, Hemokyatsi went in with him and lay down beside him as if she were his mother. The black Sālimoṗiya went into hekiapawa with Kolowisi.

The Muluktakia do not bring in the tree at night, but they leave it at Where-the-pumpkin-stands and in the morning they bring it in for Kolowisi. Then they dance, holding the tree, and Hemokātsik<sup>1</sup> comes out and dances, holding the green branches of spruce in her hands. Then she comes to Kolowisi, where they have set him up with his head sticking through the wall of hekiapawa kiva, and she suckles him, and he sticks out his tongue and licks her breast. As she dances early in the morning she tells the people that she is praying for them to be happy and to have long life that they may grow to be old like herself; and she tells them that she will be their great-grandmother.

That is the way she comes. Her children still treat her badly the way they did long ago, but here everyone likes to see her.

#### SĀLIMOṖIYA

(Plates 30, 31)

*Costume.*—On the head laṗaṗowa, made of parrot feathers bound to a stick of sagebrush, with iridescent duck feathers and feathers of the sandhill crane. "They use sagebrush because sagebrush is hard to get through and they want Sālimoṗiya to look dangerous." The painting on the side of the face is hepakine. Collar of crow feathers to frighten the children, because the crows bring bad luck.

The blue Sālimoṗiya (lian'ona) has his mask painted with blue gum paint, his body with the juice of black cornstalks (ḡekwi), thighs white. He has big eyes and a long snout.

<sup>83</sup> Pinawa, a ruin about a mile and a half west of Zuñi, on the south side of the river.

<sup>84</sup> A shrine in a field a short distance southwest of Zuñi.



MASKS APPEARING AT THE INITIATION  
*a*, Na'wico; *b*, Anahoboc; *c*, Ujpo'yoma.





MASKS APPEARING AT THE INITIATION: THE SÁLIMOPÍYA  
 a, *Euphonia* (yellow); b, *Liahiwa* (blue); c, *Cilow'ona* (red).

He wears a special kind of kilt called the Sālimoṗiya kilt. It is embroidered like the ceremonial blanket with butterflies and flowers. Blue leather belt. Bare feet with spruce anklets (tsileakwin).

He carries yucca in both hands. The bunch in the right hand he carries with the points forward and uses it to whip people. That in the left hand he does not use, and carries it with the points back. His seeds (blue corn for the blue Sālimoṗiya) are tied in a corn husk to the bunch of yucca in the left hand.

There are 12 permanent Sālimoṗiya masks, two of each color. They are kept in six different houses as follows:

Yellow (huptsinona), K. house No. 142 E, heiwa (also lelacoktipona).

Blue (li'anona), K. house No. 414 Cn, muhewa (sayafia).

White (Eohanona), K. house No. 292 P, ohewa (anahoho).

Red (ciloona), K. house No. 252 Ba, teupawa (nawico).

Black (eikanona), K. house No. 161 P, hekiapawa (uṗo'yona).

Speckled (itaponaona), K. house No. ×163 a, uptsanawa (culawitsi).

*Ceremonies.*—The permanent masks are taken out only for the initiation, once in four years. When the Sālimoṗiya come in the winter they take any masks and paint them like Sālimoṗiya. Sometimes if a man does not want to have a mask made up, he will borrow the permanent mask from the man who keeps it. Then he must count days and plant prayer sticks and pay the keeper of the mask.

There is a special wo'le for the Sālimoṗiya when they come for the initiation. He takes care of the masks, paints them, and puts new feathers on them, and takes care of the clothing. He teaches the impersonators what they must do.

The real Sālimoṗiya come only once in four years. But sometimes they make up Sālimoṗiyas to come with the winter rain dance series. They come at the winter solstice with Teakwena oḱā. When there is to be an initiation they do not come in the winter. (Not correct. They came in 1929.) Two Sālimoṗiya come with the Saiyataca at Ca'lako. (See p. 968.)

The Sālimoṗiya never come with the mixed dance or with the rain dancers. They never come in summer. They always make the people unhappy and their breath brings the wind, therefore they never come in summer.

The Sālimoṗiya impersonators are selected in each kiva the day Kāklo comes for the first time. There are two yellow Sālimoṗiya and two Lelacoktipona from Heiwa kiva, two blue Sālimoṗiya (and four Sayafia?) from Muhewa, two white Sālimoṗiya and two Anahohō from Ohewa, two red Sālimobiya and two Nawico from Teupawa, two black Sālimoṗiya and two Uṗo'yona from Hēkiapawa, and two many colored Sālimoṗiya and Culawitsi from Uptsanawa. The next morning all the people selected for the Sālimoṗiya party work on prayer

sticks. When they have finished they go out to Wimayawe ohokinima. They go there to get firewood and to get a strong heart. They come there running and they swallow little round stones so that their hearts may be strong when they whip the boys. They practice running. Then they chop firewood, which they carry home. When they come in they cover their faces with their blankets so as not to see anyone. From this time on until the initiation they are not supposed to see a woman. When they come back to the village each group goes to its own kiva.<sup>85</sup> They bring in firewood to build fires in the kivas, for now they will stay in there. In the evening their wives bring their evening meal, but they do not go in and the men do not even look at them. The wo'le comes out and takes the food and brings it in. They stay in the kiva for seven nights, and on the eighth day Kāklo comes again. During this time the Sālīmōḡiya impersonators practice going down the ladder head first, for this is hard to do. On the fourth night the Sayalia impersonators go in at muhewa kiva.

For further details, and for description of the rôle of the Sālīmōḡiya in the Ca'lako, see p. 968.

#### LE'LACOKTIPONA (WOODEN EARS)

(Plate 28, c)

*Costume.*—The face is painted blue. Across the eyes a stripe of alternating black and white blocks. This is the milky way (upialan'e kucoktapa, milky way striped mark). The ears are painted red and yellow for all the beautiful things that grow on the earth. He wears a downy feather in each ear so that he may hear well. Just as the downy feather moves in the slightest wind, so he can hear the smallest sound. On his head parrot feathers with downy feathers, and three cotton cords hanging down the back of his head. Long mouth painted red; spruce collar.

His body is painted red with yellow marks. The forearms are yellow and the legs below the knee. The knees are red with yellow spots. The thighs white. "The red paint is for the red-breasted birds. The yellow arms and legs are for the yellow birds of summer and for the beautiful things that grow in the earth. The yellow spots on the shoulders and arms and knees are drops of rain falling. The white paint on the thighs is for the sun."

He wears a Sālīmōḡiya kilt with a blue leather belt. Yarn on both legs and on the right wrist. Leather wristlet on left wrist. Beads and yarn around the neck. On the heels bands of porcupine quill work (weliakwine: fur footwear). In both hands he carries bunches of willow switches with bells hanging from them. His seeds are in his whip.

<sup>85</sup> This is the only cult group that uses a kiva for its retreat.

There are two masks. They are kept with the yellow Sālimopīya.

He comes once in four years to initiate the boys. He comes with the yellow Sālimopīya and goes into Heiwa kiva. They do not take out the permanent mask at other times, but they make up a mask like it. Sometimes he comes at koyuptconawa to dance with Hehe'a and the other little dancers. He never comes with the mixed dance.

#### NA'WICO

(Plate 29, a)

*Costume.*—On the head downy feathers and yellow parrot feathers, and two eagle tail feathers and one feather of the chaparral cock. "On his ears are squash blossoms with hair hanging down, so that there may be plenty of melons and squashes. His eyes are painted with little lines running out in all directions for the clouds of all directions. His nose is a zigzag line for the lightning." Spruce collar.

"The body paint is pink dancer's clay mixed with red clay. The arms and legs are painted with corn pollen for the corn. They think the corn is happy if they use corn pollen. He wears a skirt like the Sālimopīya with butterflies embroidered on it. The knees are painted red, the lower legs pink. He has beads and black yarn around his neck and yarn around his legs. No rattles or bells. He carries in both hands bunches of willow sticks tied together with little bells. His seeds are in his willow sticks. He wears a leather belt.

"When he comes with Sālimopīya for the initiation he belongs to Teupawa kiva. His mask is kept with the red Sālimopīya in Badger house (K. 252).

"He comes to look after the time. In the afternoon while the other katecinas are going around he stands near the church dancing. The two of them stand together, marking time and skaking their bells, and looking at the shadow all the time. He lets the other katecinas know when it is time to whip the children. He is dangerous when he whips, but everyone likes to go and watch him while he is watching the shadow, because he is a pretty dancer.

"He always goes down the ladder head first like the Sālimopīya."

*Mythology.*—When the priests decided to initiate their children they set the date that would be best for the initiation. Then they called the katecina chief, because that is something that the katecina chief must decide. So they called him into their ceremonial room. He came in and said, "My fathers, why have you called me? I have come." Then they said, "Now we have our prayer sticks ready. We have made our crooks for the initiation of our boys and everything is ready, and we want to know what time the children should be whipped. Should it be in the morning or the evening or at midday?" He sat down and

thought, "Is there anyone to look after the shadows for us?"<sup>86</sup> We all think a great deal of the church, so someone should watch the shadow of the church, and when the shadow is straight, then that will be the right time for the whipping of the children. I will watch there this afternoon and pick out someone to watch the shadow," so he said. "I will watch this afternoon and see what time is best and let you know." Then he said, "I am going now. I will look at the shadow and then I will come again."

It was about noon when he went out. He went to the church. He started on the south side and went around to the north, and he said, "This will be a good place." So he waited there. Just about 3 o'clock, when the sun turns over a lot, he looked at the shadow and said, "This will be a good time." The shadow was about 3 feet wide. So he went back to the ceremonial room of the priests. He went in and said, "How are you this while?" They answered, "Happily."

Then he said, "I have been at our church. The shadow is about three steps from the wall, and this will be good for the whipping time. Now whom shall we have to whip our children? They must be the daylight people, and who will be a good one to look after the shadow?" They tried the Sālimoṗiya, but they were not good for it, and Lelacoktipona was not good and they knew Uṗo'yona would have to sit in the swing. So then they came to Nawico and they all said "Now there is one who has nothing to do. He will be a good one to watch the shadow. He will come for that. Everyone who comes for this ceremony has something to do but he has nothing to do, so we will have him watch the shadow. All the others will go around to exorcise, and look after the village, but he will stay and watch the shadow."

So they called him. The katcina chief thought of him in a prayer and said, "You are the one we need. Now our people in the Sacred Lake, we need you. Now we have thought of you in this room, and we wish you to come over here. We need you." Nawico heard it right away and he said to Pautiwa, "Did you hear? Our fathers over in Itiwana called for me. Shall I go now or shall I wait? What do you wish me to do?" Pautiwa answered him and said, "Go right away. If they asked for you to come right away they must need you. Go right away. And take this along with you and tell the people, 'I have not come only to watch the shadow, but I will pray for the sweet corn too.' You will take them the sweet corn, because you are the sweet corn, and you will carry the sweet corn seeds." Pautiwa did not want his people to think that one of the katcinas came empty-handed. They had said that Nawico had nothing to do and Pautiwa wanted them to know that he looked after the sweet corn. Therefore he told him to take the sweet corn seeds.

<sup>86</sup> "We always used to look at the sun from the hatchway to see what time to have our meals. We have marked on the floor the place for the morning meal and the place for the evening meal."

So he came. He tied his sweet corn in corn husks in his willow sticks and he came. He passed Wide River. He passed the rat plaza and came to the ceremonial room of the priests. The people saw him coming. Then the katecina chief got up and sprinkled corn meal for him to come in, and he made him sit down. As he sat down he said, "Is there anything you want me to do? I have come." Then the katecina chief said, "My fathers have asked me to come and I have come here. They asked me what time would be best to initiate our boys when the spring comes. These, our fathers, have already settled how many people should come from the sacred lake, and they have settled all things except what time shall be best for the whipping time. They have sent for me for I am the one to decide this, and I have decided that the church shall decide for us, because it is the center of our village. When the shadow of the church shall be three steps wide it will be time for the children to be whipped. And we have been thinking about the different katecinas and we have picked you out to do this, and that is why we have sent for you. What do you think of it?" So he said, "Yes, indeed. I always do what you, our fathers, think is best. We never say no. So I shall be the one who will look after this for you. My fathers, you thought I had nothing to bring with me, but I have the sweet corn seeds, and I have the little beans (nocihwe)." So he took them out of his bundle of sticks and said, "These are my seeds. I have something that belongs to me. And I shall watch the shadow for you. I shall let you know when it is time." So the priests said, "It is well. Thank you, my child. That is what we need you for. Now be happy, for the time will come when you will come here."

So they said, and that is how Nawico got into the initiation ceremony. He comes to watch the shadow, and he tells when it is time for the whipping of the children. When the time comes for the whipping he stands with his younger brother near the church, dancing and marking time and shaking his bells, and looking at the shadow all the time. That is how he comes.

#### ANAHUHO

(Plate 29, b)

*Costume.*—Two sashes sewed together and worn as a breechclout instead of the regular kilt. The sticks he carries have turkey feathers and other feathers of little birds attached to them. The second feather is chaparral cock (pohihi); 3, hawk (tsilelika); 4, blue jay (maiha); 5, swallow (?) (anilawa); 6, humming bird (tanya).

The body is painted with white paint (hekcina kohana). Spruce anklets.

Two masks are kept with white Sālimopiya in Pi'chikwe' clan house (K. 292).



(Ana is an exclamation of distress. The name means "take away bad luck.")

*Ceremonies.*—"Two of them come at the preliminary initiation of boys. They come with the white Sälīmōṣiya. The masks are kept in Parrot clan house and they belong to ohewa kiva. The personator may be from any kiva, but is always selected by the dance director of ohewa kiva.

"When all the Sälīmōṣiya go into the kiva to drink from the 'spring' in order to get frenzied, Anahoho do not go in. They stay in ohewa kiva. Then when the Sälīmōṣiya have drunk they come out and then Anahoho come out and stand on the top of their kiva. Then the Sälīmōṣiya come after them. They do not like them and they knock them down. Anahoho do not carry yucca, but little sticks (yamu lacowapa) and they do not hit anyone with their sticks. They are just to take away the bad luck. (That is during the general rites of exorcism. But later they are given yucca and whip the little boys who are to be initiated.)

"They wear crow feathers because the crow always comes when everything is quiet and no one is looking for a fight and they bring bad luck. Then the crow comes and flies around the village four times, saying, 'Kâ kâ' and the people say, 'What does that mean?' Then he says, 'I came to tell you the Navaho are coming to kill the people,' or something bad like that. That is why they wear crow feathers. The katchinas were with us in this world when we first came up. Once when they were having a dance Anahoho came with their collars of crow feathers and the people all said, 'Something is going to happen.' These people came like crows to warn the people of bad luck. And in the evening the Navaho came and they began to fight. Many Navaho were killed, but none of the Zuñis. Then the elder brother Anahoho dipped his right hand in the blood of the Navaho and put it on his face and the younger one used his left hand. That is how you can tell them apart. And, therefore, they always wear crow feathers, and that is why they are the ones to take away the bad luck. The painting on the side of the mask is like Sälīmōṣiya because they always come with them."

Anahoho has special secret prayers for "taking away the bad luck." The only person who knows these is an albino woman with no ceremonial connection.

#### CULA'WITSİ

Cula'witsi's appearance and his part in the Ca'lako ceremony are described on p 958.

"When Cula'witsi comes in the initiation the man's ceremonial father will always be in the kiva with him and will help him. If he is dead his brother or some other relative will take his place and

bring Cula-witsi in. His father's clan will look after the paint. Five people from his father's clan will paint him. There will be one for each color; black, blue, red, yellow, and white. The ceremonial father will go to the five men of his clan and say, 'I have chosen you to look after the black paint,' and they will all say, 'Yes, I shall do it.' Cula-witsi is very dangerous. If anyone does not believe in the kateinas the color will not stay on if he tries to paint Cula-witsi. It is always very hard to spot him all over.

"At the initiation Cula-witsi comes in with the speckled Sälimoṗiya. After the Sälimoṗiya are through whipping the boys, they all go into hekāpawa kiva and the Sayalia come out. Then when the Sayalia are finished they go to hekāpawa and those that are in there come out and each group goes to its own kiva. Then the pekwin and the komosona tell them, "Now you are going home, but first of all you will take away the bad luck from all of your houses. You will go to all the houses and you will not neglect any of them. And if you go to any house and there is nothing put out with which to take away the bad luck, then you will throw down their chimney, no matter how important the house may be." He means that the people of each house must put out a new bowl or a nice basket or something. The women all make bowls and jars before the initiation and no matter how nice the bowl is, they will always put it up on the house-top to take away the bad luck from the house.

"Now when Cula-witsi goes into uptsanawa kiva he and his father make fire by rubbing two sticks together and ignite cedar bark. They work with the fire until it is burning nicely and then they come out. His father comes first. He wears a white shirt and white trousers and a buckskin over his shoulders. He wears brown leggings and moccasins, and lots of beads and a nice belt. Formerly he used to wear an embroidered sash, but now he wears a silver belt. He has a yucca band around his head and a downy feather in his hair and his face is painted under the eyes with tsuhapa. He carries a bowl of sacred meal and a mi'le. He comes first and Cula-witsi follows, and the speckled Sälimoṗiya. They go to heiwa kiva. They stand in the street at the foot of the ladder and the Sälimoṗiya gives his call and one yellow Sälimoṗiya comes out with Lelacoktipona. They go next to muhewa. They go all around and they go last to hekiapawa.

"Then all of them go all around the village. Each woman has put a bowl or a nice basket on the roof. The Sälimoṗiya and Cula-witsi and his father and all the other kateinas (one of each kind) stand in the street while Anahoho goes up on the roof. He stands over the bowl that has been set out and prays thus: 'Now you have been laid out here for me to take you, no matter how valuable you are. You are the one to take away the bad luck from this house where these people are living. And if anyone in this house has a wrong heart (i. e., if anyone

is sick) you will die instead of him and take away the bad luck.' Then he throws it down, and if it is a bowl it breaks, but if it is a basket, the father of Cula-witsi and one of the Sälīmōpiya step on it and break it and then Cula-witsi burns it with his torch.

"When the people first decided to have an initiation they wondered who would be the one to look after the sun and the fire and they thought of everyone and finally they thought of Cula-witsi and that is why he comes in at that time."

There are two Cula-witsi masks. The one used at Ca'lako is always worn by a boy. It is kept with the Saiyataca masks in House No. 56-7 upstairs. The one used at initiation is worn by a man and is kept with the speckled Sälīmōpiya in X 163a (upstairs).

#### UPO'YONA (COTTON HEAD)

(Plate 29, c)

*Costume.*—On the head downy feathers and yellow parrot feathers; three cotton strings hanging down. His eyes are like Sälīmōpiya. The ears are painted with hakwina, the black paint used for painting prayer sticks.

The body is painted with pink clay (kok an hekätco). The forearms are yellow, also the legs. The knees are red, so that he may be a good runner. The runners in stick races always have their knees painted red. He has black yarn and little bells (musilili) around both legs. He carries willow sticks in both hands when he comes at the initiation and to dance for society songs. Blue leather belt, white kilt, beads on back and front like Pautiwa and the valuable dancers.

His mask is kept with that of Pautiwa in the Pi'chikwe house, i. e., ĩeciwan'i (K. 161). When he comes for the initiation they use the old mask. The personator is selected by He'iwa wo'le from among the members of He'iwa kiva. When he comes at other times they make up a mask like the old one and anyone can wear it.

He comes with the Sälīmōpiya for the initiation of boys. He comes in before them and goes to the kiva where Kolowisi is to come in. The initiation ceremony started when the first people came here. The rain priests begged the katcinas to come to initiate their children. They took the yellow corn for the yellow Sälīmōpiya and the blue corn for the blue Sälīmōpiya and the white corn for the white Sälīmōpiya and the red corn for the red Sälīmōpiya and the black corn for the black Sälīmōpiya and the speckled corn for the speckled Sälīmōpiya. They prayed to the sacred lake people to send these katcinas to initiate their boys. So in the sacred lake they sent these katcinas here in the night, the ones the rain priests had prayed for. When they came in the people made them try their calls. The yellow Sälīmōpiya tried first. His call was very loud to frighten the people.

So then they tried the blue Sälimoṗiya and his call was just the same. All the Sälimoṗiya were the same. So then they tried the sweet corn, Lelacoktipona, and his call was a little one. Then they said, "Is there anyone here who can sit in the swing?" (The swing was made of a piece of wood hung on a red woman's belt, with valuable beads for the katchina to sit on.) They wanted to try them all and see if they could find anyone with a good voice to give all the calls. "We must have someone who will sit in the swing before the other katchinas come in, and when they come to the roof they will give their calls and he will answer. One of them may have a big voice and one may have a little voice, but the one who sits in the swing must answer them all the way they call. Who will be the best to do this? Who has the best voice to make all these calls and tell the people to come in? I wonder if there is anyone at the sacred lake to do this for us." So the rain priest said, and the yellow Sälimoṗiya said, "We know who will be good for it. You tell Pautiwa to send you his young son, Uṗo'yona. He will be good for that, because when the mixed dance comes he can make the calls of all the dancers." "All right, we shall send for him." So they asked for him in a prayer. They sat down and prayed that they might have the son of Pautiwa for his sweet voice to make the calls. Right away the same night he came. The Sälimoṗiya were still in the rain priests' ceremonial room with the rain priests. Then Uṗo'yona came. He came in and sat down. The sun priest made him sit down. He presented him to each direction and made him sit down. Then he said, "Now why have you sent for me? I should like to hear." Then the chief priest answered and said, "We are going to have an initiation to initiate our boys and all those of our children who have been chosen to whip the boys are in this room. Now we want them to call out and whoever has a sweet voice should answer them just the way they call out. But none of them has a voice that he can make sound like the others. Then we thought of you and we have sent for you to see if you can do it." So he said, "I shall try." Then the yellow Sälimoṗiya gave his call and right away Uṗo'yona called out just the way the yellow Sälimoṗiya had done. And when they had finished the blue Sälimoṗiya gave his call, and Uṗo'yona called out right after him, just the way he had called. And so on. All the others gave their calls one by one, and he answered them all in their own voices. Then the rain priests were very much pleased and they said, "Isn't that nice! Now you shall sit on the swing and wait for these others when they come in. When they come up on the kiva, and before they come in they will call out. And you will be sitting in the kiva and when they call out you will answer them just as you have done now. And your name will be Uṗo'yona Impiyona. You will be Impiyona sitting in the swing." So that is the way he happened to come in for the initiation.

He is just like an echo, and when he comes for the initiation he does just the way it is in the story. When he comes in the winter time or with the rain dance we call him just Uḡo'yona, but when he comes for the initiation he is called Uḡo'yona Imḡiyona.

#### FINAL INITIATION

After an interval perhaps of several years the boys are whipped a second time and on this occasion the secrets of the katcina cult are finally revealed to them. In early days this ceremony was held at regular intervals and all boys who had already undergone the preliminary whipping and were of age and discretion sufficient to be trusted with this knowledge went through the second ceremony. The usual age was 10 to 12 years. Nowadays the absence of the boys at school has often made it necessary to postpone this part of the ceremony until they return, at the age of 18 or 19.

On this occasion the whipping is administered by the Sayali'a.

"The Sayali'a come for the second whipping of the boys. They are the ones to put them into the kivas, because they are strong. Whoever has been Puhuatinakwe at the winter solstice prays all during the summer and says, 'Now when my time comes to initiate these boys, give me a strong heart to whip them hard so that they may never tell the secrets of the katcina cult.' All summer he prays to be strong. The priests do not want them to be afraid of hurting the boys, but they want them to really hurt them so that they will be really terrified and afraid to tell.

"Formerly they used to have the second whipping of the boys during the four days between the first coming of Sayataca and Ca'lako, but now they do it right after Ca'lako, while the general dancing is going on. When Ca'lako time comes they remember that they must initiate the boys, then after the Ca'lako have gone the katcina chief and his war priest let the people know. They confer with the heads of the kivas and see what time is most convenient. Then they let the Sayali'a personators know. The katcina chief tells the head one, who is called the oldest brother, 'You will come this afternoon. You had better tell your younger brothers to hurry.' Then he tells his younger brothers and they hurry and get their clothing together and go to heiwa kiva to get ready. Then the ceremonial fathers<sup>87</sup> of the boys take them to one of the Ca'lako houses. When all the children are there the katcina bow priest takes aside one of the older boys and asks him his name. Then he goes to Heiwa kiva and tells the name to the Sayali'a and says to them, 'This boy is a little older than the others. So when you go there you will tell your grandfather that you are looking for this boy. Then they will believe that over in the sacred lake the katcinas know even the little boys' names.' So they

<sup>87</sup> The same man who officiated at the child's first whipping.

make note of the little boy's name. Then the katcina war priest goes to the ceremonial house of the Koyemci and asks, 'Who of you wants to come to the whipping of the boys?' Then two of them go and help the Sayali'a. When they are dressed and ready to go they say to the Koyemci, 'Now we shall go to where the children are. Then you will call out the name of the little boy we are looking for. You will ask, "Where is our little friend? His name is ——,"' you will say, "My grandsons are looking for ——," so as to frighten them all.'

"Then they start coming to where the little boys are. They come looking all around saying, 'Where is little ——? My grandsons are looking for him.' Then the little boy who is called cries. He wants to join the Katcina Society, but he knows that it is going to hurt. The children can hardly bear it, they are so frightened. Then the Koyemci come to the door and say, 'Are all our little friends here?' The town chief will be there and the katcina chief and his pekwin, and all the important men. Then they will say, 'Yes, they are here. Come in.' Then the four Sayali'a come in and the Koyemci wait outside. They stand in the middle of the room giving their calls and frightening the little ones. Finally one of them is taken up and he kneels down holding his father's knees. He has nothing over him but one buckskin. While he is being whipped all the others cry. Their noses bleed and they are terribly frightened. They whip them all in turn, and after they have whipped all the children, then the katcina chief tells the story of what they did long ago when a little boy told the secrets of the initiation. This is a dangerous thing. The katcina chief warns them not to tell.

"All the little boys sit around and listen to the katcina chief when he tells the story of what they did long ago. When he has finished the story he says, 'And now you will be the ones who will wear the masks. This is the way we call the rains. Now our friends will show you.' Then they pick out four youngsters and make them stand in a row in front of the Sayali'a and the Sayali'a take off their masks and put them on the heads of the little boys. Then the little boys are terribly frightened. They tell them, 'Do not be afraid,' and they say to them, 'If you are going to dance, this is the way you will wear it. And now that you have a mask you may whip us.' Then the Sayali'a holds out his hand and the boy strikes him once on each arm and once on each leg. They get four strokes from each child. Then all the children in turn put on the mask and each whips the Sayali'a.

"When they are finished the children kneel down again. The Sayali'a have a great many feathers. They count beforehand how many children there are, and there is one feather for each. The Sayali'a bring them along with them. They tie them in their hair and they hang down behind, great bunches of them. Then they take off the feathers and they tie one feather in the hair of each little boy.



"After they have given the boys their feathers the Sayali'a go out. They are very angry because they have been whipped by the children, and if they see anyone on the streets they will surely knock him down and beat him. After they have gone around a little while they go back to Wide River. In their houses the women have been cooking. They make paper bread and cook meat and make all kinds of good things. They want to feed the children because they have been hurt. Then their sisters and women relatives bring four bowls of food from each house to the house where the little boys have been whipped. This is for the children and their fathers and the priests and the people of the house. When they bring in the food the fathers tell the children, 'Take home whatever you like to your mothers.' Then the little boys take whatever they like and wrap it up and take it home to their mothers.

"Sometimes they call the Sayali'a Tenapiḱāniḱā (they show them how) when they come for the second whipping of the little boys."

The costume of Saiyali'a at the initiation and as a punitive katecina is shown in Plate 32, *a*. For his rôle in the winter solstice, see p. 919 and Plate 21, *b*.

The text of the warning of the katecina chief to the novices, which recounts the origin of the katecina cult and the danger of betrayal of its secrets, is given on p. 604.

The Saiyali'a may also be summoned by the komosona when he is apprised of any serious breach of the rules of the Katecina Society. During the summer of 1924 a young man sold a mask to one of the traders. The mask was seen in the store by an old Zuñi who works about the place. He recognized it and reported it to the katecina chief who decided to have the Saiyali'a come with the next of the summer dances. Accordingly, in August, when Koḱokci was being danced, the Saiyali'a came in the night. Word had gotten around, however, and the young man ran away and took refuge in the United States Government agency at Blackrock. The Saiyalia, however, went around the village, visiting all the kivas, and whipping anyone whom they met, "to take away the bad luck." "If they had found the young man they would surely have killed him," my informant said.

The following summer there was some talk of having the Saiyali'a come because people had been "getting careless." One young man had worn a bluejay feather in his hair while dancing Koḱokci, thus showing that he was a priest, and men had been decorating their

masks in their houses instead of in the kiva. However, nothing came of it.

A single Saiyahi'a always comes with the Kāna'kwe dance. He was one of the three gods whom the Kāna'kwe captured during their war with the kateinas.

A single Saiyahi'a was observed in the big plaza about noon of the day that Olowowicka came in September, 1927. He did not go in any place and did not dance. He made the round of the plazas, standing for a few minutes in each. No explanation was given of his presence except that Olowowicka was coming in the afternoon. It seemed quite out of his usual character as an exorcising and punitive katecina.

*References.*—Saiyahi'a's part in the initiation ceremony and the rabbit hunt is described by Stevenson (pp. 89, 99). Also in the Benedict unpublished manuscript. Parsons, Notes on Zuñi (pp. 155–157, 177–180). Stevenson, Religious Life of a Zuñi Child.

*Parallels.*—Hopi: Tunwup katecina (Fewkes, Hopi kateinas, Pl. VII, p. 69). Many details of mask and costume resemble Saiyahi'a, the blue horns, large mouth, with long beard, goggle eyes, crest of eagle feathers, fox skin collar, kilt of dyed hair, and body paint. Tunwup flogs the children at their initiation into the katecina cult in connection with the Powamu ceremony (at the long form, held quadrennially). Fewkes describes the rite as follows: "In the Hano celebration an altar is made in the kiva at that time by the chiefs, Anote and Satele, both of whom place their official badges upon a rectangle of meal drawn on the kiva floor. Into this rectangle the children are led by their foster parents and flogged in the presence of the inhabitants of the pueblo. The two floggers, Tunwup, stand one on each side of the figure of meal, holding their whips of yucca. As they dance they strike the boys or girls before them as hard as they can, after which they pass the whips to a priest standing by. After each flogging the yucca whips are waved in the air, which is called the purification. After the children have been flogged many adults, both men and women, present their bared bodies, legs, and arms to the blows of the yucca whips." <sup>65</sup> (See also Voth, Oraibi Powamu, and Bunzel, unpublished Hopi manuscript.)

Sia: Saiahlia (Stevenson, The Sia, p. 117). The honaaite (chief of the Querranna) prepares a meal painting for the occasion, covering it for the time being with a blanket. Upon the arrival of the katsuna the father and child and, if the child be a member of a cult society, the theurgist of the society proceed to the ceremonial house of the Querranna. . . . The saiahlia (two of the katsuna) stamp about in the middle of the room for a time, then the honaaite leads the child before the meal painting, which is, however, still covered with a blanket, and says to the katsuna, "A youth (or maiden) has come to know you." The katsuna each carry a bunch of Spanish bayonet (giant yucca) in either hand, and the child receives two strokes across the back from each of the katsuna, unless he be an official member of a cult society; in this case he is exempt from the chastisement. A boy is nude excepting the breechcloth, a girl wears her ordinary clothing. The honaaite, addressing the katsuna, says, "Now it is well for you to raise your masks that the child may see." One of the saiahlia places his mask over the child's head and the other lays his by the meal painting, the honaaite having removed the blanket. The personators of the katsuna then say to the child, "Now you know the katsuna you will henceforth have only good thoughts

<sup>65</sup>The children are first acquainted with the mysteries of the cult later, when they see the Powamu kateinas dancing unmasked in the kiva.

and a good heart; sometime, perhaps, you will be one of us. You must not speak of these things to anyone not initiated." The mask is then taken from the child's head and laid by the side of the other, and the boy answers, "I will not speak of these things to anyone." The katsuna then rubs the meal of the painting upon the child, and those present afterwards gather around the painting and rub the meal upon their bodies for mental and physical purification."<sup>96</sup>

Cochiti: Shruiyana. Two shruiyana accompanying ahaye (hemuci-kwe dance). Described by Dumarest as follows: "The two shruiyana had all the body painted black, the mask also except for green on the forehead and lower jaw. The eyes, balls of buckskin painted black and red, were on the outside of the mask. A wild-cat skin was behind and in front a beard of hair. One feather was on top of the mask (fur on top) and downy feathers under the ears. A belt of skin of some sort. Fringes of red wool. Before the parts a fringe of corn leaves. Behind a fox skin, on the feet the skin of a skunk. In the hands two large pieces of yucca. . . . At noon time the shruiyana angrily dismissed the people (their call is u—— u—— u—— u——) in order that the Shiwanne might not be seen eating." (Dumarest, 180, 181.)

Also tsayanawa (bad men) "who keep women and children from approaching the dancers and who whip with giant yucca any dancer who loses his ornaments, in the belief that the dancer has not strictly observed his 4-day fast." (Identified by the editor with "the tsanowani (angry person) of Laguna, who was said to look like natacka of the Hopi. He is bear katsina. He stands in middle of the line of chakwena and he is their chief." (Dumarest, p. 182-183, and footnote.)

"All the male members of the pueblo join the kachina society. Boys vary in age at the time of their initiation. On the third night of the retreat<sup>97</sup> the war captain asks for all the boys willing to join the kachina. Consent of the fathers is sought. Young children and infants may also be presented to the society. On the fourth night the initiation takes place. Each boy has a ceremonial father, a man already in the society; a heluta or kachina leader and a certain number of cuiyana kachina, associated with the thunder clouds, are present. There may be two or four of them. These kachina are distinguished by the colors of different directions and at least one black and one red are always present. The initiate and his ceremonial father are whipped first by the heluta and then by the other kachinas. At this time the boys are not told the society secrets, but only when they are 18 or 19 and ready to participate in the dance does the war captain ask their fathers to inform them privately." (Goldfrank, p. 113.)

Laguna: Compare drawing of Tsi'ts'urnürts (Parsons, Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna, p. 100, fig. 10.)

## MISCELLANEOUS PRIEST KATCINAS

### HAI'NAWI

(Plate 32, b)

*Costume.*—The mask is a forehead mask (coyan'e), with little downy feathers in the beard. There are little downy feathers in the hair. These are stuck on with the sirup of yucca fruit. He wears the great feather (lacowanłana) and the buckskin bandoleer (kepyatonane) because he is a warrior. The face is painted with blood. "His face used to be white, but when he cut off the heads of children the blood spurted all over his face. They say it is real blood." In his right

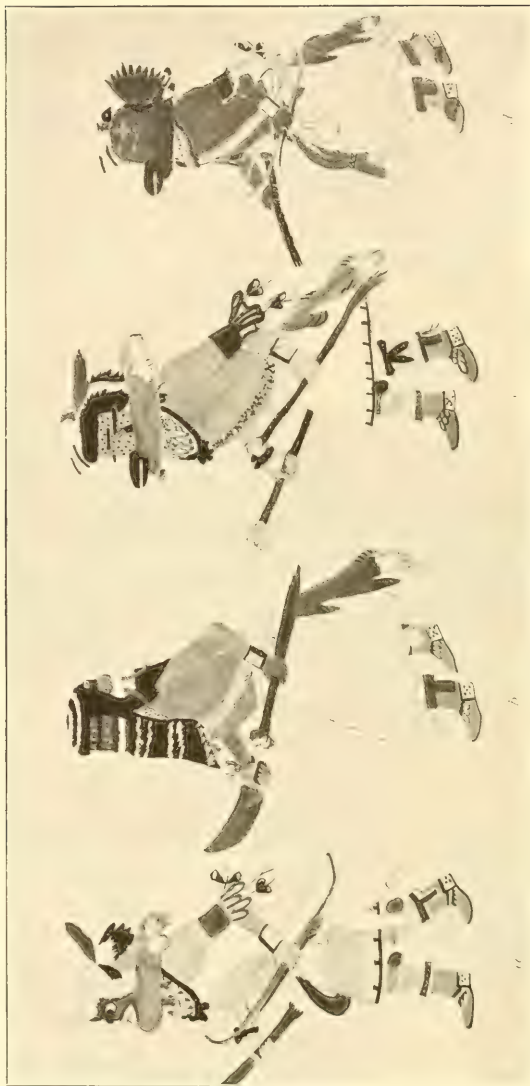
<sup>96</sup> Cf. the Navaho rite of using the sand from sand paintings for healing.

<sup>97</sup> The author does not specify the season or who is in the retreat.



MASKS APPEARING AT THE INITIATION: THE SALIMOPIYA

a, Kaba'onga (white); b, Itahpandina, 'oma' (man's forehead); c, 'Kaba'onga' (white).



PUNITIVE AND EXORCISING KATCHINAS  
a, Salyu't'a; b, Hai'nawi; c, Temtemei; d, A'hirte.

hand he carries the big knife (atcian lana) which is painted red up to the hilt, with red paint taken from the Sacred Lake. In the left hand he carries a yucca whip. His "heart" is in his whip.

He wears a buckskin shirt (na'le keme), a white tasseled belt (mo'liponi'kwin'e) with a fox skin (lanikwele). Turtle shell rattle on right leg. Blue moccasins (ketomawe). He has beads around his neck (takune) and yarn around the wrists (citonpasikwine).

"This is an old mask. They say it is real blood on the face. Only a strong man will wear this mask. They keep it at Komosona's house and it is hardly ever taken out. The head man of a kiva can wear it, but a young man would not dare, because it is dangerous. If a young man wants to come as Hai'nawi in the mixed dance he will paint another mask like this, but he will not wear the real mask. Everyone is afraid of Hai'nawi. When I was a little girl they brought him in in a dance and I just couldn't go to see the dance because I was so afraid of him."

*Ceremonies.*—"He always comes with Homatci. He carries the big knife because he is the one who cuts off the heads of children who tell. The real Hai'nawi only comes if some one tells. Whenever anyone tells they call him.<sup>68</sup> He doesn't come very often now because the children behave. But if the people get careless about dance ritual they will call these dancers in to frighten the people. They are talking about it now because the people are getting careless. One man went to the toilet in his dance dress, and some of the men have been working on masks in their own houses. They shouldn't do these things, and so they think they will have this dancer come when they are having a mixed dance."

*Myths.*—Long ago when the people first came up and while the earth was still soft some one told the secrets of the dance. Then the chief priest asked in a prayer that Hainawi should come and punish the boy who had told about the dance. As soon as the boy heard that the priest had called for this dancer he ran away and hid. He got some one—i. e., a witch—to help him, and he went down into the earth. Then the katcina came. There were four of them. Homatci and Hainawi are the dangerous ones, and Temtemci and Ahute come with them and stamp on the ground. They went to all the different villages, to Itiwana and Hawikuh and Matsakā and Kākima and Hecokta. They looked all over for the boy who had told, but they did not find him. So they went to the twin heroes and asked them to help them find the boy. So the twin heroes took them and showed them where the boy was hiding. When they got there the two dangerous katcinas jumped, and Hainawi gave his call, "Hai'nawi," and shook his knife and stamped so that the earth shook. They

<sup>68</sup> See warning of the katcina chief at the initiation of boys, p. 604.



jumped a second time and the earth cracked. They jumped a third time and the crack opened about 12 inches. They jumped a fourth time and the earth cracked way open, and there below was the person sitting as though he were in the bottom of a well, and his eyes were shining. Then the twin heroes said, "Are you here?" "Who are you?" "Come out. Our fathers and grandfathers want you to come out." The boy tried to hide. He would not come out. So they sent the twin heroes to bring him out. The twin heroes went in and talked to him. They told him to tell them the truth about what he had said, and they said the dancers would not cut off his head if he confessed. He begged them, "Please save me and take me home, for you are wise." They said to him, "All right." So he came out with the twin heroes. When they came out the dancers jumped four times, and they were just going to cut off his head when the twins interposed and said, "Don't cut off his head. He has told the truth, and he will not do it again. Don't cut off his head until we get back to Itiwana. Then in front of all the people you can talk to him. If you kill him here it won't do any good because there is no one here to see you." Then they brought him in. The twin heroes came first holding the boy between them and helping him along, and the katchinas followed. So they came to Halonawa. Everyone was waiting in the plaza, and they brought him in and they talked to him in front of all the people. The people did not want them to cut off his head, but the katchinas insisted and said, "We must do it so that our bodies will be saved and so that no one will tell again." So they cut off his head and carried it back to the Sacred Lake. That is why everyone is afraid of Hainawi.

Whenever a child tells about the secrets of the katchinas, then the heads of the Katchina Society, the katchina chief, his pekwin, and the warriors of the Katchina Society and the heads of the kivas, meet together in the house of the katchina chief. When they have come in they ask, "What is it you want that you have called us in?" Then the katchina chief says, "Now, our young ones must be careful not to tell the secrets of the katchinas, how they dress and how they use the mask. I want our children to be careful, and if they tell I want some one to punish them. Who will be the best one to come and punish them? We must pick out from among our fathers who will save the Katchina Society." They thought about Atocle, but Atocle is not fit for this because he talks too much. He makes jokes and is not dignified enough to save the Katchina Society. They thought about different kinds of katchinas and finally they came to Hainawi. Then they said, "What do you think of Hainawi? I think he is really honest, and he won't hold back from doing what he has to do. He is really honest. He is the one to do this." So they went on and thought of others to come with him. Finally they came to Homatci, and they

said, "These two will come together and either one of them may cut off the head of anyone who tells. They will carry the great knife. Now we will call them and see whether they think well of it. We can not make plans for them to come without asking them." Then they thought again, "There must always be four to come together. We must have some to make a noise. Two other grandfathers must come with them. Let us pick out two more and have them all come together." Then they thought of Ahute, and they said, "He will be the one who will make a noise and frighten everyone with his voice." Then they came to Temtemci and they thought, "These four will always come together when anyone tells about the kadcina cult." So they picked out these four and Muyaḥone and Posuki (two of the Koyemci) to come with them.

So they asked for them here in a prayer and they came. The headmen were all meeting in the kadcina chief's house and they came, Hainawi and Homatci and Ahute and Temtemci and the two Koyemci. They were making fearful calls to frighten the people, and the people said, "What are they coming for?" And they said to their children, "Someone has told about the kadcinas and they are coming to cut off his head. Someone has told." They frightened their little children and warned them not to tell about the kadcinas. They came into the room where the headmen were meeting, and they asked them to sit down. Then they turned into human persons, and they sat down. Then Hainawi asked, "What was it you wanted to say that you have called for us to come? We are here to listen to what you have to say." Then the kadcina chief and the kadcina pekwin and the kadcina warriors said, "We want our people and especially our young ones to be careful not to tell how you come and how you dress. Some day we may have to change it, and we do not want them to tell about it. The kadcina cult must be valuable, and no one must tell how you come and how you dress, and if anyone tells, you are the ones we are going to send for. You are the ones who will come and cut off their heads. You will not only frighten them, but really cut off their heads so that the Kadcina Society will always be built up higher, so that it will not collapse." So they said, "All right. You have made us, and we shall do as you wish. Whenever you call us we shall come right away." Then they said, "Let us go." Then they told the Koyemci, "You will save anyone who is not really bad. If any little one who does not know any better tells, one who is not really bad, you will be the ones to save him." So they told the Koyemci. "Now that is all, my children. We shall remember you always, that you are brave and strong, and when we need you we shall call you." Then they got up and said, "It is well. Be happy and have long life." Then they went out and went home to the Sacred Lake.

That is how they happened to be picked out.

## HOMATCI

*Costume.*<sup>1</sup>—Mask yellow with red spots; black arrow point over eyes; long beard with eagle down; large wide mouth; hair unbound. Circle of eagle down on crown; behind crest of hawk (?) feathers. Body painted pink; arms red, spotted with white; war bandoleer; spruce in waist.

## TEMTFMCI

(Plate 32, c)

*Costume.*—"The face is painted blue and is spotted all over. The spots are from the blood of the little boy, because he was with Hai'nawi and Ho'matci when they killed him. His face is marked with the bear's paw. Around the face a fringe of black hair. He has wing feathers of the eagle in his large ears. The black of the head is painted white. On his head lacowanlana. When he comes to frighten people he wears it with the tips forward the way the war chief wears it when he goes to war. But when he comes to dance he wears it with the tips back. He wears other feathers too. These are dyed red. When they killed the little boy he dipped his feather in the blood. He did not want to spoil his lacowanlana, so he took downy feathers and dipped them in. Coyote skin collar, because the children are afraid of coyotes.

"His body is spotted with red from the blood of the little boy. He painted his arms and legs over with pink clay so that the people would not be afraid of him. He wears a white kilt and a white-fringed sash. Fox skin. He wears arm bands with lahacoma so that they will like him in spite of the fact that he helped them kill the little boy. He wears a bandoleer of supiatonane. Blue moccasins. Yarn on left leg, turtle-shell rattle on right. Yucca in both hands. He carries it with the points back because he never strikes anyone.

"He has a loud voice. He went with Hai'nawi and Ho'matei when they killed the little boy and gave his call to frighten everyone. His voice still frightens the little children and the grown people too. His call is 'Tem-tem-ci! Tem-tem-ci!'"

*Ceremonies.*—He may come any time with the mixed dance. (He came in August, 1925. R. L. B.)

## A'HUTE

(Plate 32, d)

*Costume.*—On the head the "great feather" (lacowanlana) with the duck's head. He is dangerous but he wants to please, so he wears the duck's head. On the back of the head feathers of the red hawk in a row down the middle of the back. Black hair around them.

<sup>1</sup> From a drawing collected by Kroeber.

The mask is painted with blue and red stars "for fine nights." He has large ears sticking out with a flat wing feather of the hawk in each. The side of the face is painted with the bear's claw because he is a warrior. He has protruding eyes, and below them black slits through which the man looks out. Coyote skin collar.

He wears a buckskin shirt, embroidered sash and red woman's belt. Arm bands of blue leather with buckskin fringes representing clouds and lahacoma. He wears the buckskin bandoleer with shells, the insignia of the war chief. Turtle shell rattle on the right leg. Fox skin. Body painted yellow, legs white. Blue moccasins. Yucca in right hand; left, bow and arrow, yucca, and a gourd rattle. Sometimes when he is not angry he carries bow and arrow in left hand and rattle in right, and no yucca at all.

He comes in the mixed dance with Temtemci, and the others, Hai'nawi and Ho'matci. He goes up to people and says "Ahu'te" and frightens them. He came with the mixed dance August, 1925. He was always the last kadcina to enter and leave the plaza. He walked with a peculiar ponderous gait, out of line, giving his deep call, "A'hu'te."

#### O'LOLOWICKĀ

(Plate 33, d)

*Costume.*—Mask, painted turquoise, with deer, eagle, turkey wing and macaw feathers on crown. Collar of raven feathers. Two girdles of raven feathers around his chest and waist. White skirt, embroidered kilt, sash, red belt, fox skin, fringed leggings, blue moccasins, yarn (with bells?). Phallus supported in belt.

Ololowickā has a characteristic dance step. He trots up and down before the line of dancers. His call is "Ololololo." The brownish fluid ejected from the phallus in the course of the ceremony is a sirup made from peaches (formerly yucca fruit).

The mask and the phallus are ancient. Kalawasa is head of the cult, and the mask is probably kept in his house. Precise information is lacking.

There is considerable esoteric ritual connected with the impersonation of Ololowickā, the operation of the phallus and the preparation of the fluid. There are magical prayers, of course, for all these incidents. Only three men "know how." The performer in 1927 was severely criticized for clumsiness. Omens are read from the character of the flow. (Parsons, Winter and Summer Dance Series.)

*Ceremonies.*—"They may dance hekcinā cilowa (red paint) in summer or winter. It is the prettiest of all the rain dances. The men paint their bodies red, and they have the prettiest songs. So when they decide to have this dance they practice their songs. Some man who has a good voice will teach the men the songs, and they will

practice. Then they select two men for the kadcina maidens. They select the two best looking young men, slender young men with light skins. They select the men for Hehe'a and Oolowickä, too. Then they invite the men who are to come and play the flutes for the grinding. There are two societies who use flutes in their ritual, the Little Fire and the Bedbug Societies, and the headmen of the kiva will invite one or the other of these two to come and play for them. Then four men will come and practice with them. The flute players listen to the songs as the men practice, and afterwards they begin to play them on their flutes. They all practice together. The men sing and the ones who are going to grind practice the grinding and the two Hehe'a sit down in front of them and clap their hands so that they grind in time.

"Then when they are ready the kadcina chief plants prayer sticks. The women in the houses of the two men who have been selected to be the kadcina maidens are all busy grinding. They grind very fine meal for the men to take to the plaza. Then on the last day all the men get their things ready. They get their clothes ready, and they get their drum. The men who are going to grind bring the two grinding stones and the buckskins to spread under them and the fine meal.

"The next day they have the rain dance (hekcina cilowawa). There will be many women dancing in the line, but the two who are to grind will not dance with them until the third evening. Then on the third day they come in the evening, the two kadcina maidens, four flute players, two Hehe'a and Oolowickä. They come into the plaza. Each of the maidens carries an ear of corn in each hand and a basket of fine meal. The two Hehe'a carry the two grinding stones and the buckskins. They prepare a place for the girls in the center of the plaza. They spread out the buckskins and place the two meal stones down on them. The Koyemci help them. The plaza is full of people. Then the four flute players take their places on both sides of the grinding stones. Then the girls take their places. They are on the south side of the plaza, and the dancers stand in line around the plaza, always men and women alternating. Then they sing the grinding songs and the two kadcina maidens grind. When they have finished one song they pile up the meal in the bowls. Then when all the meal is piled up in the bowls Oolowickä pretends that he wishes to pass water. Then the Koyemci say, "Hurry up, children, our grandfather wishes to pass water!" Then they take the bowl from one of the maidens and set it down in front of Oolowickä. Oolowickä carries an old long-necked gourd sticking out of his belt. Then he stands over the bowl and pours some of the liquid into it. Then he goes to the second bowl and does the same. Then the Koyemci put their hands into the bowls and mix the contents thoroughly and carry

the two bowls around among the people who are standing in the plaza and on the housetops, and the people take some of the meal from the bowls.

"While they are doing this the katcina maidens have gotten up and they begin to dance like the Corn maids, each maiden holding an ear of corn. After they have danced they stop and pray, 'Now we have been praying for all the women that they may do well in grinding. May you always be fortunate as we have been and may your arms never ache when you grind.' Then they dance again, each maiden holding an ear of corn. Then all the women inhale and say, 'May we always be like you when we grind.' The katcina maidens dance that the women may have good luck in grinding, and Oolowickā comes to purify the men so that if any of them have venereal disease they may be cured and not give their diseases to the women. That is all."

(Ceremony witnessed by R. L. B., September, 1927. At this time it was performed in connection with Upiḱaiāḥona danced by muhekwe. The ritual of Oolowickā was performed in the evening on the eighth and last day of the dance. See pls. 36, 37.)

#### KĀNA'KWE MOSONA (KĀNA'KWE CHIEF)

(Plate '33, a)

*Costume.*—The mask is white. "Around the face are the rainbow and the milky way. The back is painted with a dragon fly to make the corn grow fast. The eyes are like tadpoles (mutulikā) and there are other tadpoles on the back. His ears hang down because they fought with the people of the Sacred Lake. After the fight they fixed their ears with corn husks, and therefore they wear corn husks in their ears." On the head feathers of the red hawk bound together with duck feathers. Spruce collar.

They wear the old native cotton shirts and embroidered white blankets. Blue moccasins. The legs and the hands are painted white. In the left hand a fawn skin bag full of seeds, in the right a turtle shell rattle (kokolonane). This is different from the turtle shell rattle worn on the leg, which is called by a different name.

He has a protruding snout. The opening is round to make the clouds come quickly when he dances.

The Kāna'kwe masks are kept in the Corn clan house (K. 391).

*Ceremonies.*—"The Kāna'kwe only come for one day every four years, and they go right back home. They never stay in the village overnight, because they do not really belong here. They are not Sacred Lake people, but just dancers. They live in the south."

Sometimes one or two Kāna'kwe come in the mixed dance. They came with the mixed dance, August, 1925. They did not go into



the kiva overnight with the rest of the dancers, but went home to the south, and came again the next day.

"The people think a great deal of the *Ḳāna'kwe*, because when they come for their dance they always bring presents for the priests to pay for their dance.

There are many myths of the *Ḳāna'kwe*. The battle with the *Ḳāna'kwe* is recorded fragmentarily by Cushing (Outline of Zuñi Creation Myths, p. 424), more fully by Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, p. 36). The text version of the Zuñi Creation legend recorded by the author follows the Stevenson version. (See pp. 597, 599.)

The following tale recorded from an official of the *kotiḱan'e* shares many features with the legend of *Citsukā* (see p. 925), the events in which are believed to have taken place during the war with the *Ḳāna'kwe*.

"The *Ḳāna'kwe* are like human people. They do not live at the sacred lake and are not really *katcinas*. They came out of the earth the way we did. They came out at a great cave southeast of the sacred lake. When they came out they all shouted together and frightened everyone. Then they came to a place whose name I can not remember and there they stayed. They built their houses of black stones. They saw many deer tracks and thought they would make bows and arrows, and hunt. So they made bows and arrows and hunted. They built corrals for the deer, and they lived there for two years."

One day two *Ḳāna'kwe* were out hunting. They were on the top of a mountain and looking down from the high place they saw two girls washing a deer skin. They saw that the place where they had come out was near there, and they wondered why they had not stopped there where the people were living. Then the two of them went down quickly without any trouble, for they were wise.<sup>2</sup> As they came near, the girls said, "Who are these coming? We do not know them. They look dangerous." They were singing and shaking their rattles as they went along. As they came closer the girls said, "Let us go in. We are ashamed to stay out when anyone comes." So they went right in. They pulled the mat over the hatchway, a flat mat of reeds. Then the two *Ḳāna'kwe* came there and looked to see where the girls had gone. They were singing and trying to coax them out, but the girls would not come. Then they said, "*Huita, huita, huita!*" (When the first people came up this is the word that they used for "I give," but they do not use it any more.) But even then no one came out. The people of the sacred lake heard them, but they did not want to have them there and so they did not come out. So then the *Ḳāna'kwe* went home and told their people what they had done. When they came back and told

<sup>2</sup> They had supernatural power.

the people they said, "That is a good call that you made there. We will always use that for our call whenever we come." That is why the Kāna'kwe always use that as their call. The other katecinas learned it from them, and so they always call "Huita!" when they have a give-away dance.

*References.*—Myths (Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, 36, ff; Cushing, Outline of Zuñi Creation Myths, p. 124). Ceremony described fully by Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, pages 217-226, and Notes on Zuñi. Masks illustrated (Stevenson, Pl. XLII, XLIII, XLV, XLVI, XLVII).

*Parallels.*—The Kāna'kwe, like Teakwena, belong to the war-fertility complex that is ritualized in both masked and unmasked ceremonies. See also the discussion of Teakwena, p. 931.) Their dance is the most important "give away" and for general hilarity is considered by Zuñis to be surpassed only by the scalp dance. They are undoubtedly among the most important of Zuñi katecinas.

The most striking conceptual parallel is found at Acoma in the ceremony of the battle with the katecinas, fully described by White. There the association of war and fertility is strikingly brought out. The two ceremonies have nothing in common. The killing of the hostile gods to fructify the earth, which is represented dramatically at Acoma, appears fully in the Zuñi myth. The Zuñi ritual, however, has become so fully assimilated to the pattern of masked dancing that its symbolism is unintelligible without the myth.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Stevenson reports that the Kāna'kwe songs are in the Sia tongue.

#### KOLAHMANA

(Plate 33, c)

Mask like Ko'ko'kei (blue, not white like Kokwe'le; blue is the male color). Black beard. Fringe of goatskin over forehead. Characteristic headdress, as in picture, half is done up, half not yet complete.

Woman's dress, calico underdress, dance kilt, fastened on left shoulder, deerskin quiver containing arrows, white moccasins. In right hand a rattle of deer scapula, in left bow and arrows. Many necklaces.

This is probably not an old mask.

*Ceremonies.*—She always comes with Kāna'kwe. Occasionally with Ko'ko'kei or mixed dance. She is the katecina berdache.

Cushing (Outline of Zuñi Creation Myths) describes her as the first-born child of Siwulu'siwa and Siwulusietsa, thus again linking sexual abnormality with incest. She is later captured by the Kāna'kwe. Stevenson (Zuñi Indians, p. 37) gives the origin of Kolahmana as dating from the time of the battle. "She (Kuyapalitsa or Chakwena) succeeded in capturing four of the gods of Kolawalawa—including Ko'ko'kei, first born of Siwulu'siwa and Siwuluhsitsa. Ko'ko'kei, the first born, was so angry and unmanageable that Kuyapalitsa had him dressed in female attire previous to the dance (of the Kāna'kwe), saying to him, "You will now, perhaps, be less angry."

This seems entirely inconsistent with the emphatically gentle character of KoKokci, whose very name means the good or gentle katcina. Stevenson has mistaken the position of KoKokci in the mythology. The KoKokci are the lost children translated, and are in no way connected with primordial incest.

A Hopi myth of Tekawaina mana explains the peculiar headdress which is the same as that worn by this Hopi impersonation. Teakwaina mana was a rude, ill-mannered girl who always wanted to do the work of men. She would not do women's work. One day when all the men had gone to their fields her mother was dressing her hair in the fashion of Hopi maidens. As her mother was winding the hair over the hoop used as support, a party of Navaho raiders fell upon the village. Teakwaina mana jumped up, her hair undone, seized her brothers' bows and arrows, and rushed out. She killed the enemy and took their scalps and thus saved her people. Therefore, the people love her, and therefore, she always comes with her hair half down.

(The name Teakwaina mana was given at the formal adoption into the Asa clan of Sitcumovi to a white girl who rode horseback, wore knickers, and went among men unescorted, "because she is strong like Teakwaina." It was a very dubious compliment.)

## DANCES OF THE WINTER AND SUMMER SERIES

### KO'KOKCI (THE GOOD OR BEAUTIFUL KATCINA)

(Plate 35, a)

*Costume.*—The mask covers only the face and has a long beard. His hair is open. On top yellow parrot feathers, three downy eagle feathers hanging down the back. "These are to make the clouds come."

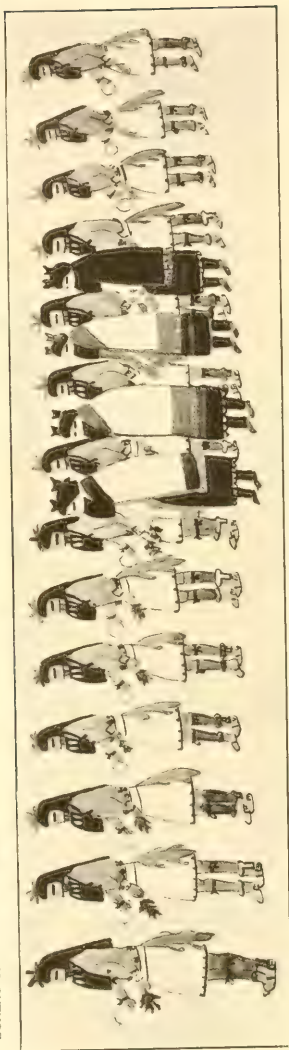
His body is painted with pink clay from the Sacred Lake. He wears embroidered kilt, white fringed belt, and red woven felt, fox skin. He wears spruce in his belt and carries spruce in his hands. He goes barefoot, with anklets of spruce. On the right leg he has a turtle-shell rattle and behind that a rattle of deer hoofs. The turtles are caught every four years in the Sacred Lake, and their rumbling makes the thunder come.

"KoKokci never makes people frightened or angry. He is always happy and gentle, and he dances to make the world green. They call the rains, and no matter how hard it rains they keep on dancing. They come all the time, summer and winter, and in summer they make the pleasant days. That is why they are called KoKokci.

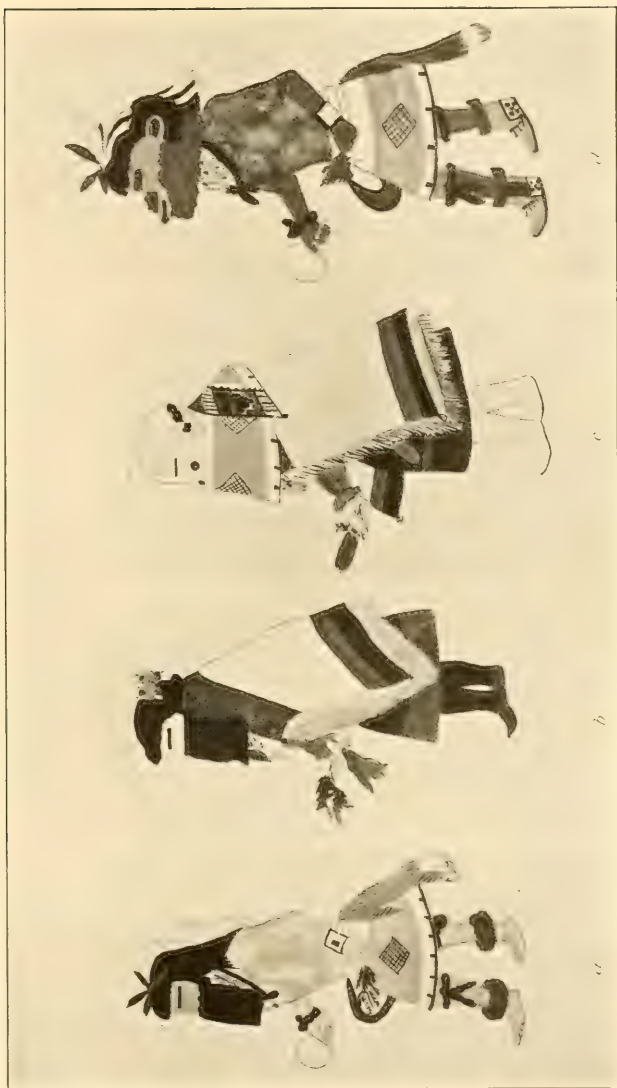
"During the war with the Kāna'kwe they were the only ones who did not fight. They never fight, because they are always kind and gentle."



OLD MASKS APPEARING IRREGULARLY  
*a*, Kina'kwo Mosona; *b*, Kina'kwe; *c*, Kohahmana; *d*, O'tolowicki.

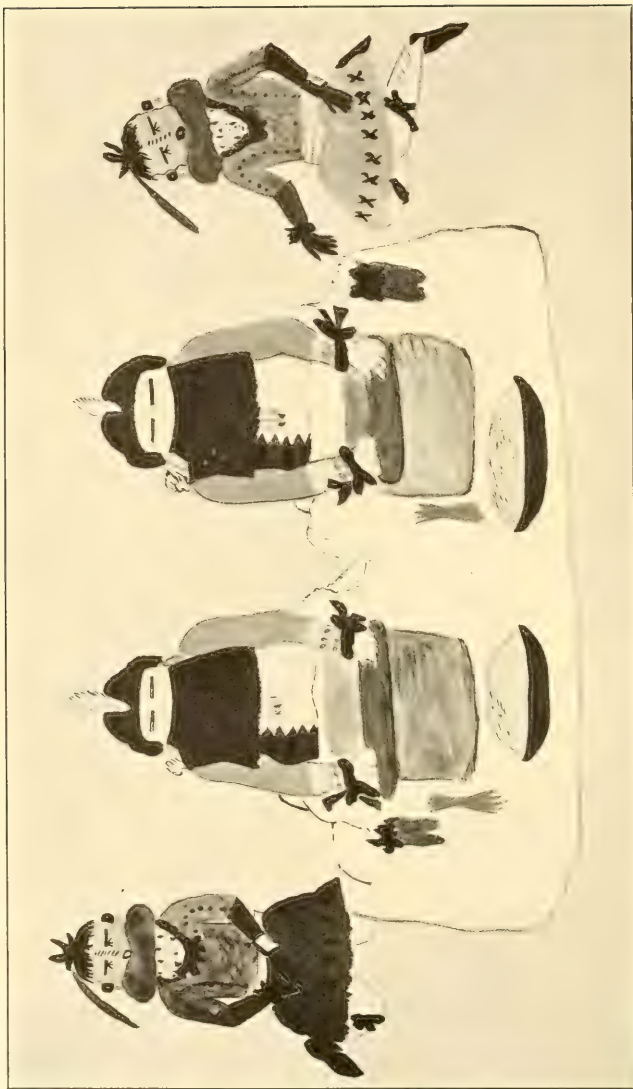


WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES: KOKOKCI DANCE FORMATION



WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES: KO'OKCI  
 a, Ko'Ekei; b, Ko'Ewe'le; c, Komok'usiki (Siwutulsietas); d, Ujjo'yona.





WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES: KATCINA CORN GRINDING

*Ceremonies.*—Ko'okci must be performed as the opening dance of the summer series, on the return of the katecinas from Koluwala'wa. It should also be the opening dance of the winter series, but Upi'kaia-p'ona is sometimes substituted. Ko'okci may be danced at any time during the winter or summer series. Mrs. Stevenson calls the summer and winter dance series "the dances of the Ko'okci."

*Myths.*—The myth of the origin of katecinas refers specifically to Ko'okci. (See p. 595.) They are the prototype of katecinas. It is they who are identified particularly with the lost children. This may account for the affection in which they are held and the imputation to them of an unfailingly mild and gentle character.

*References.*—Ko'okci is such a common Zuñi dance that all literature on the pueblo refers to it repeatedly. It is unnecessary to give a full list of references. The best descriptions are by Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, p. 161, Pl. XXXI; Parsons, Summer and Winter Dance Series at Zuñi. (The writer has observed as many as 56 dancers dancing Ko'okci in summer.)

*Parallels.*—This is one of the most widely distributed of pueblo dances. Danced by the Hopi under the name "Barefoot Anga Katecina." A San Felipe informant identified the picture as that of their Acuwa. (Bunzel, Journal of American Folk-Lore.) A similar dance without mask danced at San Juan. (Parsons, Social Organization of the Tewa, p. 179. ff., pl. 21.) At Cochiti a similar mask is illustrated under title "Rain-Making Shiwanna" in Dumarest, p. 179.

#### KOKWE'LACTOKI (KATECINA MAIDEN)

(Plate 35, b; 37, c)

*Costume.*—The face is white, with a long beard of horsehair. In her hair she wears one downy feather. Over the forehead a fringe of goat's hair. The back hair is wrapped over two pieces of wood and bound with yarn; the hair is wrapped in one direction, the yarn in the other.

Until about ten years ago she wore only the black dress and white Hopi blanket; no underdress and no leggings. The arms and legs were bare and she wore anklets of spruce. Spruce branches in both hands. The hands are painted white, the feet yellow. The female impersonators do not paint under the dress.

She always comes with the rain dance, whether it is Ko'okci, Upi'kaia-p'ona or Hekcina Cilowawa.

*Mythology.*—At the sacred lake they were getting ready for the winter dance series. The Sälimoṣiya and all the other katecinas who were coming in all had their seeds. Each had a little corn-husk packet, but none of them were really bringing in seeds for the people of Itiwana. So after they had sent in the messenger to announce that they were coming to dance they talked about who should bring in seeds for the people so that they might have seeds to plant in the spring. None of the men like Ko'okci wanted to be bothered

carrying sacks of seeds. They thought they were doing enough in bringing a little package in their belts. So Pautiwa said to the katcina maidens, "Now you will go in and take the corn for my people, and you will leave corn in every kiva except the one in which you stay." And so they came in and brought seeds for the people to plant in the spring. The men let the women carry in the seeds because the women had blankets under which to hide their bags. They did not want everyone to see that they were bringing in seeds.

That is how they come. Let us say that He'iwa kiva is having the dance. Then the katcina maidens come first to He'iwa kiva. They dance there and when they are finished they go out and go to the next kiva. Here they dance for a little while. There are ten katcina maidens and each one is carrying under her blanket a fawn-skin bag full of seeds. Toward the end of the dance two of the katcina maidens go to the altar where baskets have been set out for them. Then they take their fawn-skin bags and pour the seeds into the baskets. The older sister pours her seeds first, and then the younger sister.

When they are finished dancing the w'ole gets up and takes the seeds and gives a handful to everyone there, even to the little children. And so everyone always comes to the winter dances, and no matter how sleepy the little children are, they always stay up all night to get their seeds, so that their fathers may have many seeds to plant in the spring. And if their fathers are poor, the little boys run out as soon as the seeds have been distributed and go to the next kiva and get seeds there too. And so they get seeds from all five kivas.

They bring in seeds each time they dance in winter. They always bring seeds for the people of the five other kivas, and so each kiva gets seeds five times; that is, each time except at their own dance.

And so it is. Over at the sacred lake are many katchinas and when we have need of anything Pautiwa picks out someone to do it, and that is the way we do it from that time on.

#### SI'WULHSIETSA (KOMOKÄTSIK<sup>1</sup>)

(Plate 35, c)

(This is her personal name and is esoteric. She is ordinarily referred to as Komokätsik (katcina old woman).

*Costume.*—"The red mark on the face refers to her myth. She was menstruating when she copulated with her brother and so her face is marked with red. She has a dance kilt wrapped around her neck. She wants to hide her face behind it because she is ashamed. The mask covers the whole head. The hair is of white silk floss. Now she wears regular woman's dress as shown in the picture. In the old days she did not wear the calico blouse under her dress, but her arms were bare. She should not wear the tasseled belt, nor the moccasins. Her feet are bare and she wears anklets of spruce. But now she comes

dressed this way. She carries in her hand the mother corn. It is wrapped with spruce branches to make the world green."

She is called incorrectly the mother of the katchinas. She is really the mother of the Koyemci.

Komoḡätsik comes occasionally with Koḡokci, and dances near the head of the line. She also sometimes comes with the mixed dance.

*Mythology.*—The text version of the myth of Siwuluhsietsa is given on p. 572. Cushing's version of this important myth in *Outline of Zuni Creation Myths*, p. 399. Another informant adds the following details:

"She and her brother Siwuhlusiwa were the parents of the Koyemci. They came together and made a spring and then the spring ran. She was menstruating when she went with her brother and that is why the spring ran. It became the Sacred Lake and that is where the mothers of the a'ciwi dropped their babies. The babies turned into animals, but in the night they turned into katchinas. They did not wear masks then, but they dressed just the way they are represented now. The babies grew up right away and turned into dancers. Siwuluhsuiwa and Siwuluhsietsa were the only grown-up people. That is why she is called katchina old woman. Siwuluhsuiwa is called Great Father Koyemci or katchina husband. There were nine children, and with the father there are ten. The father and the nine made their home on the mountain called Koyemci which is to the north of the lake. Komoḡätsik went into the lake to look after the katchinas.

"In the winter during the period before the winter solstice when the river is full of water they tell the children to take smooth pieces of wood and drop them into the river. They are carried down the river to the Sacred Lake. Katchina old woman lies in the middle of the lake with her mouth open and the sticks just float into her mouth. In her body they turn into 'babies' (wihe'we). They come out one after the other and we tell the children that Komoḡätsik never gets tired having children and never suffers with them. During the winter dance series the katchinas bring in dolls for the children to play with and they tell them they are Komoḡätsik's babies. They call this iḡsumawe."<sup>3</sup>

#### Uḡo'yona

(Plate 35, d)

Dressed like Koḡokci with moccasins. Carries rattle and spruce. (See p. 996 for description of Uḡo'yona in initiation ceremonies.) Comes occasionally with Koḡokci.

<sup>3</sup> See also description of winter solstice, p. 536.

UPIK'AIAPONA (DOWNY FEATHERS HANGING) OR A'TSAMKOKO'KCI<sup>4</sup>

(Plate 37, a)

*Costume.*—"He is like Kōkōkci. His face is green for the green world. The mouth is painted all different colors for all different kinds of flowers, white and red and blue and yellow and black, so as to have a fine summer with all different kinds of flowers. He has three downy feathers hanging from the bottom of the mask. He dances for the spring, so that the spring will come quickly with fine days.

"His body is painted black with yellow breast and shoulders for the oriole because he comes early in the spring. The yellow on the arms is for the yellow flowers and the corn pollen. He wears a white dance kilt, white-embroidered sash, red woven belt. Fox skin, blue moccasins. On the right leg a turtle-shell rattle tied on with a small red belt. Gourd rattle in right hand, spruce branches in left. He always carries spruce to make the world green, and in the summer he wears spruce in his belt also. He has his seeds in the front of his belt."

*Ceremonies.*—Upi'kaipona is a variant of Kōkōkci and may be substituted for Kōkōkci on any occasion except the return of the katchinas at the summer solstice. However, since Upi'kaipona is generally called Kōkōkci one can never be sure just what is meant when it is said, "It must be Kōkōkci."

*Parallels.*—Hopi anga katchina (Fewkes, Hopi Katchinas, 54, 93, 94, Pl. XXXII).

PAI'YATYAMU<sup>5</sup>

(Plate 37, b)

Mask turquoise with black and white border. Turquoise earrings. Parrot and downy eagle feathers in hair, and head band of bright ribbons.

Body painted red with markings of yellow (if he comes with Hekcina cilowa, the body paint is black). Embroidered kilt, fringed sash, red belt, blue moccasins, yarn, necklaces, etc. Carries trumpet decorated with downy feathers.

<sup>4</sup> An old name meaning handsome katchina youths.

<sup>5</sup> The name paiyatyamu (Keresan, youth) has three usages in Zuñi. It is the name of the god of flowers, butterflies and music (Zuñi Indians, p. 568; Cushing, Outline of Zuñi Creation Myths, p. 395). Society members offer him prayer sticks at the winter solstice. These sticks are double and are painted blue and yellow, the phallic colors. The word is also applied to the musical orders of the two societies who are flutes, make, tsana'kwe and pecatsilo'kwe. It is also used by the newe'kwe esoterically to refer to themselves. Magic butterflies and flutes figure in folklore as methods of seduction.

KO'KWE'LACTOŪ OŪEN'ONA (KATCINA MAIDEN, THE ONE WHO GRINDS)

(Plate 37, c)

Mask white. Black beard. Hair done up in back. Black woman's dress. Bare arms. Miha fastened on right shoulder. White moccasins. Hands painted white. Carries an ear of corn and a sprig of spruce in each hand. Bright yarn around wrist.

*Ceremonies.*—This impersonation appears in the ritual of Ololowickä. For description of the ceremony, including selection of impersonators, see p. 1007. (Parsons, Winter and Summer Dance Series at Zuñi, p. 195.)

*Parallels.*—The grinding ceremony is similarly performed by the Hopi in connection with anga kalcina. (Fewkes, Hopi Kalcinas, pp. 93, 94; Pl. XXXII.)

HEHE'A

(Plate 37, d)

*Costume.*—Blue (should be turquoise) mask with characteristic eyes and nose. Fox skin collar. Single parrot tail feather over right ear. Body painted red. Forearms yellow. Yarn and ribbons on right wrist. Fringed girl's shawl as kilt. Silver belt. Brown moccasins. White fringed leggings tied with yarn.

*Ceremonies.*—Two Hehe'a appear in the ritual of Ololowickä. They carry in the grinding stones and other paraphernalia, arrange it for the kalcina maidens, and beat time for the grinding. All their movements are hasty and clumsy. (See also pp. 1007, 1066, 1077, for Hehe'a's appearance in other ceremonies.)

*Parallels.*—This is another widespread and probably ancient kalcina.

Hopi: Hehe'a (Fewkes, Hopi Kalcinas, pp. 73, 74; Pl. XI).

Cochiti: "The first personage to appear to the onlookers is the heruta of chief of the shiwanna. The koshare are as indispensable in the secret dances as in everything. Their chief is absorbed by the heruta who says to him in signs (the shiwanna never speak), "Here I have the shiwanna who have come to visit the pueblo and present a dance." "What a liar!" says the koshare. "Where are the dancers?" "Close by here. Ask the people if they want to see them." Then the koshare begs the cacique to ask the people if they want to see the shiwanna, or if the koshare asks himself he spices his questions with pleasantries which are a delight to the people. "This old man asks if you want to see his dancers, the shiwanna. If you want to he bids you say 'Yes!'" The women begin to call out, "Yes, yes." The heruta is always deaf as well as dumb. He says in gestures "I hear nothing at all." The women then start to cry louder, "Yes, yes." The heruta points to his ears and holds up one finger; he had heard only one person. "Yes, yes," begins again. The koshare says, "Call louder. This old man has ticks in his ears; he is deaf." Everybody laughs. Finally the heruta has heard. The koshare says to him, "Come, go get your shiwanna.



Show us if you are light-footed in running and bring them to us quickly." The heruta dances where he stands and then disappears round some corner.

Soon he returns with his shiwanna. At their head comes the nalua with his staff of authority in his hand. Behind the nalua comes the heruta. He wears tribal costume, shirt of deerskin, deerskin fringes on the shoulders, and deerskin trouser legs fastened to the belt. He has a black mask in a kind of leathern box the top part of which is covered with woolly buffalo hide. Across the lower part of the leathern ears are two little white eagle feathers. Lightning signs are painted on the face. To the bottom of the mask a rolled-up coyote skin is sewn. (Mask illustrated fig. 22, a, p. 178.) Also Acoma and San Felipe Heruta (White, manuscript).

Jemez. Hymahaie related in character but not appearance (Parsons, Jemez, p. 108; pl. 12, b.)

### . TŌ'WA TCAKWENA (OLD TCAKWENA)

(Plate 38, a)

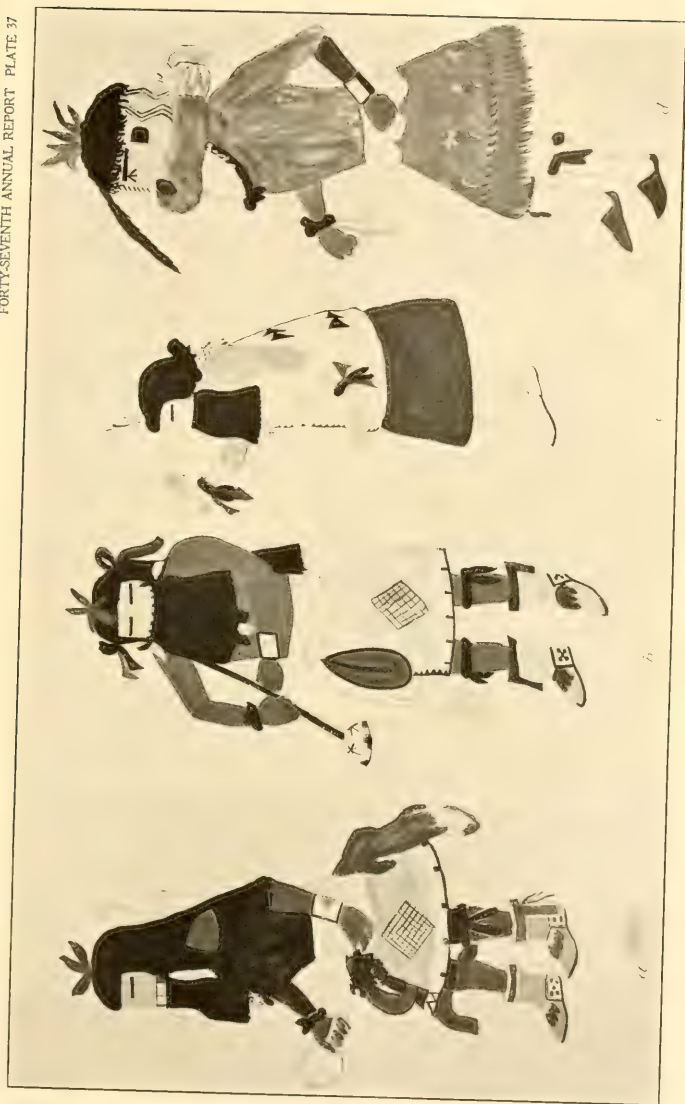
*Costume.*—"He is a society member, therefore he wears the red feather on the right side of the head, and the yucca band. White downy feather on the left side; behind lacowanlana. His hair is long and hangs down the back, and he has a long black beard too. The mask comes under the chin and is painted black with the shiny paint made from the fruit of the yucca. Large mouth.

The body is painted black with hekwitola. The shoulders and forearms are yellow. On each breast and on the back are designs in yellow (piławe, bows). Arm bands of blue buckskin with tabs and fringes of red buckskin. Buckskin kilt, embroidered Hopi sash. Fox skin. Blue moccasins. The legs should be painted black. Turtle shell rattle on right leg. In the right hand yucca, in the left bow and arrow. The leader carries a gourd rattle in the right hand. The dance step is characterized by a peculiar stooping posture.

*Ceremonies.*—The dance belongs to He'iwa kiva and is always danced during ca'lako and often is substituted for Ko'ko'kei in the rain dance series.

"Towa tcakwena always has funny songs. He tells the people, and especially the children, what to do. He used to sing like this at the sacred lake and Pautiwa heard him and said, 'Now you must go to my people at Itiwana and tell them these songs so that they may know how to live. You will go and sing for them like that.' Pautiwa wanted his children to know all these things.

"So Towa Tcakwena came here to dance. First he started and said, 'I am praying for the world to be beautiful for you,' and he said he was bringing the clouds and the rain and that he was a good hunter and wanted his people to have good luck and to live long. He began like this with a nice song, but then he started to sing funny things. He said things like this:



MASKS APPEARING WITH GRINDING RITUAL  
*a*, Upigalafona; *b*, Talyayamu; *c*, Kōkwe'te; *d*, Iiehe'a.



WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES: TOWA TCAKWENA

a, Tcakwena; b, Tontishnapa; c, Tcelili.

"Children, you must mind your parents or the earth will crack and the wild man will come out and eat you.

"You must not drink water while you are eating or all your teeth will fall out.

"Little girls, do not play with the boys or you will menstruate soon and your breasts will get big. And if you have relations with the little boys you will be turned into stones.

"When your first teeth fall out in the daytime do not throw them away in the daytime, but wait until evening and then ask your grandmother for new teeth.

"Little boys, if your mother is in the sand bed<sup>6</sup> do not sit on the sand bed or your legs will hurt all the time and you will never be able to hunt.'

"And he said to the old people, 'When you are cooking, wash your pot, when you take it from the fire, so that its lips will not get sore. And take the stone that you set the pot on outdoors so that it won't sweat all the time.'

"He sang all kinds of things like this right out and the people laughed and laughed and they said to one another, 'Yes; that may be true.' He said all kinds of things and all the people laughed. He said:

"Little girls, if you play with the little boys you will never grow tall, but you will always be short. And if the little boys go with the girls they will never grow up at all.

"I know these things are true,' he said, 'because this is what I have heard from my grandmother, Hemokyatsik, and I always mind what the old people say. And that is why I tell you these things. I want you to mind the old people. This is why I have come and this is why I have the name the unkind Teakwena or the old, old Teakwena.'

"That is the way he comes. He always thinks up all kinds of funny things to tell the people. He makes fun of the people, too. If a man is trying to marry a woman who doesn't want him he talks right out about it. He tells them all kinds of things.

"If your brother has touched a woman, you must never touch her or you will come to be your brother's enemy.

"If a young man sleeps with his brother he must put ashes on his genitals so as not to come to this brother's wife. Boys and girls must not sleep together without ashes.

"Girls, you must be careful not to put your feet in your basket. If you do the young man you marry will take you away to his house and you will never be with your mother.'

<sup>6</sup> Lying in after childbirth.

<sup>7</sup> "It is not good for a girl to live with her husband's people, because if he is living in his mother's house he works for his mother and not for his wife, and if he dies she must go back to her own people empty-handed."

"That is how Towá Tackwena comes. He comes at the end of Ca'lako and sings like this and makes fun of individuals. But he particularly makes fun of the Koyemci. The poor Koyemci have been in retreat for fifteen days and Towá Tackwena comes and makes fun of them and tells them what their wives are doing and tries to hurt their feelings. They say, 'We have just come from the sacred lake. And what do you think? We saw father Koyemci's wife going over to Pautiwa's house while father Koyemci was here at Itiwana.' Then the Koyemci say, 'Are they really doing things like that at the sacred lake while we are here visiting our friends?' So they make fun of them like that because the Koyemci have not been home for fifteen days."

(When Tackwena danced after Ca'lako in 1927 and 1928 their songs contained no direct homilies addressed to the children, but had many references to ceremonial breaches of various individuals. See p. 889 for paraphrase of a Tackwena song.—R. L. B.)

*References.*—Parsons, Winter and Summer Dance Series, page 187, notes on Zuñi, I, 213. Stevenson, pp. 262, 265.

*Parallels.*—Tackwena is danced under this name by the Hopi (teakwaina). (Fewkes, Hopi Katcinas, 62, 3, Pl. IV.) Laguna: Chakwena (Goldfrank, Cochiti, p. 08); Parsons, Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna, figure 2. (This is the other Tackwena.) Cochiti—Chakwena (without mark). San Felipe (Bunzel, Journal of American Folklore, 292). It appears not to be known to the Tewa.

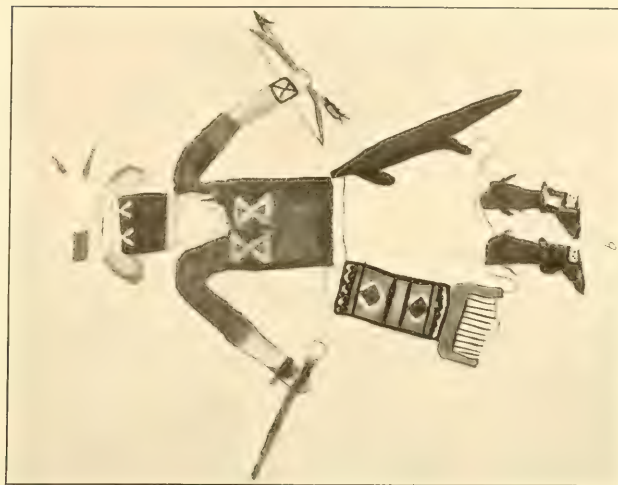
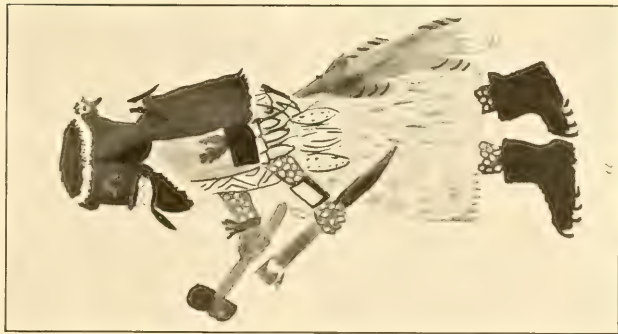
#### ȚCILILI

(Plate 38, c)

*Costume.*—He belongs to the Teakwena set. Headdress like Laguna Teakwena. Goatskin and eagle down over his head on crown, tips forward. Red body paint with zigzags of black, forearms and legs black spotted with white. Buckskin armbands with feathers and spruce. Red cotton kilt with snake painted on it, white belt. Fox skin. Bear claws over feet. In right hand rattle (?), left yucca and stone ax. He should wear a bear skin instead of buckskin shirt and around the edge are sewed claws of the bear and other animals that jingle as he walks. He gets his name Țcilili from the jingling of the bear claws.

*Ceremonies.*—He comes sometimes as solo dancer with Teakwena.

*Mythology.*—When the earth was soft he used to come here and step on the children and little animals with his big feet. He would come to where mothers left their babies in the fields and step on the babies. Then they would die and he would eat them up. Then the people were angry and especially the head men. So they went after him and said to him, "You must not come here any more and eat our babies. We don't want you coming around here. Now your name shall be Țcilili. We shall not call you Teakwena any more, but Țcilili. You shall always walk badly after this, and there shall not be anyone else like you. And we do not want you to



WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES: TOWA TCAKWENA  
*a*, Wé'way; *b*, A'wan nung.





WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES

a, Laguna Teekwema; b, Hatacuku (with Teekwema); c, Kukulull (with mixed dance); d, Kelawam'i (with mixed dance).

come often any more because you have eaten our babies." That is why he doesn't often come with Towa Tcakwena, but only rarely.

*Reference.*—Parsons, Notes on Zuni, 213.

#### HUPOMO''OTCA (SHORT BEARD)

He belongs to Towa Tcakwena set. He is the friend of Tsitsikohane, who comes with short-haired Tcakwena. They are both good hunters.

#### MOK'AIAPONA (BALL EYES)

He has large ball eyes. He sometimes comes with Tcakwena set and dances out of line.

#### WE'WAP

(Plate 39, a)

*Costume.*—Towa Tcakwena mask. Long hair, eagle down on crown, red feather over left ear. Great feather.

Red body paint, forearms and legs black with white spots. War chief bandoleer. Kilt of bear or wild cat skin, fox skin behind. Bear paws over feet. Carries stone ax in right hand, yucca, points back, in left. Comes rarely with Towa Tcakwena set. Arm bands with spruce.

#### TCAKWENA (SHORT-HAIRED TCAKWENA)

(Plate 40, a)

*Costume.*—He has a chin mask painted black. The eyes represent the new moon with the horns down. The people believe that when the new moon appears with the horns down there will be rain during the month, because mother moon is pouring out water. The top and back of the head is covered with wild goat skin dyed black with eagle down stuck to the hair with gum. On the head lacowanlana with duck's head. He has a large mouth (citsitone, teeth together mouth) with a beard over the chin (huponine) of mixed black and gray horsehair.

The body is painted black with yellow designs. The yellow on the shoulders is for fine days with sunshine and rain and no wind. The rows of yellow spots on arms and chest represent the rainbow. The rainbow stops the rain, but they want the rain to go on, so they do not finish the rainbow, but break it with another design. They call this design pilawaṣana, bow painting.

He wears buckskin kilt because he is a good hunter. Embroidered sash, blue moccasins, fox skin, leather arm bands. He wears the buckskin bandoleer of the war chief. Turtle shell rattle on right leg. Gourd rattle in right hand, bow and arrow in left. Many beads, back and front.

*Ceremonies.*—Always performed by Up̄tsanakwe after Ca'lako, and by them or others during summer and winter series.

This dance belongs to up̄tsanawa kiva. They dance it after Ca'lako and in the summer rain dance series. It is a give-away dance. They always bring lots of bread and other things to give to the people.

The songs are in the Laguna language. This is the dance that went to Laguna. They are the short-haired Teakwena (teamokawistowe). They are sometimes called drum teakwena (tcahumoawe).

Two Hatacuku always come with the short-haired Teakwena. They are Laguna katcinas. Tsitsikohana, a good hunter, sometimes comes with them and dances out of line. He used to bring in a deer and have someone help him skin it.

*Folklore.*—The people of Zuñi and Laguna have always been good friends, better friends than any of the other Indians. When the people first came here there were dances going on all the time and everyone was happy. They heard that the Laguna people were friendly and warned them when they thought there was going to be war and sent messengers to let them know if anything was wrong and tried to help them in every way. They heard that the Laguna people were kind. Then the Itiwana people heard that the Laguna people wanted to have a dance and that they did not dance like the Itiwana people. So the Itiwana people decided to go there and dance for them. They sent the Teakwena dance. They practiced their songs here, and when they were ready to go everyone got his clothing ready, the way they do now when they go to the Gallup ceremonial. Some of the women wanted to go, too, and they got ready to go. The men got their masks ready and two men went ahead to tell the Laguna people that the people of Itiwana were coming to dance for them. They told the Laguna people to get a room ready for the dancers to go into. The men who were going to dance bundled up their clothing and walked ahead, and the people who were just going to watch the dance packed their clothing and things on horses and donkeys and went behind. There were many people.

At Laguna everyone was waiting for them. They were baking bread and cooking. They got a room ready for the dancers and the two men who had gone ahead went into the room. The Laguna chief met the dancers as they came to the village and took them to show them their room where they were to go in. The house stood on the west side of the village. It was dark when they got there, so no one saw them come in. The next day they came out and danced in the Laguna village. It was the Towa Teakwena dance. They danced for two days, and on the third day they were going home again. But the Laguna people, and especially the women, wanted them to dance for four days before they went home. The Laguna

men went into the room where they were dressing and made up songs in their own language and had the Zuñi men sing them. The Laguna people liked the Zuñi songs and the Itiwana people liked the Laguna songs, so they exchanged. The Laguna people told them to dance for four days, and so they came out and danced with the Laguna songs. The Laguna songs were all about hunting. The words meant, "Now there is a deer. You are over there. Come to me. I shall put my valuable beads on you. I shall give you all my beads. I shall dress you if you come to me. This is the way we shall live." So they danced with this song and the Laguna people told them, "When you come to your home you will be good hunters. You will always hunt and you will sing the way we have taught you." So they said, "Very well; we shall try it." Then the Laguna people gave them bread and peaches and all the things they had ready to pay them for the dance.

Then they came home and they danced here again for two days after they got back. The people here knew the dancers were coming back and they waited for them. Then when they came they danced here with the Laguna songs, and their dancing was different, too. Then the men got together in the kivas and talked about it, how the Tcakwena dancers came back from Laguna with new songs, and they thought they were nice songs and they liked the Laguna words and the different kind of dancing, too. So after they came back they decided to have two different kinds of Tcakwena—their own old ones and the new ones. So to make them different the ones who had been to Laguna cut off their hair. That is the way we came to have the short-haired Tcakwena. They still sing in the Laguna language, and their dance step is different. They stand up when they dance, but the old Tcakwena dance stooping over. When the men came back from Laguna they brought back with them one of the Laguna katecinas. He is Hatacuku. He is like the Koyemci, but his mask is a little different. There are always two of them, one drums and the other dances. They always speak the Laguna language.

*References.*—Parsons, Notes on Zuñi, I, 212. Stevenson, p. 265.

#### HATACUKU

(Plate 40, *b*)

*Costume.*—The mask is made of cloth painted with clay from the Sacred Lake. He wears turkey feathers in the knobs on his head.

When he comes to drum for Tcakwena he wears only the dark blue kilt fastened on his shoulder, and the string of little bells around his waist. He has no belt and his legs are bare. But when he comes for the winter dances he wears red buckskin moccasins and fringed leggings.

"His mask is not valuable. Anyone can have it. If a young man does not dance with his own kiva or if he has been away while they

are practicing and just comes back the day before they dance and wants to dance with them, he will have some one fix him up as Hatacuku and dance with them. He will take a piece of buckskin or canvas to some older man and have him paint it for him. He measures the man's face and makes the mask. He fills the knobs with clay from the Sacred Lake and paints the mask all over with the same clay. Then he takes seeds and chews them and rubs them all over the mask and prays: "Now I have made you into a person hastily. You will be as valuable as other people are. Do not think yourself cheap, but have a strong soul like the others and bring my people good luck." He chews seeds and rubs them around the mask, inside and out. Then the man for whom he has made the mask stands beside him facing the east. He holds the mask in his hand and says, "Now you will never trouble your father who is going to take care of you. You will never bring him misfortune or bad luck." Then he turns it around four times to take off the bad luck from the man who is going to keep the mask. Then the young man takes it out.

"There is no whipping because it is not a real mask. The young man must get his mask at another time. But any man who wants to join in a dance can wear this.

"He comes with the short-haired Tcakwena and sometimes with the mixed dance. Sometimes he just comes with Sālimoṣiya at the winter dance series.

"He comes from Laguna. The Tcakwena brought him back when they went there to dance. He always talks the Laguna language. He makes jokes about people."

#### TOMTSINAPA

(Plate 38, b)

*Costume.*—The face is painted blue with stripes of black and yellow around the edge, "to bring the rains to Itiwana." On the sides of the head are painted dragon flies "to make the crops grow fast." He has a protruding snout with a band of red dyed rabbit fur where it joins the mask. On the head yellow parrot feathers with downy feathers of the eagle. Standing up at the back of the head a fan of eagle wing feathers, with black goat's hair where they are fastened. Spruce collar. The body paint is pink clay from the sacred lake. He wears arm bands of blue buckskin with tabs of buckskin and turkey feathers. Embroidered kilt like that worn by Sā'limoṣiya. Blue leather belt with silver belt over it. White tasseled sash, fox skin, blue moccasins. Yarn on both legs with little bells. In the left hand a spruce sapling with yarn of different colors tied around the base, and feathers at the top (downy feather, hawk, humming bird, oriole).

*Ceremonies.*—"Tomtsinapa used to come with the mixed dance, but now he comes with the short-haired Tcakwena. There is a long story of how they came to change.

"He always dances out of line and gives the calls for the dancers, for he is a sweet singer. He has a valuable voice. Pautiwa sent him in with the mixed dance and said to him, 'You shall go to Itiwana to bring the people your sweet voice, so that the women may sing sweet songs when they grind the corn, for the corn likes to hear the women sing as they grind. And you will go for the sake of the men also, for they sing for the women as they grind.' And so Tomtsinapa came with the mixed dance to bring the people his sweet voice and to bless them with good crops. He came and danced out of line and gave his call in a loud voice. And when the dancers came to the end of each song Tomtsinapa came to the center and gave his call. The people all liked to hear him and said, 'Oh, hasn't this one a sweet voice!' And every time he gave his call all the people breathed in and prayed, 'May I have a sweet voice like that.' They knew without being told why he had been sent to Itiwana. And he brought his sweet voice to the people."

*References.*—Parsons, Notes on Zuñi, I, p. 212.

#### TST'ROHAN'O'NA

"Sometimes comes with the short-haired Tcakwena and dances out of line. He has a white beard instead of gray and black. He is the best hunter. He carries bow and arrow and a quiver also. He used to bring in a deer and a man who wanted to be a good hunter would help him skin it. His friend is Hupomo'otca who belongs to Towa Tcakwena. They never come in together, but they are friends and always used to hunt together and always killed many deer."

#### THE MIXED DANCE

A mixed dance, a line dance in which all participants are differently costumed and masked, may be performed by any kiva during the winter or summer series. After Ca'lako two mixed dances are required. Ohewa regularly dances a mixed dance (Wotemla). Heḱā-pawa has recently substituted the old mixed dance (Towa Wotemla) for the unpopular Mahetīnaca. This latter uses a drum, has different songs, and is otherwise different from the regular mixed dance.

The costumes of the mixed dance are varied and imaginative.<sup>8</sup> Some are "pretty dancers," some terrible or grotesque. They form a motley outfit less attractive to us than the more carefully styled KoKo'kci. One never knows just what masks will appear with Wo'temla. Some are familiar, some are inventions. Ahute, Tem-

<sup>8</sup> Photographs of the mixed dance are shown in Stevenson, Plate LXIX.



temci and other "dangerous" katecinas always appear, the others are selected at random according to the preferences of participants and the available masks.

Mixed katecinas are performed in all pueblos. There is probably little correspondence in the individual masks.

#### KUKUCULI

(Plate 40, c)

*Costume.*—His face is like Tomtsinapa's. The head is painted black to represent the sky, and the white spots are the stars. On the back of his head is painted a large butterfly. Over each ear he wears a squash blossom. On the head yellow parrot feathers, and at the back standing upright parrot tail feathers with downy feathers and small parrot feathers, spruce collar, the twigs tipped with popcorn to represent stars. He is a sky katecina.

His body paint is red paint mixed with pink clay. The arms and legs are yellow. He wears arm bands of blue buckskin with scallops and fringes of red buckskin. White cotton kilt with blue band, embroidered sash and red woman's belt. Fox skin. Blue moccasins with yarn on both legs. He carries yamuwe in both hands, "because he is the sky." On the yamuwe are turkey feathers and feathers of all the little birds.

He is the leader of the mixed dance. He used to come with Teakwena, but now he comes with the mixed dance as their solo dancer and gives the calls for them. He comes with the mixed dance that uses the drum.

*Myth.*—Long ago, Hainawi and Homatci and Temtemci and some other katecina village people used to come in to dance at Itiwana. Then other people came from outside, like Salt woman and Deer katecina and Bear katecina, and Pautiwa always sent them in to dance with the mixed dance. Now the mixed dance had no drum, and some of them wanted to have a buckskin bundle and to dance like Teakwena.<sup>9</sup>

Now they were getting ready to go to Itiwana and Pautiwa said, "All these outside people have come and joined us. Is everyone here?" Then they thought of all the directions. The bear had come from the east and the white bear had come from the south and the wild goat had come from the north, and there were coyote and deer and all different animals from all the directions. Then Pautiwa asked again, "Is everyone here?" The stars and the clouds from all different directions were there, and the only one that was missing was

<sup>9</sup> The buckskin bundle is called tesianane. It is made by bundling different kinds of clothing and cloth of all kinds in a buckskin, wrapping it very tight and tying it with rawhide thongs. The bundle is very hard and resounds when struck.

the sky. So they said to Pautiwa, "Our sky mother or sky father has not come." They did not even know whether the sky was a man or a woman, because they had never seen him. Then Pautiwa said, "He must come too, and call out for you. He does not know the songs because he has not been here, and so he can not sing, but he shall come and give the calls for you."

So the sky person dropped down. He was black all over and he was wearing the stars on his head and the stars were shining. He looked dangerous, and as he came in it got colder. Everyone was busy getting ready for the dance. They were practicing their songs and their dancing. Then he came in and Pautiwa said, "Have you come?" He said, "Yes," and he sat down. Then he said again, "Why have you sent for me? I should like to hear it now." Then Pautiwa said, "We have called you down here because everyone has come here but you. Would you like to join in our dance and go with us to Itiwana? I want you to decide what you want to do." So he said. Then sky man answered, "Yes, my father. The people of Itiwana are offering feathers to the sun and the clouds. I hold them up, for I am the sky. Therefore it is right that I should come." Then Pautiwa said, "It is good. Everyone is here now and they all have their songs. But there is no one to give the calls for their dance. Therefore you will give the calls for them."

Then they dressed him for the dance. He was black all over so they painted his body the way he was to look, and they gave him valuable clothing and feathers for his head. They gave him all the different things that he wears and then they said, "Now this is the way you will look." Then Sayataca made him two batons of cat-tail stalks, and tied feathers to them so that he would go easily. He walks with short steps.

Then the head men at the katchina village made up a bundle for a drum, for they had no drum. They laid out two embroidered white blankets and two buckskins, and between the two blankets they laid long strings of valuable beads. Then Pautiwa said to the clothing he was bundling up, "Now I am holding you, valuable clothing. You shall be valuable to the people. Now all the people will come running when they hear you. We do not want anyone to stay home, but we want them all to come out and see this dance. Therefore you are valuable." He said this to the clothing and then he held the bundle tight and tied it up. Then Hehe'a was the one to drum for them. He beat the drum and the sky man started to walk up and down. Then he came to the middle of the line and he called out "Kukuculi." Then he called again, "Hu-u-u!" like the Sälimoṣiya. He tried his calls and they sounded well. Then they said to him, "That is a good call that you have given. And that is the way they will call you when you go to Itiwana. This is the name that you will have."

So he came with them to Itiwana. When they came here the people knew most of the dancers as they came in. But they did not know this one and they said to one another, "His name must be Kukuculi, for that is his call."

So that is why he comes with the mixed dance, because his name is Kukuculi. He comes and gives his call for them. And that is why they have the drum. When Kukuculi came they made the drum. He used to dance with Teakwena, but he changed and came with the mixed dance and brought the drum with him. The old mixed dance (fowa wotemla) has no drum. All the dangerous katcinas like Hainawi and Homatci come with the old mixed dance.

#### KĀLAWAN'I

(Plate 40, d)

Wooden headdress painted with dragon flies, etc. Downy feathers on corners. Very long hair with downy feathers. Mask painted turquoise with bear paws. Ball eyes. Large wooden snout. Spruce collar.

Red body paint, yellow legs and forearms. Two bandoleers of yucca. Embroidered kilt, embroidered sash, red belt, fox skin, yarn on legs, blue moccasins. Right hand deer scapula, left hand bow and arrow and spruce. Arm bands.

Comes with mixed dance.

He lives in springs. His long hair is rain. Once he passed over Zuñi in the air; he was long and shiny like an icicle (a dirigible!).

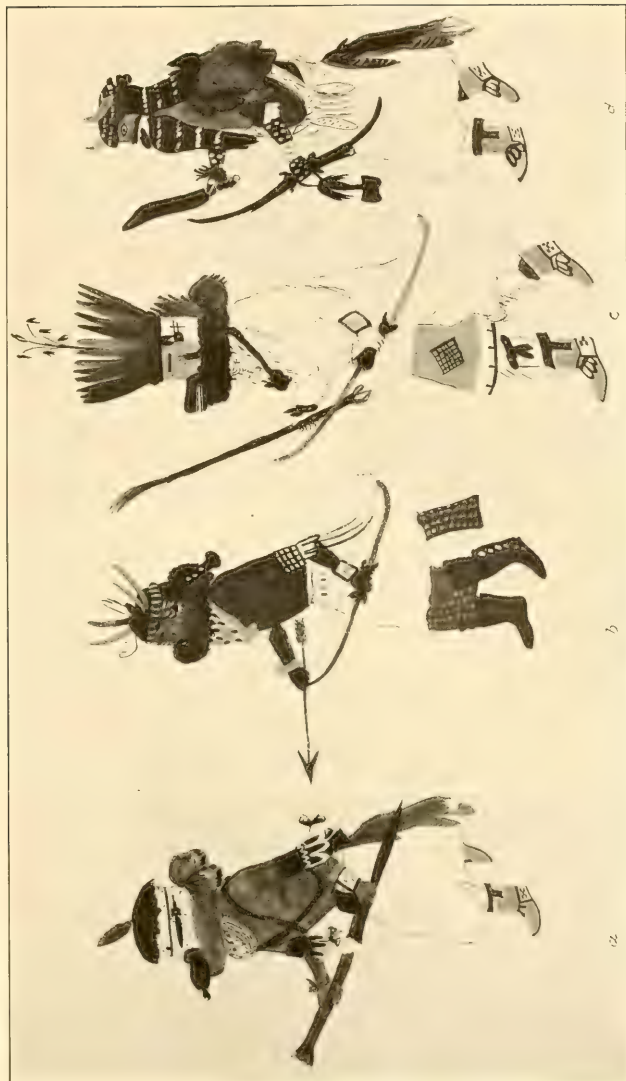
#### AINCEKOKO (BEAR KATCINA)

(Plate 41, a)

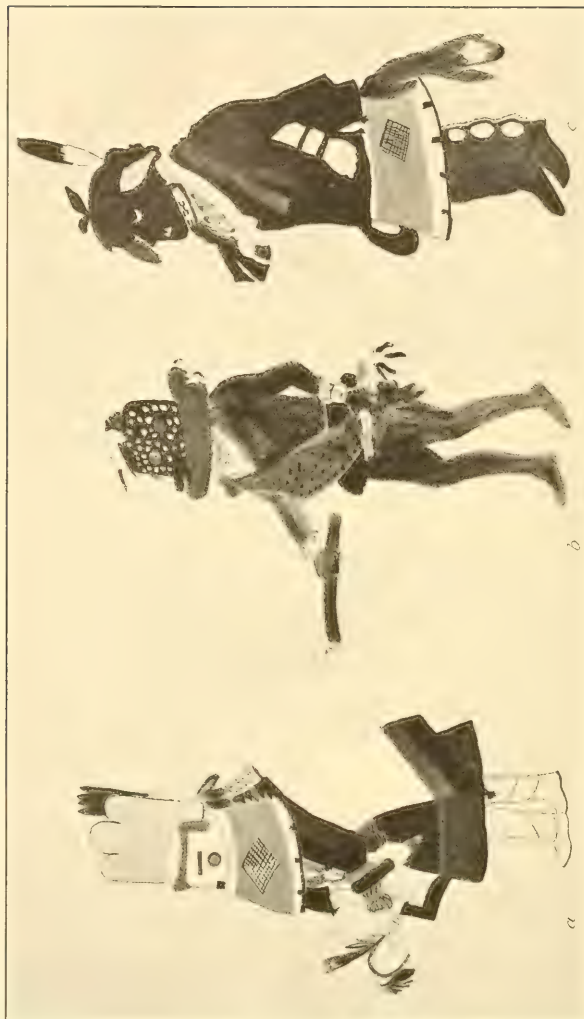
*Costume.*—The mask is white painted with red and blue and black spots. The top of the head is covered with black hair. He has a big mouth with his red tongue hanging out. He has a hawk feather in each red ear. He wears the red feather in the hair and the yucca band because he is a member of a society. Beads like society people.

The body is painted red, legs white. He wears a blue woven loin cloth and over it a buckskin shirt, embroidered sash, and fox skin. He is dressed like a society member, but wears his dance clothes over the society clothes. He has yucca on the right wrist, a leather wrist band on left. Armbands with lahacoma, yucca in both hands. Blue moccasins. Yucca bands over both shoulders.

*Myth.*—Long ago there were bears around here, but the society of bears was at Cipapolima. The bears came here from Cipapolima and then the people sent them out in all directions. They said, "Now you, white bear, you will have your home in the south world. That is where you will stay, and when we need you you will come in to cure the people." So they said, and he went to the south. Then they



WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES: THE MIXED DANCE  
 Amechoko (Bear); *b*, La. Sa-yu-pu; *c*, Tsuplanawu; *d*, Sigukli.



WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES: THE MIXED DANCE  
*a*, Malokitsig (Salt Woman); *b*, Teemik (Echo); *c*, Ya'ana.

said, "Now, father of the bears, black bear, we shall give you a home in the east. That will be your home and when we need you when anyone wants to join (a society?) we shall call you and you will come. You will always come when we call you." So they said, and he went to the east. Then they sent the mountain lion to the north and told him to come whenever they called him. And they sent the wild cat to the west. Then they called Atcialatapa and told him to look after the heaven. They told each animal to look after one of the directions. "And now who will go underneath and look after the earth?" Then they sent badger there. Then they called the stars and said, "You will always come down to the altars because you are the seeds of the heavens." So when the society people put up their altars they always make a meal painting. This represents the sky and they always use grains of white corn for the stars. So they told each one what he was to do when he came into the society.

Then they went out in all directions. The black bear went to the east. He was really a bear and walked around the trees eating piñon nuts. It was at the winter solstice that they sent the animals out. Then he went to sleep because the bears sleep in winter. In February, while the winter dance series was going on, the black bear awoke. The bear wakes up at the first thunderstorm of spring. So he woke up and stretched himself. He looked around. There were no clouds and nothing growing and he was very lonely. Then he thought, "I think it is spring. I do not have to go back again now." The other animals had all gone back to Cipapolima, but this bear had been told to watch the east. Then he thought, "I have heard there are kateinas at kateina village, and if anyone wants to he can go there and join them and go with them whenever they go to dance at Itiwana. I have feathers, too, so I can go there. I think I shall go there."

So he went. He went around to the south so as to meet his brother, the white bear. He came to the south and there was the white bear. He was still asleep. So he thought he would wake him up. But then he thought, "Maybe if I wake you up you will be angry. I suppose you did not hear the rumble of the thunder. When you wake up you will come to the Sacred Lake. So he left him and went on to kateina village. When he reached there he went in. He went in, a big black bear with big feet, and he sniffed at all of them. He smelled of the little Heh'ea and the others. The kateinas were all dancing and singing different kinds of songs. Then he went to the valuable place, where Pautiwa and Sayataca and all the valuable people stayed. Then Pautiwa said, "Now, my children, be quiet for a moment. Our father has come here. I want to hear why he has come." So they stopped dancing and everyone took his place. Then he asked, "Why have you come? I know you have come for something, for you have never come here before." "Well," he said, "I have come to join in



sometime when you go to Itiwana. I have heard that any animal who wants to come with you can meet you. I have been in the east, but it is lonely there. I was lying down in my cave and I was lonely. Then I heard you over here and I thought I would come here and join you and go with you to Itiwana any time you go. The society members at Itiwana have worked on feathers for me and whoever has feathers can join you here. So I thought I would join you so as to go to Itiwana and be happy with my people." Then Pautiwa said, "We are very glad. We are happy to have you here and to know that you will join us and go to Itiwana." Then he said to him, "You are not just a common person. You are valuable. You are like us who look after the winter solstice." (He meant the valuable people who come at the winter solstice, Pautiwa and Sayataca and Sayali'a and Citsukia and Kewlele. These are the important people who look after the year.) "Now we shall take you to Itiwana to-morrow. Stay here with us and we shall take you with us to Itiwana."

So when the next day came everyone got ready and all the dancers asked, "Which of us shall go to Itiwana?" He did not fit in with Koḱokci or with Muluktaḱä. So Pautiwa said, "Whenever any of the wild animals want to go to Itiwana they always have to go with the mixed dance. The mixed dance will go with him." So they began to get ready. All the dangerous ones got ready to go with him. Then they began to dress him, "Now take off your fur dress," they told him. So he took off his skin and turned into a person and they began to paint him. They painted his body red with the kadcina village clay and began to dress him the way he would look. They put on the red feather because he is a society person. They put on the yucca band and gave him nice beads. He was wearing a blue loin cloth. They said to him, "Don't take off your loin cloth because you are a society member." So he kept on the blue loin cloth and they put the buckskin over it. They gave him arm bands and bunches of yucca. They dressed him and said, "Now you will go like this." While he was getting ready many different new animals came and joined the mixed dance. All the kadcinas who do not live at kadcina village, like Salt woman, came in and got ready in the morning.

So they took him with them to Itiwana. When the mixed dance comes the people all go out to see who is coming with them, and this time the bear came with them. Then the people said, "Oh, there comes the bear, the society man. He has gone over there too." Then all the men in societies at Itiwana worked on feathers and in the evening when the kadcinas finished dancing they took the bear into one of the society rooms. There the medicine chief of the society gave him the big bundle of feathers to take with him to his home in the east when he went back.

That is why the bear comes in the mixed dance. Sometimes he comes dressed like a katchina, but sometimes he comes like a real bear in a bearskin dress. (See p. 1055.)

In the mixed dance the different katchinas come in from all different directions. The first time the new katchinas came to Itiwana they went to the katchina village to get ready, but now they come right from their homes whenever they hear the mixed dance going on. Then in the evening they all go out to Wide River together.

#### LA'SAIYAPONA

(Plate 41, b)

*Costume.*—On head, downy feathers, feathers of macaw and turkey wing. Band of colored yarn about head. Hair done up in back. Red nose and mouth, blue zigzags on cheeks (like Hehe'a). Spruce collar.

Red body paint. Buckskin kilt, silver belt. Under it a long breechcloth of printed cotton hanging down before and behind. Woolen hose. Red moccasins. Carries arrow in right hand, bow in left. Arm bands, bow bracelet, yarn, necklaces.

Comes in mixed dance with Bear, Tsupianawe, Suyuki.

#### T̄SUPIANAWĒ (BANANAS)

(Plate 41, c)

*Costume.*—Mask: face turquoise with bear claws, back white with dragon flies. Long wooden snout. Yarn around head. Standing up, a crown of simulated "bananas," in center slender twigs with soft feathers attached.

White shirt, buckskin fastened on right shoulder, embroidered kilt, sash, buckskin leggings, blue moccasins. Yarn around legs. In right hand long leaves of cat-tail or similar aquatic plant, in left, bow and arrow and spruce.

Comes in mixed dance with Bear, etc.

#### SUYUKI

(Plate 41, d)

*Costume.*—Face mask painted brown, with long black beard, red mouth and tongue. Eagle down in long beard and flowing hair. Cattle horns on a yucca band around head. Lacowanana.

Coyote or wildcat skin around shoulders. Red body paint, bando-leer, buckskin kilt, fox skin. Blue moccasins. In right hand a stone knife, in left, bow and arrow and stone ax.

Comes in mixed dance with Bear, etc. A Hopi importation.

## MALOKĀTSIK (SALT OLD WOMAN)

(Plate 42, a)

*Costume.*—On her head she has piles of raw cotton heaped up the way the salt is heaped up in the Salt Lake. At the back of the head lapapoa (a combination of parrot tail feathers, downy feathers, and small parrot feathers). The mask is painted white all over. Around the head strings of beads with a turquoise ear pendant over the forehead. The cheeks are painted with circles of red and blue. A light blue kilt is folded around the neck.

Her hands are painted white. She should not wear the underdress and the moccasins, but just the black dress, the white fringed belt and a white blanket, with bare arms and bare feet, but now she wears the other things.

In her left hand she carries the mother corn (mikāpan'e), the flattened ear, such as is left by mothers to take care of their babies when they are away. In the right hand a crook called tatsik'ane tsiltsikona (crook to make a noise). This used to be given her by Pautiwa, but now she borrows the crook of one of the rain priests. These crooks are kept with the rain priests' bundles in the sacred houses, and each year at the winter solstice the feathers are renewed. The length of the crook is from the wrist to the inner joint of the elbow. The large feather is eagle; then bluejay; kēwia; mocking bird; onalikā; humming bird. Hanging from the crook is a lacowan'e of a feather from the leg of the eagle and all the small feathers on the crook. Hanging from the crook are two old abalone shells. She carries the crook to bring the rain.

She comes in the mixed dance. Stevenson, (page 361) describes the appearance of Malokātsik with Kohakwa okā (white shell women) and the Sun for an isolated ceremony.

*Myth.*—Long ago when the people first came here they used to live where the Black Rock Lake now is. When the girls wanted to stay out late with the boys they would tell their mothers they were going to get salt. They would take their sacks and go out and get a little salt and bring it home and then go for more so as to stay out late. And they used to befoul the salt at the edge of the lake and then go out to dig it where it was nice and clean. They treated our Salt Mother as though her body were not sacred. And every day during the winter Salt woman heard the dancing going on at Itiwana, every night and in the daytime too. Then she was lonesome and one night she thought, "I shall go to the south and look for another place to live. I should like to be a little nearer to Katcina Village so that when night comes I can go there to visit whenever I get lonesome. I shall go to the south for I have heard that they come from the

south. I shall go there and look around for a place to stay and go to visit the people of Katcina Village.

Now at that time Turquoise man went to stay at a spring a little to the north of the salt lake. In the night she went to Turquoise man and said, "I am going to the south. I do not want my people to treat me the way they do. It hurts my feelings. I am going to run away to the south so that they will have a hard time to find me and will come to me with much labor. Then they will always love me more than anything else. I have made my plans. I am going to the south," she told him. Then Turquoise man said, "May I go with you?" "Yes, you may come with me. Which way had you decided to go?" "To the east," he said. "Let us both run away. They will surely be sorry. Let them come to-morrow for the last time, and then when night comes let us go."

So the next night they got ready, and they started in the morning before daybreak, in the early dawn. Turquoise man came and Salt woman joined him, and they went on together. They passed the narrow place southeast of the lake, the place called "Where the cliffs come together." As she went by she said, "I think I shall leave my feather here." So she took the downy feather from her hair and planted it there, and ever since then this place has been called "Where the downy feather stands" (uhkahaianim'e). She left the feather there and said, "Now they will find my feather here, and they will never forget my name." So they went on to the south, and wherever they passed the trees died and fell down as though they had been pulled up by the roots. They left an open trail about as wide as the bridge across the river. Then they turned and went a little to the east. Finally they came to where Salt woman now lives. Then Turquoise man asked her, "Now we have passed many places. Now let me know which place you like best." Where they had stopped there was a spring and trees all around. So she thought that would be a good place for her to stay, because there were mountains on all sides. She looked to the west and she saw clouds hanging, and she could feel the wind from Katcina Village. So she thought she would stay there. "This is the place where I shall stay," she said. "I am close to my people at Katcina Village. Now you shall think where you want to stay," she said to Turquoise man. Then he said, "I shall turn and go to the east, that is where I am going." So he turned and went to the east and he came to Santo Domingo (Wetu-wala), and that is where Turquoise man stays now.

Now Salt woman stayed there for four days, and all the time she could hear the dancing going on at Katcina Village. She heard it like whispering in the lake. Then she said to herself, "Now I have stayed here a long time." It was really four years, and she thought it was long enough. "Now to-morrow I shall go and visit my people

and see how they are." So next day she started. She went there and when she got there everyone was dancing. She went in. She was white all over and when she came in she brought a draught of cold air. Then Pautiwa said, "Now who is coming?" They did not know who it was. It was the first time she had gone there, and they had never seen anyone like that before. So he called his people, "My children, stop dancing for a little while. Someone else has come here." Then everyone stopped dancing. There she was. She was white all over. Then Pautiwa and Sayataca asked her, "Where is your home that you have thought of us and come here? We thought all our people were together here, but now you have come." She said, "I am not really your people. I am the salt. I make people well. I am Salt woman. I have been living in the east by my people at Itiwana. I stayed a little to the east of their village, but they treated me badly and so I have gone away to the south. I used to hear you people coming to dance at Itiwana so I have come to visit you here to find out whether I can go to Itiwana with you so that my children there may give me feathers like they give you. I need feathers like yours, and I thought that if I should go to Itiwana with you my people would give me feathers. That is why I have come. I want to go with you so that my people will always remember me and when they are out of salt they will make me a new dress and take it to my lake."

So Pautiwa and Sayataca said, "It is well. We are very glad to have you. We always want people to join us in our village here. We shall get you ready to go with us. My people will be ready to go when the fourth day comes," Pautiwa said. So she said, "I shall come again in the morning and we shall go. Now, I am going. I have come here gladly," she said, and she went back home. So she went back home, and at Katcina Village they were practicing for the mixed dance.

Now at Itiwana the people went again for salt, and when they got to the lake there was nothing there at all. There was just a salty place. Then the priests and the headmen all went there to see where she had gone. They saw her trail going to the south. They thought they would never have any salt again, for they thought that she had gone all the way to the south ocean. Then they went back and picked up all the little scraps of salt that the girls had thrown away on the road and brought it back, because they were afraid they would never have any salt again.

When the fourth day came she went to Katcina Village and when she got there they dressed her. They laid out a white embroidered blanket for her and a white kilt. Hemokätsik dressed her. They gave her a dress and a blanket and they dressed her. They gave her beads and tied the parrot feathers to her head. Then they said,



"What shall she carry?" Then they said, "You shall carry the crook that the rain priests make from kuli.<sup>10</sup> This is the way you shall go." So they gave her a crook. So she was ready and she came with them in the mixed dance. They came in in the night and the next morning the mixed dance came out. There she was. No one knew that she was Salt woman. Then they found out that she was Salt woman. She glistened all over just like salt. Then they went to the kiva and asked the katchinas if she was really Salt woman. They said, "Yes, she is really Salt woman. She is living to the south, and she came to Katchina Village and asked to come with us so that you people might work on the feathers for her. That is why she has come with us." Then right away the katchina chief and his pekwin and all the priests worked on feathers for her to take back home. In the evening when they had finished their dance and the katchinas were ready to go home they took her into the ceremonial room of the priests. Then the priests gave her the feathers and said, "Our mother, you have come. You used to be close to us, but you have gone away and now you live in the south. You have gone to the Sacred Lake and have come here with our people. We are glad you have come. We shall always work on feathers for you. Do not hide yourself from us. Always come and we shall always be glad to see you. Now here, you shall have these for your clothing." Then they gave her the bundle of prayer sticks to take back with her when she went to the south.

Then the katchinas went back to Katchina Village and Salt woman went to the south with her feathers, and she made the road for the people to come to her when they needed salt. That is why we have Salt woman come in the mixed dance, and that is why the people always work on feathers when they go to the Salt Lake. They give her feathers to bring the salt. Sometimes, they say, she runs away and there is no salt, but only lots of water. That is how she comes, and she carries the crook of the rain priests to bring rain. She brings the rain as well as the salt.

OHAPA (BEE)

(Plate 43, b)

*Costume.*—He has flowers all over the top of his head. They are made of corn husks cut up and dyed different colors and sewed together with sinew. The bees are made of cotton or wool shaped and painted and set on thin wires. He wears a bunch of blue feathers sticking out behind. He has honey hidden under the flowers on the top of his head.

*Ceremonies.*—He comes in the mixed dance, and Hehe'a always comes with him to get the honey from his head. When he comes Hehe'a picks out a man from the crowd of spectators and the Koyemci

<sup>10</sup> I have not been able to identify this plant. It is much used for prayer sticks.



call him down from the housetop. Then Hehe'a helps him to get the honey. He carries great branches of cedar and waves them around to keep the bees from stinging him. Then he complains that he has been stung and asks the man to give him food to take home with him because he has helped him.

"The babies used to be cross when they were teething, and the priests thought that they ought to have some medicine for the babies, and they thought that they should have honey to use in the medicine, and they needed honey also to use in their paints to make them shiny. So they thought about the bee and over at Katcina Village they heard them and Pautiwa sent the bee here the way he sent the deer because the people wanted him in a prayer. That is how he came. He has been coming for a long time."

### TECAMIḲĀ (ECHO)

(Plate 42b, c)

*Costume.*—On the head the great feather (lacowanlana); the mask is painted black with white spots. His body is black all over. He should not wear the fawn skin. He wears blue loin cloth. Coyote skin around the neck. He carries a torch to burn the corrals, and yamuwe, short pieces of wood with pendent feathers.

*Ceremonies.*—He comes in the mixed dance.

"He is an angry dancer, and the people are afraid of him. They called him to come when the earth cracked, and since then he comes with the mixed dance. He comes when it is cold, and they say he brings the cold weather.

"They say he warns the people when misfortune is coming. Anyone who expects a baby will go to his home and look for omens. Last year a man went there and he saw lots of turquoise, but when he went to pick it up there was none there. He came back and told the people, and they said it meant that the people would have lots of turquoise, and a little later a man came down from Gallup with lots of turquoise, and the people bought a great deal.

"He doesn't live at Katcina Village, but in a canyon south of Itiwana."

*Myth.*—When the people first came here there was no Echo man. Then there was an earthquake at Where-the-pine-tree-stands. The people were very much afraid because the rocks were falling. All the priests went there. They worked on prayer sticks and made crooks and took them there and set them down to make the rocks hold together so that the animals would not come out from underneath. Yet as time went on the crack got larger. Then all the priests met together and said, "What shall we do to make the earth come together? We have heard that the Hopi know how to make the

earth come together. Whom shall we send to tell them to come and help us? Let us call a fast runner and send him to the Hopi." So the war chief went out and called in a fast runner. When he came in he said, "My fathers, what have you to say that you have called me in? I should like to know." Then all the men said, "Now, our son, we would like you to go to the Hopi and ask them if they can come to help us. Tell them your fathers here know them and thought of them here, that they know how to shut up the earth. Say we have an earthquake here and need their help. And you will say this, 'You may ask for anything you want and no matter what you ask for, my fathers will be willing to give it to you.'"

Then the priest made for him a downy feather tied to a cotton cord and fastened it in his hair that he might go quickly. Then the boy left and went to the Hopi and told their chief what the priests had told him. Then the Hopi chief said, "I shall tell my people and we shall come to-morrow." So he said. The boy came back. He came back quickly because he was wearing the downy feather, and he got back the same night. The next morning he went to the priests and told them that the Hopi were coming.

So the Hopi man went to the others and he told three of the chiefs to come to his house. When they came he said, "The Itiwana people have called us. They have had an earthquake there and they need us to come. What do you think? Shall we go?" Then the three chiefs said, "Yes, we should go, because if we should ever have trouble and need them, then they will come and help us. It is better for us to go." Then they all four of them got their buckskins and they said, "Now what shall we take with us?" Then they said, "You shall go there to the north and ask our grandfather to make us a mat of reeds (*lañine*)." The Hopi went there and he said, "How do you do, my grandfather," and he replied, "How do you do, grandson." Then the Hopi said, "I have come here to ask you to help us make a mat of reeds for our people in Itiwana. They have had an earthquake and they have called us to help them and we are going there. We have four buckskins, and we know that you have a strong body, so we have asked you if you will come and make us a reed mat." Then he answered, "You shall not carry that. I shall make it for you and I shall go with you. It is better so. The daylight people do not know how to close up the earth. I shall go with you and show you how to close up the earth. You are the people to close up the earth here, because this is your country, but over there you can not do it, so I shall go with you and be a great help to the people." So he said. Then the man said, "Very well. I shall ask my head ones first. I must ask them before you can go with me." So he went back and asked the three chiefs. He came back without the reed mat and other things. They asked him, "Why is it they did

not let you have the mat?" He said, "Our grandfather is going with us. He is going to carry his mat along. He said we can not help the Itiwana people. He said that only the gods can help them." Then the other three men said, "I think it is all right for him to go with us. But if he goes with us we must not go close to him. He must go behind us and not go first, because if he should go first and drink and if we should drink at the same place we would surely die. He is dangerous. So you go and tell him to be ready, and tell him to start after we have gone." So they said.

So again the man went back, and when he got there the katcina was lying down in his home. When the man came in he said, "Are you lying down?" "Yes." Then he said, "You shall come with us. We shall go first, and you will go behind us. Take your blanket along with you." So the man went home and told them, "Now let us get ready. He will be ready soon." So they rolled up their buckskins and they washed their hair and each one took his buckskin and they walked. They came here.

Here all the priests were waiting for them in their ceremonial room. In the afternoon just as the sun turned over they came. They said, "We are bringing a raw person with us. Will you please have a separate room for him and let him come into a separate room." So they got a place ready for him in another room. The people all went out to see him come in. He came carrying his reed mat, and he went into his room. He went in talking about what the people outside said. In the next room the Hopi and the priests were talking, then they said, "We have sent for you to come because we have had trouble. We have had an earthquake and the crack is getting larger and larger. Perhaps you can help us, and we shall always be glad to return your kindness." The Hopi said "Very well. Now let us go."

All the priests had been working on prayer sticks, so the chief priest went first holding the basket full of prayer sticks and the Hopi chiefs followed him. The other priests followed and way behind came Echo man. Everyone watched them go. They went to the south. When they came to the place where the earth was cracked the chief priest knelt down and set his bundle of feathers in the crack and said, "Now you who have cracked open the earth and are sending the wild animals to come out and destroy us, do not do it. We give you these valuable feathers. Please close this crack and help our people." So he said and set down his feathers. When he put down his feathers he said again, "We give you these." Then the others said, "Shall we stay here or shall we go away?" Then the Hopi said, "Yes, our fathers, we think you had better go away. We do not want you here when we close the crack. Go a little ways off and rest and we shall fix it." So the head priests of Itiwana went

back the way they had come. Then Echo man came close and the Hopi men stepped back. They were afraid to stand too close to him, for he was a real raw person, not just a man with a mask. He came and knocked on the rocks in every direction and he laid his reed mat over the crack. Then he stepped on it. The people were afraid he would fall into the crack, but he never did. He stepped on it, and tried it, and the mat never even bent. Then he said, "Now my work is finished," and went away and stayed a little ways off. Then the Hopi men came and spread a buckskin over it, and then they put down another buckskin and there were two of them there. They used their paint that they had brought along with them; it was a paint that they used on their prayer sticks. Again they put down two more buckskins and then felt them in every direction and said, "Now we have done this, our Earth Mother, that you may not open up any more. You must not let the wild animals come out nor the floods to destroy the people of Itiwana. You must not come out and bring them bad luck." So they said.

Then they turned around and came back toward Itiwana. They came to where the priests were met in their ceremonial room. When they came back the chief priest asked the Hopi and said, "Now, my people, you will go to the houses and our people will give you food before you go home. And besides that, what would you like to have? No matter what valuable thing you ask for we will give it to you." So they said to the Hopi because the Hopi men had been so kind. Then they said, "Now, our fathers, we shall just go around to the houses for food to take home with us, and we shall not ask for anything. We may have trouble in our country sometime and we may want you to come and help us. So we won't take anything, and it will be that we shall always help one another." They went around, and they held hands with the Itiwana people, and they breathed on one another's hands. Then again they asked, "What does your grandfather want? What would he like to take home?" Then the Hopi said to him, "Now, you will ask for what you want. You have done the most important thing. You are wise." Then he said, "I do not want anything at all. I am not going back to my home. I am going to stay here. I belong here. I am the one who made the world firm, and if the world comes open again I am the one to close it up. And you, my fathers, you will give me a home where I may live." So he said to the chief priest. Then all the Hopi were sorry and said, "Oh, don't stay here!" They did not want him to stay because he was wise. But he said that he wanted to stay here at Itiwana. So the head priests called the katchina chief and when he came they said to him, "Our father, we have sent for you because this, our grandfather here, came from the west and he wants to stay here, and he has asked us where is a good place for him to have his

home." Then the kadcina chief said, "To the south, because that is where he made the earth close. That is where he will live. Now we shall take you and show you where your home will be. And hereafter any time when our children, the kadcinas, come here you may come with them." So the kadcina chief took him to the south and gave him a home, and that is how he happens to live in the south. We call that place Echo House, and when the mixed dance comes, he comes with them. The priests made batons for him because he had nothing pretty to wear or to carry.

When the earth was closed the people were happy, and they called the mixed dance to come and dance for Echo man. They called the sacred lake people to send the mixed dance to please him. When he heard the dancers coming he came carrying his baton. He got here about noon when they were dancing in the west plaza. He could not speak the Zuñi language and all he could say was what people said to him. So whenever anyone spoke to him he repeated what they said. So they called him Echo man. He came from the Hopi, not from here, and he doesn't live at Kadcina Village with the other kadcinas, but in the south at Echo House.

#### YA'ANA

(Plate 42, c)

*Costume.*—On the head yellow parrot feathers. Sticking up at back one tail feather of the eagle. At the left side of the head a downy feather, on the right side a red feather. Black wool over the head.

He wears a dark blue woven kilt as a poncho. Around the neck a band of porcupine quill embroidery, beads, and a strip of red flannel. Red flannel on right wrist. Light blue kilt, red belt, cloth leggings, brown moccasins. Fox skin.

He sometimes comes with Hilili or at any time during the winter dance series. He also comes with the mixed dance.

*Myth.*—Over at the Sacred Lake Pautiwa said that everyone should stay in and dance because the people at Itiwana were working on prayer sticks for the kadcinas. The kadcinas at Kadcina Village always know when they will get their prayer sticks, just as we know when to expect our pay checks, and on those days no one goes out to hunt because they all want to be at home to get their feathers when the people of Itiwana send them there. But on that day one of the kadcinas went out anyway.

Here at Itiwana was a witch boy who had been turned into a Tecamiḱā.<sup>11</sup> Then the kadcina chief wanted everyone to work on feathers for him because he did not stay at the Sacred Lake. He was

<sup>11</sup> Echo.



living right here. So everyone made prayer sticks and Tecamikia took them in a bundle to the sacred lake. When he got there he gave his bundle of feathers to Pautiwa, and Pautiwa set down the prayer sticks he got from Tecamikia. Then he saw that the boy was a human person and had no mask. He was not a katchina at all, so he took all his feathers to the Sacred Lake.

Then everyone came to get his feathers. They picked them out and said, "This is mine," or "My father made this for me." Each one knew his prayer sticks, and knew that his people at Itiwana had made them for him. So all the people there had their prayer sticks, and they were happy. Then after they had their prayer sticks they prayed for their people in Itiwana. They thanked them and prayed for a strong breast for them in answer to their prayer.

Then Ya'ana came in. He was ugly. He had been out hunting and he came in. He looked around and everyone had prayer sticks. Then he said, "Where is mine?" He went around asking everyone for his prayer stick. Then he came to Pautiwa and said, "Where is mine?" Then Pautiwa said, "Everyone has prayer sticks but you." Then he said "Ya'ana!"<sup>12</sup> Then Pautiwa said, "That is a good name for you. You went out hunting when you should have stayed here to get your prayer sticks, and now no one will give anything to you."

That is why he has the name Ya'ana, and he always says "Ya'ana!" when he comes in to Itiwana to dance. The Koyemci always make fun of him and say to him, "If you don't like it why have you come?"

### NATSIKO (YOUNG DEER)

(Plate 43, a)

*Costume.*—On the head deer antlers (saiyawe). At the back of the head sticking up tail feathers of the eagle. At the base of the eagle feathers a bunch of owl feathers to bring the rain. He wears strips of red flannel instead of downy feathers, "so that all these things may come easily. He has big ears with red inside. His nose is black and his face green." The back of the mask is painted to look like the skin of a young deer. Spruce collar

He wears a white cotton shirt, but long ago he never wore a shirt at all. He wears an embroidered blanket folded and fastened on the right shoulder, and embroidered kilt, a white-fringed sash, and a red woman's belt. On the legs fringed leggings of white buckskin, with bands of black yarn on both legs. Blue moccasins, fox skin in back. He has no rattle. Necklace of cedar berries with yarn and beads. Beads on both wrists. On the right wrist a band of black

<sup>12</sup> An exclamation of distress.



yarn, on the left a wrist band of leather with silver. He carries a crook (telnane), a stick of willow painted white with two tail feathers of the eagle at the end, and a bunch of black goat's hair. Formerly they used frog's spittle (awico) dried.

He comes in the mixed dance.

*Myth.*—When the people first came here they had no sheep, and they lived on corn and wild seeds and they hunted rabbits and ate fresh rabbit meat and during the winter they caught snowbirds. So during the winter at Ca'lako or during the winter rain dances, or at any time when they were going to have a feast, the men would go out and hunt rabbits and birds. They would bring in about two rabbits and only two or three birds. They had only a little bit to eat. And if a man were not lucky he would have only three or four little birds. They skinned the birds and boiled or roasted them with ground squash seeds for their feasts. And they cut up the rabbits and roasted or boiled them with corn meal. That is all they had. At that time there were no deer around here, so they had no deer meat. So when their feast days came they cooked their little animals and put their offerings of food in the fire for the people at Katcina Village.

Over at Katcina Village was Säyataca. He spoke to Pautiwa and said, "You are the headman. Now what do you think? Our people in Itiwana are having a hard time to live. They have no delicacies.<sup>13</sup> They do not look well because they always eat only one kind of food. What do you think? Our people ought to have fresh meat. Especially on their feast days they should have something to make them feel better. Now they have only little animals and they last only one meal. What do you think about their having deer?" So he said. "Yes," said Pautiwa. "Everything that they have needed they have always asked for in their prayers. They ask us for everything they need, but they have never asked us for deer. Let us wait and see if they mention deer. They always pray for rabbits and birds, and especially they always ask about all kinds of birds and all the things they live on, but they have never mentioned that they should have deer. We shall listen and see if they ever ask us for deer." He spoke thus. He did not say, "All right, we shall send them deer." He wanted to wait until the people here should ask for it in a prayer. So Sayataca said, "All right. That is up to you. We shall do as you say. We shall wait for them to mention it in their prayers."

Over here the Hunters' Society called out for a rabbit hunt. They told the people all to go to hunt rabbits so that they might have fresh meat for their feast. So they called it out from the top of the house. "I wish now, my people, that you shall go to the south side and wait there. When all of you reach there we shall look around on the south side at the place called Where-the-sack-of-flour-hangs.

<sup>13</sup> Yepnawe, any food besides corn.



WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES: THE MIXED DANCE

*a*, Na'le (Deer); *b*, Ohaya (Bee); *c*, Milsinapa.



WINTER AND SUMMER DANCES: THE MIXED DANCE  
a, Hetsululu; b, Jean A'isan A'tei; c, Aineey; d, Wo'latana.

When we all come together there we shall look around and we shall use our warm arms<sup>14</sup> and perhaps some of our people at Katcina Village will wish to lend us their arms. That is all," he said. He never asked for the deer, he just called out for the rabbits. Everyone listened to him.

They were going to plant their feathers (for the dance) on the fifth day. So he called out for four days, and when the fourth day came he called out again in the morning. He said, "Let everyone get ready as soon as possible and go to the place Where-the-sack-of-flour-hangs and see what luck we have. And let everyone take lunch with him to feed our people at the sacred lake." He spoke thus. Then he went to the place Where-the-sack-of-flour-hangs and he got there first and he built a fire there. Finally the people got ready for their hunt and everyone had his paper bread ready and they all went. When they got to Where-the-sack-of-flour-hangs there he was. He had already built a fire, the bow priest of the Hunters' Society. So everyone took his paper bread and put it into the fire and said, "Here, grandfathers, eat. And whoever has had good luck in hunting please lend me your hand and your thoughts." So they said as they put the paper bread into the fire. Then after they had fed our people they ate.

Then the bow priest made the four "holes." He ran in a circle, saying, "Now, my children, you stay right here and do not go outside, and increase here so that my people may kill you." Then the people went in after him and hunted the rabbits inside the circle. He made four circles like this. They call them holes. After they had finished hunting in the four holes he said to them, "Now do as you please and have a good time. Play around everywhere and kill rabbits wherever you see them." So finally they killed lots of rabbits. Some killed as many as eight, and others killed four. Some had more, some less, and they had their meat for their feast.

When they came home they sent the girls out to wait for the boys who had killed the most. Then the girls who had no brothers to hunt for them went out to wait for the boys to give them rabbits when they came home. They ground a great deal of meal, and they cooked dried squash and baked sweet corn bread to pay for the rabbits. As the boys came in carrying their rabbits they gave them to the girls, one or two rabbits and maybe a jack rabbit. Then the girl took the rabbits right in to her mother, and her mother said, "The rabbit is worth a good squash," or "The jack rabbit is worth so much meal." Then the girl put the squash or meal into a bowl and took it over to the boy's house the same evening.

That is the way they had their hunt. They never thought about the deer. Then the headman of the Hunters' Society thought of it,

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<sup>14</sup> The people of Itiwana are "cooked," while the rabbits, like the katecinas, are raw persons.

because the deer was mentioned in all their songs. The society was meeting in their ceremonial room to practice their songs, and the men were working on prayer sticks. That night all the societies were meeting to work on their prayer sticks. Then the people over in the Sacred Lake made them think about the deer as they practiced their songs. Their songs said, "Now we are making the road for the rabbits. Now we are making the road for the deer. Now we have all the clothing of the deer; here is a deer horn; here is a deer ear; here are the deer's eyes; here is the deer's skin; here is the deer's arm; here is the deer's foot; here is the deer's body and his entrails." They mentioned all the parts of the deer. Then they said, "Now here in our house we must think about it very much so that the deer may come close to us." They knew there were deer in the world, but they were far away to the south. So the head man of the hunters told his people that they must always think about the deer so that they might come nearer to them. "Now let the deer come to make our people happier." So they said in their songs. They mentioned all the deer's parts so that he might come to them complete with nothing missing.

Over at Katcina Village the people like Pautiwa and Sayatata liked this song. They were far away, but they heard the song and the way they asked for the deer. So the next day they all thought about it and they said, "We have heard the Hunters' Society praying for the deer. What do you think now? Shall we send them their deer now?" Again Sayatata asked Pautiwa. Then Pautiwa said, "Not so fast. When someone asks for something we must not be in a hurry." They were getting ready for the mixed dance and Pautiwa said, "Now, my children, practice your songs to go to Itiwana. And if now while you are practicing any of you feel that you would like to take in the deer, go out and get a young deer to take with you to Itiwana for our people in Itiwana. Then Hehe'a went out to look for a young deer and he brought it into their house. When he brought him in Pautiwa made him sit down on the east side of the room and he presented him to every direction. Then the young deer took off his skin (and turned into a person) and said, "My father, what is it you wanted me for. I want to know why you have called me in." So he said to Pautiwa, and Pautiwa answered him, "I have sent for you to go to Itiwana with this dance. And if you wish you may go with them any time this dance goes there. You will always be in this dance and we shall dress you the way they dress. You will do this so that our people at Itiwana may have good luck with your flesh and find deer everywhere, to the east and to the south and to the north and to the west; so that the deer may come in from all the directions and come close to Itiwana so that our people may have deer meat and look better than they look now because of it." He said this to the young



deer. Then the young deer said, "Yes, I shall do as you wish. I shall go with them to give our people good luck. I shall go with the mixed dance."

So they brought in the young deer, and when they were ready to go Coyote said to Hehe'a, "Do not leave me here. I am a hunter. When your people in Itiwana hunt I give them good luck. I taught them how to hunt and I should go with you to give them good luck in hunting." Then Hehe'a said, "I shall ask our father, the chief, first before you come. You may not go in to Itiwana unless he wishes it." "Go and ask him. I will teach the hunters so that they will always know how to treat the deer." Then Hehe'a went in again and said to Pautiwa, "There is a coyote outside. Is there any way for him to go to Itiwana to dance with us? He says he wants to go with us when we bring this young deer in. He says he wants to go in with us to bring good luck to our Itiwana people. He says he wants to go in to teach the Itiwana people the right way so that they may always have good luck in hunting." Then Pautiwa said, "Yes, I think it will be all right for him to go with you if he is not bad. He shall go just as he said, to give the people good luck in hunting." So they brought him in to Pautiwa. He was yellowish and he looked funny among all the pretty dancers. So they presented him to the six directions and made him sit down. The young deer was afraid of him because he was going to kill the deer when they came to Itiwana. The Pautiwa said, "Now my child, my young deer, coyote is going along to Itiwana to give our people good luck in hunting. You must be killed sometime, but you will not really die. We too used to live in Itiwana, but now we do not live there any more. Like us you will not really die, but you will come to life again. So do not be afraid. Now you are going to Itiwana and coyote is going too, but do not be afraid of him. He will just pretend to chase you and kill you and you will just pretend to die. Then whoever in Itiwana wants to be a good hunter will come and get you and carry you into his house and sprinkle your head with water and with corn meal and pray that he may have good luck in hunting. And that is the way they will always do when they hunt deer in the mountains. Coyote will just pretend to kill you and you will pretend to die and you will lie down in the plaza and this man will come and get you and take you home with him. That is the way the deer will be killed." He talked to the young deer like this and the young deer said, "Very well."

Now the people in the mixed dance were practicing their songs and their dance. They sang their songs and made their motions of the clouds coming up and the rain coming down and all the things growing to make the world beautiful. They put all this into their songs and made the motions for the words. After they had learned their songs



Pautiwa said, "Now, to-morrow you will go to Itiwana for the dance." The Pautiwa said to his children, "Now look over your clothing and whoever has extra clothing should bring it and we shall see how we can dress our children." So he said. Then Sayataca laid out an embroidered blanket and beads, and Hemokätsik laid out a belt. Then different katecinas brought the eagle feathers that they use in their dance and an embroidered kilt and leggings and moccasins. So they dressed him. They painted his face blue and painted spots all over his body, and they put on the embroidered blanket and the kilt. They put beads on both wrists and yarn on the right and a silver bow bracelet on the left. All these things belonged to Sayataca. When he was dressed Pautiwa said, "Now it will be well for him to carry a cane. He will not walk upright but he will stoop down and hold the cane with both hands." So he said. So they whittled a stick and painted it white and put the feathers and the frog spittle on it and showed him how to hold it with both hands, stooping down. Then he tried it and turned around and around saying "Hui, hui!" and looking behind to see if anyone were following him.

After they had dressed him and showed him what to do they said, "Now let us dress Coyote." They sent Coyote just the way he was, but they gave him the red feather because he is a hunter and a member of a society. They said, "Now you will wear the red feather because you are in a society." Then they gave him a blue kilt and they painted him brown all over with white spots, and they gave him dance moccasins and a blue leather belt like society members wear. They gave him a cane too. Then they said, "Now let us hear how you will frighten the young deer." Then he said, "Whoooo," to frighten the young deer. Then they practiced. He came after the deer and the deer always ran away and hid himself and Coyote ran after him. "Now this is the way you will go to Itiwana to give our people good luck. I am glad you have come to go there the way I have thought." Sayataca said this.

The next day they started coming over here to dance. Over here the people did not know anything about the deer coming. It was the first time the deer had come in the dance. The people knew that the katecinas were coming the next day so they cooked sweet corn cakes for their feast. Then about four o'clock in the morning they came in and the people heard them come. When daylight came they danced in the west plaza and the people went there to see them. They were surprised. There was a young deer with them dressed like a katecina, and the people said to one another, "There is a little deer and another little animal." They did not know Coyote. The people were all wondering about them. They were very much interested to see the little deer. The women had never seen a deer. Some of the men had seen deer in the mountains, but it was the first time the women had seen deer.

In the afternoon, when the sun turns over (about two o'clock), the dancers went into the kiva to take a rest after their dance and the Koyemci were playing in the plaza. Then Coyote came running after the young deer to show the people how to hunt. He bent down over his cane pretending to smell the deer tracks. Then the Koyemci said "Look at our little grandson! What is he doing? He is smelling another little grandchild. He is going to kill him and eat him up!" Then the Koyemci said, "Our friend (kihe) had better come and look around him and see how Coyote kills the deer. Maybe he won't eat it all up and what is left will spoil." Then the Koyemci said again, "Our friend had better come down and wait until he kills the deer and then he should take the body to his house." Then all the men came down from the housetops. One man was in such a hurry that he rushed down and got there before any of the others and waited around in the plaza. He borrowed a bow and arrow from one of the houses facing the plaza and helped Coyote make a noose. The little deer ran and hid behind the Koyemci, but they ran after him and finally caught him around the neck. Then the little deer fell down and pretended to die. Then the man came up and Coyote told him how to kill the deer. He held his mouth and touched him all over and pretended he was no longer warm. Then he pretended to skin him. Then right away the man took hold of the little deer and put him on his back and carried him to his home to bring good luck to the people.

That is the way they showed them how to kill the deer. And after they had finished their dance the dancers went back in the evening and the little deer went back again too. The man brought him home and laid him down with his head to the east and covered him all over with an embroidered blanket and all the people in the house sprinkled corn meal on him. After a little while he got up and they sprinkled water on his head, dipping up the water with an ear of corn. Then they said, "This is the way we shall get good luck so that the deer may come close for us to have good meat." Then they wrapped up paper bread for him and gave it to him to take home so he might send them good luck. This man had also taken Coyote home with him. After it was dark they came out and went back home to Katsina Village.

When they came to Katsina Village Pautiwa and Sayataca said, "Now, did you do as we told you?" They said, "Yes, and the people were all pleased and were much interested, and we were very happy to have the little deer with us." Then Pautiwa said, "Now, my little child, you have been to Itiwana, and any time the katsinas go there for the mixed dance you may go with them if you wish. And anything like that that our people do not have we shall send to them in this way. And now after this the deer will be close to their village. There are many deer around here in all directions, and now they must all go to Itiwana for our people have called to us for them."

Then one day the deer came here to Where-the-sack-of-flour-hangs, and to Corn Mountain and all around, and when the people went out to get wood they saw the deer close to the village and they killed them easily. That is why in the old days they always had plenty of deer. They asked the Katcina Village people for them and Sayataca sent them to his people. That is all.

HETSULULU<sup>15</sup>

(Plate 44, a)

*Costume.*—On the head, white feathers of the sand hill crane dyed pink with the pink clay the dancers use on their bodies.

"He is the world. He is marked all over with different colors for the grass and the flowers and all the pretty things in the world. His face is green to make the world green, and on the face are clouds coming up like smoke in three directions. The yellow stripe around the face is for the waters around the world, and the people live at Itiwana, where it is green."

Around his neck is a blue kilt, and another around his loins. In the right hand he carries a stick with a ball of soft red clay at the end, and in his left arm a large ball of the same clay.

He comes in the mixed dance.

*Myth.*—In the first beginning when the katcinas came here in person to dance for the people there was a pekwin who wanted his people to be happy. He asked the bow priest to call out for the people to be happy. It was after the winter dances were over, it was nearly springtime. There was no dancing and there were no games, and the sun priest said, "I want my people to be happy. I do not want them to be lonely." So he asked the bow priest to call out in the evening that on the fourth day everyone should be ready to play for their father, pekwin. "For our father wants us all to be happy, and especially the young men should be happy. And the young women shall grind and make paper bread and use it to be happy. Our people at Katcina Village will be with us. You shall be happy here and then our father will be happy and our people at Katcina Village will be happy too." When he said that he meant that the katcinas would be happy with them and that they would get the food that they would give to them. But the people in the Sacred Lake heard it and they misunderstood.

The next day over here in Itiwana the people were all busy. The girls all ground a great deal of corn. Over at Katcina Village Pautiwa said, "Last night the bow priest called out that we must be over there with our people to make their father, pekwin, happy. Now, who shall go? One of our younger children should go to be with

<sup>15</sup>This is his call.

them. I do not want all of them to go, but just one." So he said to his children. Then he picked out one of the boys and said, "Now you will be the one to go. You are the strongest of the boys." He picked out a big, heavy boy. "And now I shall dress you."

For his head he made a long roll of clay and painted it all over with stripes of different colors and set it on his head and said, "This is the way you will look when you go to visit my people, and this is how you will dress to be pretty." He picked out this boy because he was one of the little boys whose mothers had dropped them and who had turned into snakes. Therefore he had no children and no brothers and sisters, but only a father and mother. And when the people at Itiwana worked on prayer sticks his father never worked on prayer sticks for him. They never sent feathers for him like the others did. He never had anything. When all the others got their feathers he was always left out. He never came here with the other katecinas. He had no feathers, and so he could not come to be happy with his people. Pautiwa felt sorry for this boy because he never had anything pretty and because he never could come to Itiwana. So when they called out for the people here to be happy Pautiwa thought he would send this boy. So he dressed him. The poor child! He had only a poor blue kilt around his neck because he was poor and no one ever looked after him and sent him pretty things. He did not have anything pretty to wear because he never received any feathers when the people planted to make the New Year or to make the world green. That is why he has none of the pretty things that the other katecinas wear, like beads and embroidered sashes and blue moccasins. He comes with bare feet. And because he had no pretty things to wear they painted his body with pretty colors. He did not have any feathers, so Pautiwa took feathers of the sand hill crane and dipped them in the sacred pink clay to make them pretty. He gave him a cat-tail stalk, because he had no yucca, and he gave him beads and a belt of blue leather.<sup>16</sup> Then he painted his body. First a band of black made from the clay from springs containing decaying vegetable matter; next pink from the Sacred Lake clay that all the Katecina Village people use; next blue made from the same paint they used for their masks; next red made from sacred lake clay mixed with red clay. When he was painted Pautiwa put a band of black yarn around his neck, and he told his people to get clay.

Then Hemoḡätsiḡ spread out a corn husk and covered it with red powder and rolled the pink clay in it to make it red. Then she molded it into a nice shape. Then Pautiwa and the other katecinas looked at him. "Now that is the way you will go. This is the first time you will go to Itiwana," they told him. "You have never been to a dance

<sup>16</sup> The drawing is incorrect. He should wear a belt of blue leather instead of the silver belt.

there and this is the first time you are going. When you come to Pinawa<sup>17</sup> you will stay there while you wait for them to begin. When they begin to play there will be two sides throwing things at each other. When you come close you will call out 'Hetsululu,' and you will throw your clay, and if you hit one of the players with your clay he will go to the other side. You will always say, 'Hetsululu' when you throw your clay. Now you will go to Itiwana. There was no way for you to go before, but now you can go this way. It is a good plan for you to go like this."

Over here the people were making great quantities of paper bread. The third day came and they all crumbled it in willow baskets. On the fourth day in the morning the bow priest called out for them to get ready. So in the morning the girls made a paste of the crumbled paper bread and rolled it into balls (*helikwi motsa*), and had them ready for their brothers to use to play. Then after they had eaten their morning meal they began. The people were living at Halonawa then. They started at Halonawa, close to the sand hill. They all went there calling to one another to hurry. Finally they all got there. Then the war chief came and divided them into two groups, so that there would be the same number on each side. Then he said, "Now begin." Then they began to play, throwing the balls of paper-bread dough. All the people went out there. The girls had more balls ready, and when the boys ran out they came and got more balls from their sisters. While they were playing this way throwing things at one another the little boy came in calling "Hetsululu," as he came. No one was watching him but he came calling "Hetsululu." Then the people looked at him and said, "Who is that coming?" Then they heard him calling and they said, "Is that Hetsululu? It must be Hetsululu," the people said. "But he has no pretty clothes and he doesn't look like a kadcina at all." They kept saying it must be a poor kadcina who had no feathers to put around his neck, and no fur, but only a poor blue skirt. So the people said. Then the bow priest said, "I called out for our people to be with us. I meant that whatever we destroyed in our game to-day would belong to them. That is what I meant. But now they have come here themselves. I wonder if it means danger?" He said this to *pekwin*. Then the *pekwin* said, "I do not think so. Maybe they just misunderstood and sent this little boy in to be with us. And so he must always come when we have this game, and also he shall come with the dancers whenever he wants to." And so he always comes when they play that game. He comes and plays with them, calling "Hetsululu." The name of the game is *hekā-ikocniḱā*.

When he came back to his home at Kadcina Village *Pautiwa* said to him, "Now, my child, you have been there. Now after this when

<sup>17</sup> A ruin about 2 miles west of Zuñi on the south side of the river.



the katecinas go to Itiwana you will always go with the mixed dance. You will be best in there. And you will always go dressed like that, because if you go that way the people will never forget that it is because no one made feathers for you. And maybe now they will make feathers for you." Pautiwa thought that, but the people never did it.

That is why Hetsululu always comes in the mixed dance. They do not play the game any more, they dropped it about twenty years ago, but Hetsululu comes with the mixed dance and throws his little clay balls. And that is why the people are always very careful to plant feathers for their people at Katecina Village.<sup>15</sup>

#### ICAN A-TSAN A-TCI (GREASE BOYS)

(Plate 44, b)

*Costume.*—Their masks are all black. On the head and in the ears "spoon" feathers from the shoulder of the eagle. Collar of fawn skin.

"Their bodies are black and covered all over with grease and soot. They eat greasy things and rub the grease all over their bodies. They never wash. They just paint white from the navel to the knees for the sun. All they wear are dark blue kilts and embroidered sashes caught between the legs like a breechcloth. They go bare-foot. But they have many strings of different kinds of beads around their necks and beads on both wrists like all the valuable katecinas."

*Ceremonies.*—There are always two of them and they take turns carrying one another on their backs. They come in the mixed dance.

They do not live at Katecina Village but at sand hill south of Zuñi.

*Myth.*—There are two grease boys who live with their grandmother on the sand hill south of Itiwana. They eat greasy things and rub the grease all over their bodies and in their hair, and they never wash. They are happy boys. They live on the hill and eat rats. They go to the holes and dig them out and kill the mice and bring them to their grandmother, who roasts them in the ashes. They are very poor, but still they have many valuable beads to wear.

Long ago their mother and father went to the Sacred Lake and left the little boys behind and left their grandmother there with them. Once they were sitting out on the rocks in the evening. At that time the people were living at Halonawa and the men were coming home in the evening carrying wood by means of a band around the

<sup>15</sup> The game to which this story refers was played ceremonially until about twenty years ago. Each player has six balls of paper-bread dough "a little larger than our heads." They play until all their balls are used up and stop at about five o'clock in the evening. Hetsululu uses little balls of clay, and therefore doesn't use up his material so fast. It is believed, however, that his clay keeps increasing as fast as he uses it up. The bow priest always calls out, "The raw boy is coming to bring us clay from the Sacred Lake. Watch for it and keep it to increase your corn and all your crops. Whoever catches one of his balls should take it to his home and keep it for good luck with his crops." Then everyone goes out. No one stays home, but everyone goes out to watch for the little clay balls. And whoever catches one takes it home and puts it in his corn room to increase his corn and paper bread so that his food will increase as fast as it is used up.



head. As they came along the boys were sitting on the sand hill right above the trail. A man came along with his load of wood and looked up and saw the boys sitting there. Then the boys were ashamed and tried to cover themselves, for they were naked all over. They were very poor. They never were able to go to see the world because they had no clothes to wear. Their grandmother, too, was sorry that they had nothing to wear. So she thought, "We are very poor. Your father and mother never come to see us. They left us here and they never come to talk to us and they never send you poor boys anything to wear." Then she thought that she would send the boys to the Sacred Lake to see if their parents had any clothes for them to wear. She felt very sorry that her grandsons had to run away and hide whenever they saw people coming, because they had nothing with which to cover themselves. So when evening came she made mush and roasted the wood rats that the boys had killed and set it out for them. Then the little boys took hold of the two rats. Their grandmother looked sharply at them and said, "Please give me the heads of the two rats and I shall put them in my bowl. You may have the bodies of the rats, and I shall be satisfied with just the heads." The poor grandmother had only a little stone dish before her with a little water and some dried herbs. Then the boys twisted off the heads of the rats and gave them to their grandmother and she dipped them in the water and sucked at them as she ate her corn mush. Then she thought, "Oh dear, we are so poor! I hate to tell you poor boys that you must not eat everything." She did not want to scold the boys for being greedy because she felt so sorry for them that they were so poor. Then she thought she would tell the boys to go to the Sacred Lake, and she said to them, "I shall tell you boys what to do, and you will get clothes and good things to eat."<sup>19</sup>

After they had finished their evening meal the boys were sitting beside the fire playing with their bows and arrows. Then she said to them, "Now my sons, as we were sitting here I thought I would like you boys to go to the Sacred Lake where all the fathers and uncles and brothers are. You boys go there and go right in and say, 'How do you do, my people.' Then Pautiwa will say, 'Who are these nice boys who have come in here. I do not know them. We have no boys like them here. I wonder if they belong to our people.' Then you tell them that you come from Itiwana and that you live here at the sand hill, and then they will know you. They will know you, but they will pretend not to know you. They will ask you what you have come for. Then the older brother will say, 'We have come because we are so poor over there at sand hill. Our grandmother is so old that she cannot look around for food. And when we hunt we can only kill little wood rats, one each day. We can not live on one

<sup>19</sup> Yepnawe, any food besides corn.

wood rat a day. And besides we have no clothing. Near where we live there are many people staying and when we go out to hunt we are ashamed to stay out because we have nothing with which to cover ourselves. We have to run home when people come because we have nothing to wear. That is why we have come. We have come for clothing, if there is anything that you can spare us.' . . .<sup>20</sup>

Then Pautiwa listened and Sayataca and everyone listened. Pautiwa said, "Yes, it is so. I shall see how we can fix you up." So Pautiwa said, "Now here is a blue kilt." He took out two dark blue kilts for them, and Komokätsik went and got two embroidered sashes that were hanging from the deer horn. Then she took down the two embroidered sashes and laid them down on top of the blue kilts. Then Pautiwa said, "Now that is enough to cover you." They did not have any beads, so Pautiwa said, "There are some beads there. Those will do for them too." Then each of the katecinas took off a string of beads and laid them down for them. There was a great pile of beads for them. Then Pautiwa said to Sayataca, "Now who shall dress them?" Then Hututu, bow priest chief of Sayataca, got up and he put the beads around their necks and showed them how to wear them, and he put strings of beads around their wrists. Their necks were bare, so they brought fawn skins to hide their necks. Then they put on the blue kilts and the embroidered sashes between their legs and he put a leather wrist band on the left wrist of each one. Then he said, "Now that is the way you will dress. You will live at the sand hill and you will come out in the evening. You will hear our songs every time we sing and when we come near you will notice. We shall always come in early in the morning before the sun is up. And when you hear the mixed dance coming you will always come and join in and you need not be ashamed. You will always come in the mixed dance." They had bare feet and their feet were greasy, so Pautiwa said, "There are no moccasins to fit you. But it is not right that you should walk all the time without moccasins. So when the younger brother is tired, the elder brother will carry him, and when he is rested he will take his turn and carry his elder brother. You will always take turns carrying one another, and that is the way you will change in the dance."

After they had dressed them they told them they should come to Itiwana to dance with the mixed dance when they heard them coming in from Katecina Village. They told them what to do. Then again Pautiwa said, "Now what else did you come for? Do you need anything besides clothing?" They said, "We need good things to eat." So they laid out large pieces of dried deer meat tied together with yucca cord, and they both carried the meat. Then they said, "This is all we came for. Now we are going home." So they started on

<sup>20</sup> The narrator jumps to where the boys are at Katecina Village.

their way home. After they had gone just a little ways the feet of the younger one began to hurt on account of the hard stones. He said, "Oh brother, my feet hurt. How shall I go?" Then his brother put down his meat and he said, "You carry this meat and I shall carry you on my back." Then the younger one tied the meat to his shoulders and the older one carried his younger brother and they went on this way. A little farther on the older brother said, "Now you have had a little rest and I have carried you. Now please carry me, because I am tired now. Then again the younger one carried his older brother. They went along and so they came to their home in the night. There was their grandmother. When she heard them coming right away she ran out to meet them and there they came with the kilts hanging down and with their bright sashes and both of them carrying dried deer meat. As soon as she saw the deer meat she spread out a robe and laid the deer meat on it and she covered it with another robe. Then she prayed because they had become rich and because the deer meat was so hard to get. She prayed that her grandchildren might get more deer meat and that the deer might come near so that they might always have meat. After she had prayed over the meat she looked at them and examined their clothing and said, "Oh, is that how they dressed you?" She felt of their clothing and fingered the pretty beads. Then they told their grandmother that they had been asked to come to Itiwana when the katchinas were there, and especially with the mixed dance, and told her how they were to go. They had their dresses and whenever they heard the katchinas they were to go too. Then their grandmother said, "Isn't that nice! Now we won't be so lonesome." Then their grandmother baked cakes of corn meal and pounded the dried meat with stones and then they ate. And their grandmother was so polite to them, and was so proud of her grandchildren because they dressed so nicely and had good meat to eat.

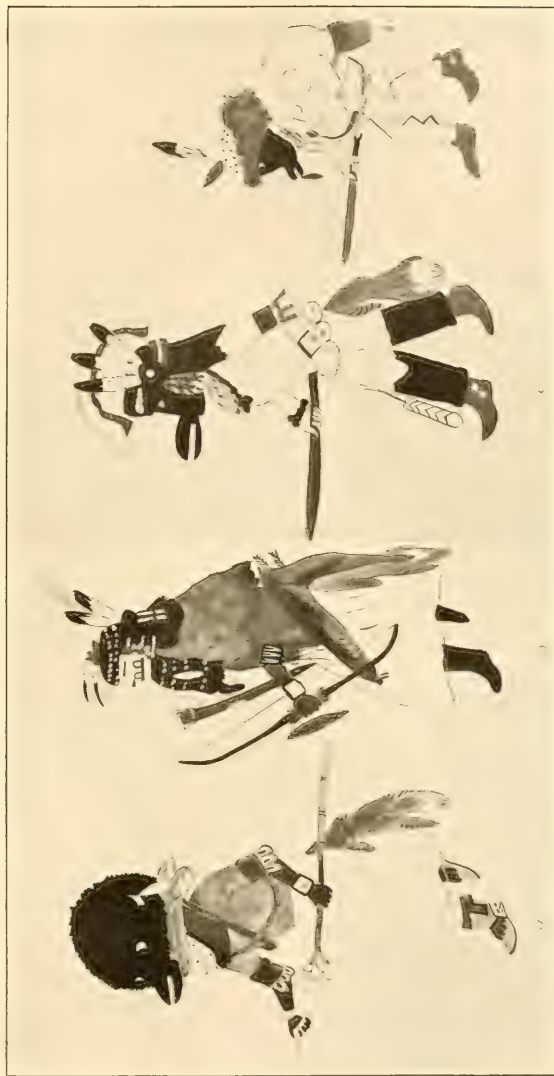
So that is how it happened that the Grease Boys who live on sand hill come here to dance, and they come this way because that is the way they dressed them at Katchina Village.

KOKWATAWU OR SUYUKU (ALSO IDENTIFIED AS MU'ATOCLE AND BUFFALO)

(From drawing collected by A. L. Kroeber)

Mask white, spotted with red, fringed with goat hair. Small upright headdress like crown of blue, yellow and red feather in forelock, at back crest of hawk feathers. Long hair and beard. Goggle eyes. Long wooden snout with tongue hanging out. On left shoulder sun disk with red ribbons. Pink body paint. In right arm holding raised knife, left hand bow and arrow.

The rest of the drawing is not clear. Apparently is carrying or being carried by a Hehe'a. He comes in the mixed dance.



DANCING KATCINAS

*a*, M'kwah in mixed dance; *b*, Wahaha (in mixed dance); *c*, Mabelmaca (after Ca'hako); *d*, O'weiri (with Mabelmaca).



## AINCEKOKO (BEAR KATCINA)

(Plate 44, c)

Whole upper part of body covered with bear skin with head still on. Bear paws with feathers over hands. Red feather on head (the bear's feather). Yucca around wrists. Beads like society people.

Dark blue kilt of societies, over that buckskin, embroidered sash and woman's belt. Blue moccasins.

## WO'LATANA

(Plate 44, d)

Mask painted brown with spots of black and white. Goat skin over head. Eagle down on head lacowanlana. Rainbow, cloud and lightning symbols in wood or cloth stretched over frames. In mouth rattlesnake (like Hilili). Skin collar and skin over shoulders.

Red body paint. Double bandoleer of yucca. Buckskin kilt, red belt. Fox skin. Blue moccasins. Arm bands, spruce in belt. On back a carrying basket containing diminutive figure of Hatacuku. In right hand stone knife, in left cane.

Borrowed from Hopi. With the mixed dance.

## MOĀWALA

(Plate 45, a)

Mask painted black. Huge head covered with black goat skin. Blue horns with hanging feathers. Large wooden snout. Coyote skin collar.

Red body paint, yellow shoulders and forearms. Buckskin kilt. Fox skin, blue moccasins. Rattle in right hand, yucca in left. Arm bands, two yarn bandoleers, etc.

Comes in the mixed dance.

## WAHAHA

(Plate 45, b)

Face mask with nose, painted white with designs in red and blue. Eagle down in long beard and hair. Hair tied up with belt. Lacowanlana on crown, two eagle feathers and peacock feather behind.

Red body paint, one blue and one yellow arm and one blue and one yellow leg (Hopi). Wildeat skin on shoulders, quiver, buckskin kilt, red moccasins and leggings, fox skin. In right hand yucca, in left bow and arrow and spruce, and basket.

He comes in the mixed dance with two girls' masks. They play a game that the Hopis play. He shouts "Wahaha" and then the girls chase him and try to take away his basket. They got this from the Hopis.



"The bear went to the Sacred Lake and they dressed him this way. Before there had been another bear kadcina who still sometimes comes with the mixed dance. They didn't have this kind long ago." Compare other Bear kadcina, page 1031.

## DANCES PERFORMED AFTER CA'LAKO

### HEMUCIKWE

(Plate 47, a)

*Costume.*—He represents the earth and the sky. On his head a high wooden tablet painted with the sun and moon and clouds and stars. The moon is yellow, the background is dark "to represent the dark earth after the rain." The tablet is made of wood and is worn over the top of the head. Two eagle tail feathers and a bunch of owl feathers behind.

The face is green on one side and yellow on the other. The nose is a band of white and a band of black (kucokta). The painting on the side of the face is called "little clouds sticking up" (lakwelanapa).

"When they sweat the clouds come out of the sides of the face. Their bodies are the earth and have springs in them like the earth, and they hold up the sky with the sun and moon and stars.

"They wear spruce all over to make the earth green, on the back of the head, around the neck, and branches in their hands."

The body paint is made of black cornstalks (kekwi). They wear light-blue kilt, arm bands of blue leather, yarn around the neck and legs, bells on left leg, turtle rattle on right, gourd rattle in right hand.

There are only six Hemucikwe masks. They are all different and they are never changed. But they are the personal property of the man who had them made. One belongs to the informant's father, who had it made when he was a young man. His uncle had one, and they were afraid that the mask would be buried with him when he died. So he had it copied so that the number would not decrease.

This dance belongs to Muhewa kiva, who always dance it after Ca'lako. Parsons reports Mitotaca coming with this dance. On first mesa a similar figure (sio humis taamû, Fewkes, Hopi Kadcinas, Pl. V) comes with the Sia (Zuñi) Humis.

*References.*—Hemucikwe is one of the common and conspicuous dances at Zuñi. It is described by Stevenson, Zuñi Indians, page 264, Plate LXXXIV; Parsons, Zuñi Ca'lako.

*Parallels.*—This is one of the widely distributed pueblo dances.

Hopi.—Humis kadcina, Fewkes, pages 82 and 83; Plate XXI.

In most villages it is danced at niman kadcina, the departure of the kadcinas in summer. On first mesa there is a Sia (Zuñi) Humis. (Fewkes, Plate V.)

Laguna.—Hemish, Parsons, Notes on Laguna Ceremonialism 99.

Cochiti.—Ahaye. Illustrated, Dumarest, VI, 1. A summer dance of the ahaye described by Dumarest, page 179 et seq. On this occasion they are accom-

panied by nahia (leader, the equivalent of the Zuñi bow priest), heluta (Zuñi-Hehe'a), two shruiyana (ferocious kateinas carrying yucca lashes, apparently similar to Zuñi Saiyali'a), and ochasha (sun) kateina.

Jemez.—Hidayasash. (Parsons: Jemez, 110, plate 15, d.)

### NAHALICO O'KĀ

(Plate 47, b)

Mask like Nahalico. See p. 1065.

Woman's dress, underdress, silk pitone, red belt, white moccasins. Hands white. Carries box, notched stick, and deer scapula.

Used to come to play for Hemucikwe. Has not come for a long time.

*Parallels.*—In August, 1925, at Hano, first mesa, a female impersonator with a white mask played for Hehe'a. (R. L. B.)

### ĀNĪL'ONA (SPRING OWNER)

(Plate 47, c)

On head, downy feather and feathers of summer birds. Mask has round pendent ears and feathers hanging from them. Front of mask painted with forked zigzag down center for nose and zigzags behind ears. Blue frog in back, rest of mask black. Spruce collar.

Wears no clothing, only small dark-blue breechcloth. Upper body to waist, and below knees painted pink, thighs white, no moccasins. Spruce anklets. Carries nothing. Yarn on right wrist, bow bracelet on left. Yarn and beads around neck.

*References.*—Stevenson, Plate III.

### MA'HEŦI'NACA

(Plate 45, c)

*Costume.*—On the left side of the head three tail feathers of the eagle, between the tips of the feathers colored ribbons. These used to be of red flannel. The eagle feathers are fastened to a round disk of turkey feathers (tonalacpone). Red dyed downy feathers. "These are for the red sunset clouds. There are sometimes two, sometimes three ribbons. They represent long life. Around the head a band of rabbit or coyote skin trimmed with a row of beads or buttons for long life." He has protruding eyes, and long hair hanging down behind.

His body is painted white all over for the white clouds. He wears a buckskin skirt, arm bands of buckskin with red fringes for the clouds of evening. Fox skin behind. Red moccasins. Sometimes he wears trousers. He wears a turtle shell rattle on the right leg. He carries a bull roarer in the left hand and yucca in the right.

*Ceremonies.*—"They come in a large group, all alike. They are nasty dancers. They come in early in the morning and look around

for the people who have gone outside to ease themselves. If they find men or women sitting down under their blankets they whip them. So no one likes Mahetinaca.

"They come for the winter rain dance series (koyuptconawa). Only Heḱāpawa kiva dances Mahetinaca. They used to give it after Ca'lako, but no one likes this dance so they stopped giving it then, and hekiapawa always dance Wotemla now instead."

The mahetinaca are not married. Their song tells why they have never married. They are jealous of the other katcinas who have wives. There is a story about this."

*Myth.*—When Mahetinaca came here to dance long ago at the first beginning, one of them did not want to come in with the others. He wanted to bring in a deer to please the people, so he said to his brothers, "I am going this way. I am going to look around." He meant he was going to hunt, for that is the way we say. So he went toward the mountains to the place called Where-the-cotton-hangs (Uhanaṣana). He went there and he found a spring, and he saw the tracks of some one. He said, "This spring is used by some people. I shall look around and see if anyone is living here. I would like to see them before I go to the dance." So he said. He had gone there to hunt but now he had forgotten all about hunting because he had seen people's tracks. He looked around but he could not find anyone. Finally, to the north of the spring he found a little house. It was evening and there he was still at the spring. Just before dark he saw a light to the north and he said, "Yes, that is where the people come from whose tracks I saw at the spring. I think these must be the people who always get their water there. I will go to the house and if there are no people there to give me my evening meal I will go back to my home." So he thought, and he went toward where he saw the light.

He came in and there were the bat girls. They were all worried about their husband. Their husband was a Ḳākima boy. There were about eight bat girls and one butterfly girl, and they had one husband between them. They were all married to this Ḳākima boy. He was the son of the chief priest and he was a handsome youth. He had a nice father, but he did not know any better than to marry these girls. One day when the Ḳākima boy was out hunting he came to the spring and while he was kneeling down to drink the bat girls came and sat down on the rocks watching him. Then the eldest one said to her younger sisters, "Take that little piece of stone and throw it down. Then he will look up and see us and talk to us." Then the next bat girl took up a pebble and dropped it down where he was drinking. Then he looked up and said, "Who is that?" There all the girls were sitting on the rocks. They were pretty girls.

So he looked at them and said, "You girls come down here. Why did you throw dirt where I was drinking?" They said, "No, we didn't throw anything." Then they came down and played with him, and they were pretty girls. After they had been there a little while they said to him, "You have stayed a long time. Now let us go to our house. You can eat with us and then you can go back home after you have eaten." The boy said, "All right. I am hungry." So they put on their bat dresses and turned into bats again. The eldest sister said, "I shall carry him." Their house was high up. The eldest sister said, "I shall carry you because it is high to our house." He said, "I shall fall off." Then she said, "No. Hold on tight and do not open your eyes. If you open your eyes you will surely fall off." So he shut his eyes and got on her back. So they went up, the eldest sister carrying the Kākima boy on her back and the younger ones following them. They came to their house. They had a great big room. They flew around the room four times and then they went down. Then the boy opened his eyes. He was in a great big room of rocks. It was really a big cave. They told him to sit down and they went into the house and brought out dried meat. The bat girls had already eaten, so they did not eat with him. Then when he had finished he said, "I think I had better go home. It is getting dark now and I think I had better go." The girls said, "No, you had better stay. It is dark and you won't be able to find your way. You had better stay here and our minds will be yours." They meant that they would marry him. He said, "All right," and he was glad because they were pretty girls.

He stayed there for four days. For four days they did not go out but just stayed there in the house with the boy. On the fifth day they told him, "We must go out and look around. We will go down to the spring and get some food for ourselves. We do not eat like you. We must go and hunt our food." So they went and he went out. He was on top of a high place and there was no way to get down. Then he sat there looking over toward Kākima. He saw smoke rising from the village and he thought, "Oh, dear! If only I could get back to my mother!"

As he was sitting there a butterfly girl came. She flew around four times and looked at him. He was a handsome boy. Then she thought, "This is where the bat girls live. I think I shall go down and ask him if they are home." Then she came down and sat down beside him. "What are you doing here? How did you come up?" she asked him. The boy said, "The bat girls brought me up here. I have been here for four days now. They have gone off to look for their food and they told me to come out and look around. I am waiting here for them." Then the butterfly girl said, "I don't think they will come back for a long time. They have forgotten you are

waiting here. Now you come to my house with me. I shall always take you with me when I go down and not leave you alone the way they do. So get on my back and let us go." He looked at her. She had turned into a person and she was even prettier than the bat girls. So he said, "All right. Take me there now." Then she put on her butterfly dress again and he sat down. Then he got on her back and away they went to the east to Butterfly house. She was carrying the boy up-side-down with his head hanging down so that the bat girls would not know which way they had gone.

The butterfly girl had two brothers and her mother and father at Butterfly house. She left the boy outside and went into the house to ask her parents and her brothers if it were all right to bring the boy in. They all said, "Yes; it is all right. I think you want to marry him and it is all right to bring him in." So she went out and told the boy to come in. Then they went in. It was noon when they came. Then her mother set out a basket full of corn pollen and a basket of dried deer meat. The butterflies ate the corn pollen and the boy ate the dried meat. After they had eaten they said, "Now we shall go hunting and you must stay here and watch our son. The bat girls may come after him. We know he has been married and they may come after him. So you must stay with him and never leave him. We are going hunting." So they told the girl, and then her parents went out to hunt for corn pollen. They went away and the boy and the butterfly girl stayed there.

When the bat girls came home the boy was not there. They looked around and they were very angry. They looked everywhere. They looked Where-the-cotton-hangs and where we have our dried peaches, and up on Corn Mountain. All over the mountain they looked. The boy stayed four days at Butterfly house with the butterfly girl. When the four days were over their mother and father thought, "Now this is the fourth day. Maybe they will come and look for him to-day." They were afraid the girls would find him because it was the fourth day. "We are afraid they will come to-day, so you had better go down and see your grandmother and tell her to help you any way she can." So her parents told the butterfly girl. So she went down to tell Spider woman. She came in and said, "Grandmother, will you please come up to my home. We need you," she said. "Very well, I shall be up there soon." So the girl turned and went back home. Finally Spider woman came. She sat down. "What is it that you have wanted me for?" she asked. Then the butterfly girl said, "I need help. So my mother and father told me to go down and ask you if you could help me any way. We have brought this my husband from Where-the-cotton-hangs. We have taken him from the bat girls and I am afraid they may come to look for him because this is the fourth day. So that is why I went down



to ask you to help me." So Spider woman said, "You should have told me this while I was home. I will help you. I will go down and see what I can do for you." So she went down home and she brought up four spider webs. She said, "Everyone must stay home to-day because to-day I am sure they are coming." They went into the house and Spider woman went out and closed the door and she put webs over the holes where they went in and out so that no one could find the holes. She put on four webs and then she went down.

Soon the bat girls came over the west side of Corn Mountain. As they were looking around they met Hawk. Hawk said, "What are you looking for. I saw you here two days ago. I think I know what you are looking for." "Yes, we are looking for our husband." Then Hawk girl asked, "Who is he? "He is a Kākima boy." Then Hawk girl laughed and said, "I saw Butterfly girl carrying him. While I was sitting here I saw her carrying him home." "Where does she live?" "She lives at Butterfly house." Then the bat girls went there. They went around and around. Finally they found a little crack where the entrance was. Then they said, "This is where she is staying. They tried to hide the door but we shall get in." So the eldest sister tried to go in. At that time the bats had hands like people but when she tried to get into the door the web caught on her fingers and her hands got webbed like a duck's feet. She could not fly because she had the web all over her. Then the next sister tried and the same thing happened to her. They all tried and they all got the web all over them. They all fell down and could not fly because they were all tangled in the web. They got through three webs this way and came to the last one. The place was getting thin and there were more bats coming. So the butterfly girl's mother told her to take ashes and black corn and put it over the web. Then the bat girls got all dirty and sticky when they tried to break through the web. Then they were tired and lay down there. After a while they felt a little better. Then the eldest sister said, "Sisters, do you feel a little stronger now?" They said, "Yes, we feel stronger now." Then she said, "Well then, let us try and fly." They tried and saw that they were strong enough to fly. Their wings and arms still hurt from their struggles with the spider web. They flew around a little and then they said, "Now this is what we are going to do because you stole our husband. We are going to bring bedbugs to you." Then they flew around and shook their wings over the hole in the web and the bedbugs fell out into the house. So they gave the bedbugs to the butterfly girl because she had stolen their husband. They used to be pretty girls, but now they were dirty and gray and their wings had the spider web all over them, and they had funny faces and they cried because they had been hurt by the ashes and the soot and the spider web.



After they got home they sat down in the room and cried. They were dirty and ugly. They were not pretty any more because Butterfly girl had done this to them. They were sitting there worrying about it when Mahetinaca came. Then he wanted to marry these girls, but they did not want him. They had been married to the handsome Kākima youth and they were unhappy. Then he danced for them. He stayed there a little while to see if they would cheer up. Then he asked them, "Why are you sad? What are you worrying about? I know you are worrying about something." They would not tell him what worried them. He tried to play with the girls. He showed them his dance, and he swung his bull roarer for them. Then the youngest one said, "Let me do it." They thought they would give him what the butterfly girl had given them. They thought if they played with him and touched him he would get dirty and ugly and then they would get rid of the dirt and ashes and give them to him, and then they would be pretty again. They did not want to marry him because he had a funny mouth and they had been married to the handsome Kākima boy. Then they went over to him and touched his clothing and asked him about everything he had on. They came close to him and put their hands all over him. He tried to play with them, but they did not want him. Finally, when he was ready to go they said to him, "Come again." He said, "No, I will never come again. You do not like me." Then they said, "All right. Now we will do this to you." And they shook their wings and he got dirty and black. Then he looked and saw he was dirty and said, "Hummmmm." Then they said to him, "Now that is the way you will always be. You will be dirty and ugly and you will look sharply at people and say 'hummmmm.'" And that is the way he is. When this Mahetinaca was turned into an ugly dirty person all his people became that kind too. And that is why their noses are black and shiny, and that is why they always go after the people when they go outside and look sharply at them and say "Hummmmm."

That is all, and that is why we do not like Mahetinaca. Just the way the bat girls gave the dirty things to the butterflies, so they made Mahetinaca ugly so that all the people dislike him. Even though Mahetinaca are katcinas no one likes to see them, and none of the young men will dance Mahetinaca. They make nasty songs about the people here. They say they are singing about people in the sacred lake but everyone knows that it is about the Itiwana people. And so no one likes to see them. Not all the people know the story, but they all know there is something wrong with Mahetinaca.

## O'WIWI

(Plate 45, d)

*Costume.*—He wears a chin mask, always painted black. He has ball eyes and a big mouth, and his red tongue hangs out, because he was a mean dancer when he was young. His short black hair is all tangled up. On his head he wears the perforated buckskin cap of the war chiefs. On the top of the head one tail feather of the eagle and the downy red feather to show that he is a society member.

“He wears old clothing and over his shoulder he has a buckskin full of precious things, turquoise and different kinds of beads. His moccasins are on the wrong feet because he is old and can not see very well. He wears beads around his neck and on his right wrist a bracelet of shells like the war chief wears. Over his shoulder he carries a buckskin bag containing little animal fetishes such as the members of the Hunters' Society have. In the right hand a single piece of yucca, in the left a half-finished bow and an arrow, and a large bull-roarer (nununawe).

“He is dressed like this when he comes to teach the people how to hunt, but when he comes at other times he does not have the red feather and the buckskin bag with the animal fetishes.”

Formerly only the old men who were too old to dance would come as O'wiwi, but now the young men come this way sometimes.

*Ceremonies.*—“He is the grandfather of the Mahetinaca. He sometimes comes with Mahetinaca when they come in the winter at Ko'uptconawa, and sometimes he comes to sing for Hilili.

“He is a very old man, the grandfather of the Mahetinaca. When the Mahetinaca come in to Itiwana to dance they do not want to bring their grandfather with them because he is old and poor and they are ashamed of him. But after they have left he follows them and when everyone is watching the dance he comes in, and they are ashamed not to treat him right in front of all the people.

“So after they have left he gets his things ready. He takes a buckskin and wraps in it all kinds of valuable things, turquoise and shell and beads, so that everyone will like him in spite of his old clothes. He gets dressed in a hurry and because he can't see well he puts the right moccasin on the left foot. He carries yucca so that people won't think he is too old to fight and to protect himself as he goes along. He carries a large bull-roarer to make a noise so that the people will know him. Then he takes a buckskin bag with animal fetishes in it. When he was young he was a good hunter and he belongs to the Hunters' Society. Therefore he carries the bag with the animal fetishes and wears the red feather of society members. He is anxious to show all his valuable possessions and show the people that he is a great person.

"So when he has everything together he comes, talking to himself as he comes along. While his grandchildren are dancing in the west plaza he comes to Wide River, and when they are nearly finished dancing in rat plaza<sup>21</sup> he comes in. Then all the people say, 'Oh, there is their grandfather.' O'wivi is a little ashamed to show himself. His grandchildren are very angry that he has come, but they can not say anything. He does not join in their line, but dances up and down in front of them, making motions to interpret their songs. He makes motions of the clouds and the rain and everything that is mentioned in the songs. When they are finished his children go away and he stays behind. He goes around looking at the people out of the corner of his eyes. After everyone has gone he sits down in the plaza and takes corn meal out of his belt and makes a line. Then he takes the wildcat and the lion and the white bear and the coyote out of his bag and he sets them down on the line facing the south and he prays. As he prays he turns them to each direction. Then he takes his bow and arrow and asks his animals which way to go. Then he goes around the plaza to each direction. He pretends he is looking for the tracks of the deer. He is a great leader of the hunters and he is teaching the people what to do. He makes itsumawa for the hunters. After he has done this, going in every direction looking for tracks, then he pretends he has caught a deer and pretends to lay it down and take the skin off to show the people how. He takes the blood and makes a mark on the nose of his animals, so that they can smell the blood. Long ago he used to make a little fire in the plaza and get meat from one of the houses to burn in the fire to feed to the Sacred Lake people. Then he told the people, 'This is the way you must do, and I will get the meat and eat it. And so I will give you good luck.' They do not do this any more because the people do not hunt any more, but long ago they used to think a great deal of O'wivi because he brought good luck to the hunters.

"Long ago he used to carry the ǰäettone of the rain priests on his back. He wore poor clothing and poor moccasins and everyone thought he was poor, but he had valuable things on his back. He wanted to marry a girl, but no one wanted him because he looked poor. But there was one girl who lived alone with her old grandmother. They were very poor and hardly had enough to eat, and so this girl married this man. And that night when he took off his poor clothing he had many valuable things in his blanket and in a few months he made them rich. The people all thought that he was poor. No one likes him. They say when he comes that he has come to carry off a poor girl and make her rich."

<sup>21</sup> The traditional circuit of the plazas is first west plaza, rat plaza, Isia'a plaza, big plaza. The circuit is still made but dancing is usually confined to Isia'a plaza with one turn each day in big plaza.



a. Ntshahon

b. Nahluwawun moosna

c. Kina'tou

d. Wam'uwe

DANCING KATCINAS: WINTER DANCES



## MULUKTAḲĀ

(Plate 47, d)

*Costume*.—On the head, parrot feathers; at the right side of the head two tail feathers of the eagle and one parrot tail feather. The face is painted blue. He has a long curved snout (otontsikon'e); short black hair around the face (utcialane). The top and back of the mask are painted black with lahacoma on the back. "The spruce collar has popcorn at the tips of the branches because Muluktaḳā plants the sweet corn to make the people's skin strong so that it won't crack in the cold weather."

The body paint is the juice from the stalks of black corn (ḡekwi). This is for the black earth when it is wet from rain. He wears buckskin arm bands with tabs of painted buckskin and turkey feathers (asipowopok lacowapa; arm bands feathers having). Dance kilt, blue moccasins, fox skin, turtle shell rattle on right leg, bells on left. Gourd rattle in right hand, in left long staff with feathers (teina lacowapa; staff feathers having). Hanging from the end of the staff is a downy feather. The first feather is tail feather of the eagle for the clouds, next hawk feather for the rain, then feathers of all the little birds, because all the little birds sing after the rain. Therefore they always come last.

This dance belongs to teupawa kiva. They dance it the day after Ca'lako. They also dance it sometimes in the winter or summer rain dance series. Two Muluktaḳā carrying trees come with Kolowisi at the first whipping of boys. (See p. 977.)

*References*.—Described by Stevenson, p. 265.

*Parallels*.—"Duck" (waiyush) dance of all Keresan pueblos. Parsons, Notes on Laguna Ceremonialism, 100.

## SUPPLEMENTARY AND EXTRA DANCES

## NAHALICO (CRAZY GRANDCHILD)

(Plate 46, a)

Mask has turkey wing feathers tipped with downy feathers, bunch of parrot and downy feathers, face white painted with floral designs in blue and yellow, head covered with goat skin. Spruce collar.

Red body paint, yellow forearms, dance kilt embroidered sash tied with design on two sides, woman's belt, red moccasins, woolen hose covered with colored yarn, arm bands, bandoleer of cedar berries.

He dresses this way when he comes in large group to dance. Society chorus sings for him.



## NAHALICO A'WA MOSONA

(Plate 46, b)

Mask has turkey (?) feathers upright in back, on crown parrot and eagle. Face turquoise with designs in red, yellow and black and white; back, yellow with dragon flies, carved in back, gourd stem for mouth. Spruce collar.

Red body paint, yellow forearms. Red buckskin over left shoulder dance kilt, brown moccasins with leggings and garters, red belt, arm bands.

Right hand yucca ring, left flute of Payatyamu.

## KĀNATCU

(Plate 46, c)

Mask turquoise, red ears, long sharp snout, top of head covered with goat skin, eagle tail feathers and parrot feathers horizontally placed, parrot and downy feathers. Spruce collar.

Embroidered kilt, fringed belt, woman's belt, blue moccasins, red body paint, legs and forearms yellow. Arm bands, yarn; carries spruce and rattle, bandoleer.

He is a gentle dancer. Sometimes comes with koḵokci, sometimes a set come to dance in winter. Carries rattle and spruce.

## WAMUWE

(Plate 46, d)

*Costume*.—"He has clouds on his cheeks and rain under his eyes." Twisted colored yarn about his head. Spruce collar. Light blue kilt, white tasseled belt, and red woman's belt. Fox skin. Fringed leggings, blue moccasins. Eagle tail feather back of head. Rattle, spruce.

"He is a Hehe'a. He comes in the winter in a large group. Muhewa kiva used to dance it in summer also. It is always a give-away dance. They dance with the bundle drum, and that is how they got their name."

*Parallels*.—Danced by Tewa of Hano in August of 1925, while Hopi katchinas were forbidden.

## TCILTCI

(From a drawing collected by A. L. Kroeber)

*Mask*.—Back and top black, face pink, with nose and eyes like Hehe'a, red spot on cheeks. Yarn around head, at back laḡaḡoawe. Spruce collar.

Appears to be wearing fringed buckskin shirt. Many necklaces.



DANCES PERFORMED AFTER CA'LAKO

a, Hemuckwe; b, Nahalie Oka (with Hemuckwe); c, Yim'ona (with Hemuckwe); d, Mutuktogai.



## WINTER DANCES: HILILI

a, *Rakali* (Eagle); b, Hilili; c, Tealaci.

## KĀKĀLĪ (EAGLE)

(Plate 48, a)

*Costume.*—The mask is painted blue with black designs. Around the head yucca band. On his head a large bunch of parrot feathers and downy feathers of the eagle. Spruce collar.

The body is painted black with blue and yellow. The left shoulder and chest is yellow, the right blue. The right hand is yellow, the left blue. The right leg is blue, the left yellow. White kilt with band of blue, embroidered sash, blue moccasins. On his arms he has wings made by sewing feathers to a strip of corn husk. On his back he wears a shield of buckskin painted blue and bordered with a fringe of red hair. At the top are two upright tail feathers of the eagle attached to a disk of turkey feathers, and four red hawk feathers. At the bottom four more red hawk feathers and a fan of tail feathers of the eagle. The eagle is the chief of the birds, and so he wears the shield on his back. It has the same significance as the lacowanlane of the war chief. He carries little bells in both hands.

He comes with Hilili.

*Folklore.*—Long ago Hilili came here for the first time. They came for the first time about forty years ago when my mother was a girl. When they first came the people thought they were dangerous because they carried snakes, so all the head priests came together and asked whether it was dangerous to have Hilili dance. The katecina chief and his pekwin were there. The priests had called them in to ask if it was right to have Hilili. Then they sent for a Hopi man married to a Zuñi woman to have him tell them about the dance. They were all in the priests' ceremonial room. The people were all afraid because they were carrying snakes. They were not rattlesnakes, but they were real snakes and the people had no medicine to cure the bites of these other snakes.

The people were all met together, and the Hopi man came in and asked, "My fathers, why have you sent for me? I am not fit to come into this sacred house. But you have sent for me and I have come. What is it, that you want of me?" Then the chief priest said, "Our people have come here from the west. They have brought with them a valuable dance. Now our people want to do this dance, but we are afraid of one thing—they carry snakes. That is why our fathers have all come together, and that is why we have sent for you to come here. Is it dangerous to have them?" So he said. The Hopi man was wise. He knew all about Zuñi ways and he said, "Now, my fathers, I thought you people had things for the snakes. We have all worked on our feathers, all who belong to societies. We have made feathers for the snakes and planted them in the winter time," he said. "I do not know why you are afraid of the snakes. They are bringing

with them an eagle dance so that the people may have many eagles. There are no eagles here. You have good places for the eagles to build their nests, but you have no one to dance for the eagles. These people will bring the eagles. They are good climbers. They can climb the high mountains, and so they can get the eagles. They will bring the eagles. And now, my fathers, you will decide whether you want it. If you think it will be dangerous to have them dance with the snakes, I shall leave it to you to do as you think best. I do not have to tell you what is right and what is wrong. You will know what is best."

When he had spoken thus the kadcina chief said to the priests, "Now, my fathers, I think we had better have this dance so that we may have plenty of feathers for our people at the Sacred Lake. Now, if we have this dance for the eagles the eagles will come from the high mountains and stay close to Itiwana if we pray for them in a dance." The kadcina chief wanted to have the feathers because they are valuable. They are our life. The kadcina chief is the head of the dance and whatever he says is all right. The priests have nothing to say; not even the chief priest can raise any objection after the kadcina chief has spoken. He wanted this eagle dance because he wanted his children, the kadcinas, to have many feathers and to be pretty. So the priests said, "It is good. You have said that you want this dance. It is all right." The rain people had nothing to say. They left it to the kadcina chief. Then he told his assistant, "Now you shall go to the men of he'iwa kiva who want to have this Hilili dance, and you shall tell them to go ahead with it and practice for it. It is all right." So now the men of he'iwa kiva were pleased and went ahead with their dance. They had the young men dance, and the older men of the kiva sang for them.

The kadcina chief did not want people without masks to come out to sing for the kadcinas. The Hopi chorus always dressed like human people but the kadcina chief here did not want that. So they decided who should sing for them and how they should dress. They made the Tenenakwe (singers) come out to sing for them. All the older men who were too heavy to dance Hilili came as Tenenakwe. The Tenenakwe do not have to be society members but they dress just like members of societies. They wear a little chin mask with the back of the head exposed, and they do their hair in a queue in back. They wear just the dark blue kilt like the society members, and the red feather in the hair. Then after they had their songs ready they got their clothing together. The Hopis would not tell them what the different parts of the clothing meant, so they made new ornaments for the side of the head and represented different things on them—the sun and the moon and the stars. All were different. They made the songs in the Zuñi language but there were not many words, only meaningless syllables.

So when the time came after they had fixed up the ornaments for the head and the feathers, and when they had everything ready, they began to dance. They brought in with them the two Eagle katchinas. Their arms were covered with eagle feathers and they had feathers on their heads and wore downy feathers all over. They came in and everyone liked them. First the Tenenakwe came in, and then Hilili came in, and last of all the two eagles. They looked so pretty that everyone liked them right away. The kiva chief was leading the dance and he danced in the middle. Then he went around to the four corners of the plaza and came to where the singers were standing. He stood among them and the one who was beating the drum watched his head and when he nodded he started to beat the drum and then they all began to sing. The kiva chief began to dance right there among the singers. Then the Hilili dancers began. They lined up on the north side of the plaza and began to dance. Then they danced and when they went in to rest the singers stayed there in the plaza. Then the dancers came out again and danced.

Then in the evening when they were through dancing the katchina war chief took the Eagle katchinas. They still had their paper bread from their dinner in the kiva. So when they were through dancing they took their paper bread and the katchina war chief took them to Corn Mountain. He had corn meal with him, and he said, "Now, my fathers, you have come here from the west. You have come here to call the eagles from where they are staying. Call the eagles from the west and from the south and from all the different directions so that the Itiwana people may have feathers for their dancers." So he said and sprinkled corn meal on them and made the road for them to go to Corn Mountain to build their nests there. Then the men took off their masks at Corn Mountain and said to their masks, "Now, our father has told you to stay here and to call the eagles to build their nests in this place. You are the ones to make the eagles come here. Now we shall leave you here on this mountain." So they said and then they dressed there and brought back their masks and clothing to Itiwana.

So that is why there are always eagle nests on Corn Mountain and all the people from the different villages come here to Itiwana to get eagle feathers. The Hopis brought their eagle dance here and since then we have had many eagles. But the Hopis have given away their dance and so they now have bad luck with eagles in their own country. And that is why whenever Hilili comes the eagles always go out early before the other katchinas leave, and go with their lunch to Corn Mountain to call the eagles. They do not always go to Corn Mountain, but sometimes they go other places to other mountains. But they go out every night. If they dance more than one day they go out each evening and come back the next day and dance.



## HILILI KÖHANA

(Plate 48, b)

*Costume.*—On this one the face is painted white, but it may be red or yellow or blue or black. There is a snake painted over each eye; that on the right is blue, that on the left yellow. The eyes are square with bands of three colors, black and white and blue. On the head lacowanłana with duck's head. Over the right ear is a round disk painted with a sun symbol, with feather attached. It is called timsaiane. The original Hopi Hilili from which this dance was taken did not have this ornament but the Zuñis added it to make him look valuable. Standing up over the left ear different kinds of feathers, tail feather of the eagle, bluebird, and red hawk. Around the neck is a snake, the head in front and the tail standing up in back. He has a big mouth and long black beard. He has a wildcat skin around his neck and over his shoulders.

Body is painted red with Sacred Lake clay mixed with ahoka. Arms and legs yellow. He wears white kilt with band of blue, embroidered Hopi sash and woman's belt. Fox skin, blue moccasins. Yucca in both hands, around both legs, and on right wrist. Bow bracelet on left wrist. Arm bands with two rows of red buckskin tabs for the clouds. They are very anxious to bring rain, so they wear two sets. Little bells on right leg and on belt.

Hilili came from the Hopi about forty years ago. The current version of the importation is given above. The Hopi, on the other hand, report that the dance was imported from Zuñi. This holds for all Hopi villages.

It is danced in winter at ko'uptconawa. Everyone likes Hilili, so all the kivas dance it. It was performed as an extra dance December 13-16, 1927.

## TĀLĀCI (TĀKŌWĒNA OLD MAN)

(Plate 48, c)

*Costume.*—His mask is like Teakwena, black with eyes like Teakwena. He has white hair (lohāiyaye) and white beard.

"He is dressed just like a society member. Red feather, yucca band around his head, yucca on right wrist, dark blue skirt, silver belt, brown moccasins, black knitted stockings, and little red belts around the legs. He carries two eagle wing feathers in his right hand, like society people. He wears his beads doubled over on his chest like society people. He does not always wear the blanket.

"Long ago one of these masks belonged to Hekāpawa kiva, and he used to come in with the Teakwena dance. Then he did not dress like this. He did not wear the red feather and the yucca and the other insignia of society members, but he wore lacowanłana like the other Teakwena dancers.

"Now he only comes to sing for Hilili. He is too old to dance but he has a sweet voice, so he sings in the chorus for Hilili. Hilili always have a chorus to sing for them, and Tealaci is their leader. There used to be only one Tealaci, but now there may be many of them in the chorus. Anyone who is a good singer may be Tealaci. All the young men will be Hilili, but the older men who are too old to dance Hilili but who are head men and want to take part will be Tealaci and sing.

"Tealaci is so old that he crawls on his knees. Last year when they danced Hilili none of the societies who generally sing for them would sing, and so they had only a group of Tealaci. It was hard work for the Hilili dancers, because they had to drive them in like sheep. They would not come in, and they fell down all the time and had to be picked up. But when they were all in and began to sing they were sweet singers."

#### TENENAKWE (SINGERS)

These are the singers for Hilili.

Blue chin mask with black band over lip, black spots on cheeks and chin. Hair tied up behind with red belt. Yucca band, red feathers in forelock, long turquoise strings in ears. Body nude, except for blue breechcloth of societies; bare feet. Beads worn like society members. Chest, back, arms, and legs smeared with whitewash.

(When Hilili danced outdoors in the daytime in December, 1927, the singers were masked but fully clothed in garish and variegated attire. Some of the masks were white chin masks with elaborate decorations in pink and blue, like Wilatsukwe or Kumache, whose masks were probably used.)

#### PASIKĀPA (OPEN SLEEVES)

(Plate 49, a)

Mask pink with designs in black on cheek, long eye slits, eagle-tail feathers behind, on top downy feathers, hawk feathers, and paper flowers. Blue or black or colored shirt (probably velveteen) with open sleeves, colored ribbons on shoulders. Dance kilt, embroidered sash, red belt, red moccasins, woolen hose with red garters. In right hand, rattle, left bow, ornamented with spruce and colored streamers.

Dances in winter, at ko'upteonaḱā.

#### WAḶĀCI KOKO (COW KATCINA)

(Plate 49, b)

*Costume.*—He wears a regular mask with the top and back covered with the skin from a cow's head. The horns are either real horns or made of wood. The ears are of rawhide painted red inside. On the

head he wears a bunch of red and yellow parrot feathers and downy feathers. Two eagle-tail feathers standing up behind, with a bunch of owl feathers, and a small disk of turkey feathers. Bright-colored ribbon hanging down in back. Spruce collar.

The body is painted with pink clay and yellow paint. The left arm is green, the right yellow. (This is the characteristic Hopi katcina body paint.) The face is spotted all over to represent a cow. The legs are painted white.

He wears a buckskin skirt, embroidered sash, fox skin. Woman's belt over right shoulder, like a bandoleer. He wears arm bands of yarn embroidery with buckskin fringes to represent rain. In the right hand a gourd rattle, in the left a staff topped with eagle feathers fastened to the staff with a disk of turkey feathers, black hair and streamers of blue cloth. Blue moccasins. Turtle-shell rattle on right leg, black yarn on left.

"This is a large dance with a great many people, like a mixed dance. It is danced in the winter by Ohewa kiva. They were the first kiva to dance it, and no one else ever does it. (It was danced as an extra dance by young men from Muhewa on the night of Ca'lako, 1927.)

"This dance was introduced from the Hopi in 1908. At that time Hopi men came to Ca'lako and danced the cow dance for the Zuñis. Ever since that time we have had more cows. (Danced by the Hopi at present.—R. L. B.)

"This is a regular kiva dance in which the head men take part, not like the Navaho dance.

"He represents the cow, but he brings corn too. He has blue seeds."

#### MUKWE (HOPI)

(Plate 49, c)

*Mask.*—Face mask with beard, face turquoise blue with ornament of red and white and checkerboard border. On head paper flowers and bunch of eagle and parrot feathers, ribbon streamers.

Body painted red with right shoulder and left forearm blue, and left shoulder and right forearm yellow. Legs yellow. (Powamu painting among the Hopi.)

Dance kilt, embroidered sash, red belt, fox skin, beaded bandoleer, red moccasins, woolen hose fastened with yarn.

Right hand gourd rattle, left hand crooked prayer stick (carried by Powamu).

*Parallels.*—This is probably the Zuñi masked interpretation of the Hopi Powamu Katcina, who dances unmasked as the culminating ceremony of the Powamu festival.



## WINTER DANCES

*a*, Pasigapa; *b*, Wajeci (Cow); *c*, Mukikwe (Hopi); *d*, Mukikwoka.



## MUKW'OKA (HOPI WOMAN)

(Plate 49, d)

KoKokei mask and headdress.

Calico underdress, black dress, white blanket with red border fastened on right shoulder. Dress decorated with colored ribbons, white moccasins.

In right hand, basket ornamented with feathers, in left corn. Hands white.

## KWAMUMU

(Plate 51, a)

*Costume.*—On the head a bunch of yellow parrot feathers and downy feathers. Sticking up from the center one tail feather of the eagle dyed black and tipped with tiny parrot feathers. The face is painted blue. On the back of the head is painted corn. Red hair around the face. On the left side a representation of a squash with downy feathers hanging from it. He wears arm bands with feathers and buckskin fringes, white kilt, white tasseled belt, fox skin, brown moccasins with fringes, turtle shell rattle on the right leg, gourd rattle in right hand. Across the breast a band of bright satin ribbon studded with disks of silver or precious beads.

## KWAMUMU OKÄ

(Plate 51, b)

Chin mask painted brownish yellow with red streak on cheeks, protruding red mouth. Hair drawn back and done up behind with white yarn, no bangs (like Navaho woman). Navaho woman's velveteen blouse, full flounced calico skirt, red woven belt. Many necklaces and bracelets, white moccasins. Right hand spruce, in left some unidentified object.

This dance was borrowed from the Hopi.

## WILATSUKWE (APACHE)

(Plate 51, c)

Mask: Chin mask with projecting nose, hair flowing with downy feathers down back, headband of colored yarn, over right ear, band of eagle feathers, and in center a sun symbol in yellow; on left, eagle wing feathers and ornament of turkey feathers or horsehair, necklaces of turquoise and bear claws.

No body paint, buckskin kilt, under it a long breechcloth of colored calico, red moccasins and woolen hose. In right hand long arrow, in left bow and other arrows. Yarn on wrist and bow bracelet arm bands.



"They got this dance from the Apache the way they got the Sioux dance. They copied the dress from a picture. The songs are in the Zuñi language, but they are very hard to sing because they shout with a strong voice like the Apache."

It is danced in winter. (See Parsons, Winter and Summer Dance Series, page 177.)

WILATSUKW'OKÄ

(Plate 51, *d*)

Chin mask painted white with designs on cheeks in red and blue. Hair loose. Headband of colored yarn with three upright downy feathers on right, ornament of red feathers on left, horsehair, colored calico skirt and over that sleeveless shirt of fringed buckskin ornamented with shells and porcupine quill embroidery. Full skirt of calico, white woman's moccasins, in back hand two eagle tail feathers with fringe of horsehair.

Comes with Wilatsukwe.

LA'PILAWÉ

(Plate 50, *a*)

He wears a headdress of eagle feathers around the head and hanging down the back or fastened to yarn headband. Buckskin shirt with sleeves and embroidered with beads, fringed leggings of white or brown buckskin, Navaho blanket or buckskin kilt folded around the loins. No sash, only a red woven belt. Fox skin. He carries bow and arrows. Carries stone knife in right hand and in left a battle-ax or lance.

A number of them come in the Sioux dance, to dance.

"This dance used to belong to the Sioux. The people here, especially the society people, need the fur of the buffalo for their ceremonies. They used to use bear skin to cover their arms when they had their curing ceremonies in the winter, but for a long time they have not been able to kill any bears around here on account of the white people, and so they use buffalo skin instead.

"So about ten years ago the katcina chief and the other headmen met to talk about it. They thought they would like to have a buffalo dance come here. They thought that if the buffalo came here all the fur-bearing animals like the bear would come near to Itiwana, so that the society people could use their fur in their ceremonies. We had heard that there was a Sioux man living at Gallup, so one man went up to Gallup to get this man to give him their songs for the buffalo. The man went there and got the songs and made Zuñi words for it. Then the Sioux man drew a picture of how the buffalo looked in the dance, and he brought it back here and they made this dance. They



a. *La'p'la we* (feather string)

b. Buffalo

c. *A'iana* (big stone)

d. *Ahanta*

WINTER DANCE GROUP: SIOUX DANCE



had the dance in the winter. One buffalo comes, and one warrior comes and chases him and kills him, and the others dance. When they kill the buffalo in the dance, whoever comes to him first will take him to his society room and all the members of his society will sprinkle the buffalo with water that they may have good luck."

#### SIWOLO (BUFFALO)

(Plate 50, b)

*Costume.*—The mask is a regular chin mask like Tcakwena wears with the buffalo head put on over it. He has red ears and black and white horns. Over his head and shoulders he wears a buffalo hide. His arms are painted red. His kilt is of brown buckskin with a rattlesnake painted on it. The bottom of the kilt is fringed with nails and other pieces of metal that jangle as he dances. Fur leggings with more metal ornaments on the upper edges. Red moccasins trimmed with blue. Fox skin. In his right hand a rattle, in the left a lightning stick and a bunch of black hair. He wears beads on both wrists for he is valuable.

He comes with the Sioux dance.

#### ALANA

(Plate 50, c)

He wears a chin mask with a large nose. The painting on the face is feathers, for he is a warrior. The face is painted red with the blood of the buffalo. Over his head he wears twisted strands of beads.

He wears a wildcat skin around his loins, brown moccasins, and fringed leggings. He wears arm bands of different colors and wide cuffs painted with arrow points. Around his neck he wears strings of buffalo claws, two strands, in addition to beads. In the right hand a tomahawk (Ca'lako's ax); in the left a sword in a leather sheath.

He comes with the Sioux dance. He brings in the buffalo and kills him in his dance.

#### AINANUWA (OR MEPU)

(Plate 50, d)

Chin masks painted brown, with designs in white, blue, and black on nose and chin, with prominent nose. Goatskin over head, feather over right ear. Deer antlers around neck. Fringed buckskin shirt. Navaho blanket around loins; red belt; fox skin; brown moccasins, with woolen hose. In right hand a stone knife; in left a bow and arrow.

Comes with Sioux dance and "takes care" of buffalo.

## KUMANCE—PEYENA'KWE (THE SPEAKING PERSONS)

(Plate 52)

Mask has prominent nose design on cheek, war bonnet, wears beaded waistcoat instead of buckskin shirt, and small Navaho blanket as kilt, fastened with red belt. Bow with long arrow in one hand, in the right a stone war club (not pictured).

He is a solo dancer and dances out of line vigorously. Carries on conversation with drummer between songs, finally threatens him with club.

Drummer wears chin mask with prominent nose, yarn headband, usual man's headdress, arrangement of feathers over right ear. Sleeved buckskin shirt, trousers, red belt, beaded Plains moccasins, brown buckskin leggings fastened with belt with two eagle feathers thrust in each. Carries wooden drum on pole, which he rests on ground. Two eagle feathers in left hand.

## KUMANCE

(Plate 53, b)

Mask; chin mask painted white with line of red across eyes and triangular design on chin. Short war bonnet with beaded headband. Hair in yarn-wound plaits over shoulders.

Sleeveless fringed buckskin shirt, fringed shawl, woman's kilt, silver belt, fox skin, brown moccasins with fringed white buckskin leggings tied with yarn. Fringed arm bands, yarn on right wrist, bow bracelet on left. No body paint. In right hand rattle, in left bow decorated with feathers.

This dance is very popular but exceedingly arduous. It was danced as an extra dance the night of Ca'lako, 1928. The songs are not in the Zuñi style, and are probably of Plains origin.

## KYELLIKWE

(Note on drawing collected by A. L. Kroeber)

Chin mask painted white, red band over eyes and triangular design on cheeks. Colored yarn around head and above a crown of bear claws. Over right ear a bunch of downy feathers upright with circular ornament of turkey feathers, ribbon streamers over right ear, another bunch of turkey feathers and more streamers. Behind, two eagle tail feathers and bunch of owl feathers. Hair tied up behind with red belt. Shirt of colored velvet adorned with silver buttons and many colored streamers.

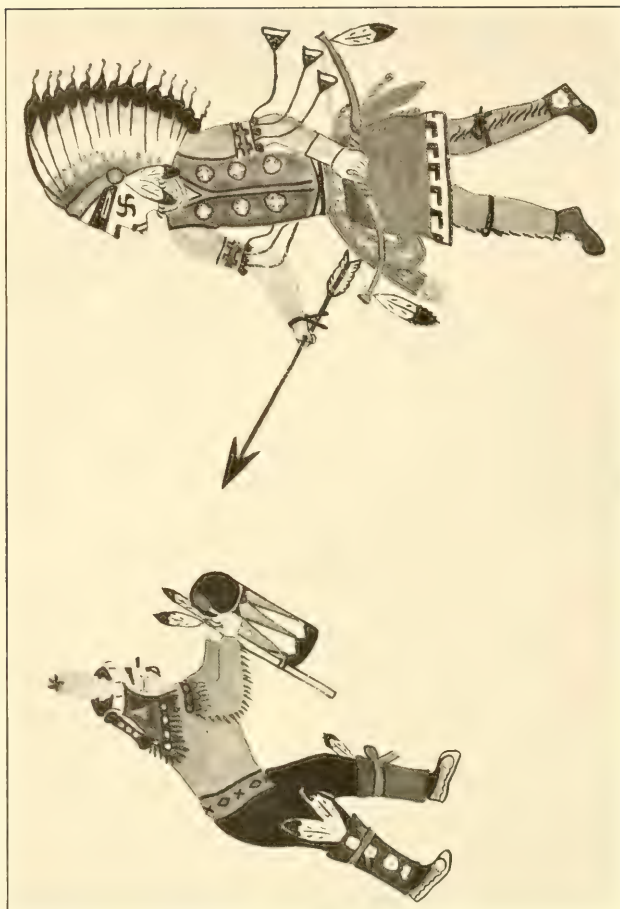
Rest of figure not shown.



WINTER DANCES

a, Kwamum; b, Kwamum; c, Wiltsukwe (Apache); d, Wiltsukw'ogá.





KUMANCE PEYENA KWE



KUMANCE



THE "LITTLE DANCERS"

*a.* Hehe'a, *b.* Nahalawet, *c.* Chukewitsi Kohan, *d.* Irdsoma.

## THE "LITTLE DANCERS"

HEHE'A

(Plate 54, a)

*Costume.*—The face may be white or blue or black. He has tears running out of his eyes because he was hurt in the war with the Kānakwe. His mouth is crooked because he always makes faces at the Koyemci. On his head black hair and a bunch of red chili. He has an abalone shell in each ear. Rabbit skin around his neck.

The body is painted with red paint mixed with katcina clay from the Sacred Lake. The forearms and legs to the knees are painted yellow. Also yellow spots on the body and on the knees. The body from the navel to the knees is painted white with white clay from Acoma. He wears only a dark-blue breechcloth (pīaliana). He carries a fawn-skin bag filled with ashes or dirt of ground chili.

*Ceremonies.*—He can come in whenever there is a dance going on, but he comes mostly in the wintertime. Sometimes only one comes, sometimes three or four. He comes in late after everyone is in the plaza. Then while the Koyemci are playing he comes in to rat plaza. No one knows that he is coming, and he comes quietly and hides so that no one will see him or hear him, and he hides particularly from the Koyemci. While they are playing he shows himself. He runs in and makes donkey ears at them. He is full of mischief. Then the Koyemci say, "Who is coming?" Hehe'a runs up to them quickly and knocks them down with his bag full of pepper. The pepper makes them sneeze. Then he runs and hides in the crowd and runs off. Then when they begin to play he runs in again and knocks them down. Finally they see him and say, "Oh, its a nana (grandfather-grandchild). Let's catch him." Then they all hold hands and surround him, but he crawls out between their legs and hides in the crowd. Finally they catch him and ask him, "How did you come?" Then he starts to tell them all in sign language, "I woke up early." He makes the sign of a big sun with his hands, because the sun looks big when it first comes up. Then he tells them, "I met a rabbit and killed it with a stone, and it fell down, and then I roasted it." He tells it all in gesture. Then in the evening when the sun goes down the katecinas go back home, but he stays behind and plays.

He may come for any dance. During the winter dances this impersonation is very popular, especially among the boys who are too young to take part in the regular line dances.

(In the night of August 23-24, 1925, during the rain dance of uptsanawa kiva two Hehe'a and one Tealaci came in and danced in the house of the Koyemci and in the kiva. They did not appear next

day in the plaza. They just came to amuse the dancers because they could not go home to their wives that night.)

When he comes with Ololowicka he wears buckskin leggings and red moccasins and a fringed shawl as a kilt, with a silver belt. He carries their things. (See p. 1007, pl. 35.)

Comparative information on Hehe'a, p. 1017.

#### NAHALICO (CRAZY GRANDCHILD)

(Plate 54, *b*)

*Costume.*—On the head four turkey wing feathers tipped with downy feathers. The top of the head is covered with black hair. The face is painted blue with designs in red. The nose represents lightning, the painting on the cheeks is called lakwelanapa (hawk feather painting). There is more lightning on the back of the head. Spruce collar.

The body paint is red, with yellow arms and legs. The knees are red, the thighs white. Arm bands of blue buckskin with tabs and fringes of red for the clouds. He wears a dark blue breechcloth of native weave and an embroidered sash under it and a silver belt over it. He has yarn and dyed flannel on both legs and on the right wrist. Bow bracelet on left wrist. Yarn and beads around the neck. Blue moccasins, bells on right leg or in belt.

He comes in the winter. Sometimes one comes in the mixed dance or in the rain dance, especially at the beginning or end of the line. Sometimes a whole set all alike come to dance, and then they have societies to sing for them. Like Hehe'a, an impersonation of war among little boys.

*Myth.*—Nahalico lived at the Sacred Lake. He was a real Nahalico. When everyone was asleep he would go out to hunt. He went to the south where many tall trees were growing and where there were many turkeys. He hunted turkeys there, but he never brought them in when he came back. He just left them in the lake and came in without them. He never even brought their feathers. He just killed the birds to have a good time, and never considered that turkeys are valuable. He did that for three nights and no one at the Sacred Lake knew about it. But the fourth night he came in very late. Just before dawn when they felt the wind from the east he came in. Ya'ana saw him come in. He left his turkeys out in the lake and sneaked in as if he had been doing something wrong. Ya'ana saw him come in. When everyone got up Nahalico got up too. He did not feel tired or sleepy. Later in the morning Ya'ana said, "Where have you been? I saw you come in last night." None of the katcinas would believe that he had been up all night. He was afraid he had been doing something wrong and that was why he had hidden his turkeys and not brought them in.

Finally Pautiwa and Sayataca called him over and asked him, "Have you been out during the night?" At first he said, "No." Then they said again, "Please tell us. We do not want anyone to go and do anything wrong in the night. You must only go out in the daytime. Now are you sure you were not out at night?" Then he said, "Yes, I was out." Then they asked him, "What were you doing?" He said, "I was hunting." "How many nights have you gone?" He said, "I have gone out for four nights." "What did you hunt? Deer?" "No, I went to the south and I hunted turkeys." Then they asked him, "How many turkeys did you kill?" "I have killed four turkeys." "Now go out to where you left the turkeys and bring them right in. These turkeys are valuable and you have hurt them. Our fathers send their feathers here to us for our clothing. You have done wrong to kill them."

So the little Nahalico went out and brought in the turkeys he had caught. They were all torn up and their feathers were spoiled. There were four of them. He brought them in and laid them down in front of Pautiwa. Then they all talked about it, and Pautiwa said, "Oh, this is a wicked thing that you have done. These are our clothing, their wings, and their breasts." Then he said, "Now, my son, whenever the katchinas go to Itiwana you will wear these stiff feathers because you have done wrong. No one cares for these feathers and so you will always wear them because you have done this bad thing." So Pautiwa said and he pulled out the stiff wing feathers of the turkeys and tied little tiny feathers to their tips and put them on Nahalico. Before that he had worn pretty soft feathers like the other katchinas, but they took them away from him and gave him these because he had hurt the turkeys.

So that is how he comes. None of the other katchinas wear the stiff feathers, only he, because he did wrong. He hurt the turkeys. The people of Itiwana need the turkeys for their feathers, but he went and killed them in the night. And so he wears no feathers any place. And that is why his name is Nahalico, which means a foolish person.

*Parallels.*—Laguna, Ts'a'p' Nawish. Parsons, Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna, Figure 11. San Felipe nawic (Bunzel, Note on San Felipe, J. A. F. L., 292).

#### CULAWITSI KOHANA

(Plate 54, c)

He dresses like Cula-witsi when he comes for initiation of boys—carries yucca, wears fringe of hair for a kilt. Body painted white with spots.



## ITETSONA (DOUBLE FACE)

(Plate 54, d)

On the head, yellow parrot feathers with downy feathers. On the right side, two eagle-tail feathers; on the left side, a squash blossom with goat's hair hanging from it. One side of the face is painted red, the other blue, hence his name. On the back of the head is painted a frog. He has a protruding mouth. Spruce collar. His body is painted with clay from the Sacred Lake, mixed with red paint.

He is dressed like Sälimopiya with embroidered skirt, blue leather belt, anklets of porcupine quill embroidery, bare feet. He carries yucca in both hands, with little bells fastened to the bunch in the left hand. He has seeds of all kinds in the yucca in the left hand.

## MISCELLANEOUS KATCINAS

## NATCIMOMO (GRANDFATHER RATTLES ALL THE TIME)

(Plate 55, a)

*Costume.*—The mask is painted pink with pink clay from the Sacred Lake. The eyes are black. The painting on the back of the head is a frog, "because the frog always lives in the water." On the head, parrot feathers and downy feathers of the eagle. Sticking out in front and back, turkey feathers. The collar is of turkey feathers.

He wears a Sälimopiya skirt, blue leather belt, blue arm bands, blue moccasins, yarn on both legs, beads on both wrists (loo, hard things). Yarn on right wrist, wrist band on left. Rattle in right hand, spruce in left hand. Fox skin.

*Ceremonies.*—"He is the messenger. Formerly whenever the katcinas were coming they would send in a messenger to mark the road for them and tell the people they were coming. In the winter they still have a messenger come first, sometimes Koyemci, sometimes Kōkōkci, sometimes Natcimomo. They no longer send messengers in summer. The people know when they see the kiva director plant his feathers.

"He is very proud of his rattle and rattles all the time. That is how he got his name. He marks four lines and then the people know there will be a dance in four days."

## NE'PAIYATAMU

(Plate 55, b)

*Costume.*—The chin mask is painted yellow with corn pollen and honey to make fine days. There are two red stripes across the face to make him see well. He does his hair up in front (mitone) because he is wise. Sometimes the face is painted gray like ashes. (The

Ne'we'kwe face painting. That illustrated is the face painting of Bitsitsi.) The body paint is pink clay mixed with ashes.

"He does not always dress like a human person, the way he is shown in the picture, but he dresses like a society member, that is, barefooted and all naked except for a small blue kilt. But sometimes he dresses funny, he hangs onions in his ears and does other things like that to make people laugh. He always carries the Ne'we'kwe baton.

"He is the Ne'we'kwe of the katcinas. They have Ne'we'kwe in the Sacred Lake just as we have here."

*Ceremonies.*—"He comes after Ca'lako to bring in the Corn maids. In the story he is the one who finds the Corn maids and so he and Pautiwa bring them in. Then he comes unmasked and he must be a Ne'we'kwe man. When he comes with the Corn maids we call him Bitsitsi. When the earth was soft Bitsitsi himself used to come, but now a human man of the society of Ne'we'kwe brings them in."<sup>22</sup>

"He comes masked during the winter, sometimes in the mixed dance and sometimes by himself. Sometimes he comes to sing for Hilili. Sometimes a whole crowd will come and act like Ne'we'kwe.

"If any kiva wants to dance Ne'we'kwe, they will not dance real Ne'we'kwe, but they will dance Nehekalo with masks. The headman calls the men together and asks who will be men and who women. Then they make up their songs and practice them. They make up funny songs. They say they have come from the Sacred Lake because their mothers were coming and they did not want them to come alone, and that they are afraid that their wives will be stolen. After they are ready they send in a messenger to announce that they will dance, and the next day they get their clothing ready. Then the headman goes to the headman of the Ne'we'kwe society and tells him that they are going to dance Ne'we'kwe and asks the Ne'we'kwe people to come and drum for them. Then the Ne'we'kwe man says, 'Very well. We are glad to have you do it, for our clothes are worn out.' Each man who is dancing makes himself a necklace of black yarn and a bracelet of yarn for the right wrist.

"Then the Ne'we'kwe man tells his assistant that the kiva has chosen them and they all go over there to be with them. Then they all dress in ceremonial costume and take their drum and go over to the kiva. Each man brings his Ne'we'kwe baton, for the men who are going to dance. They come in and then each one gives his baton to one of the dancers with a prayer. He prays for good weather and for luck in the dance. Then each of the dancers has one of the borrowed wands. Two real Ne'we'kwe men will lead the dance. They carry their children on their backs to make the people believe that they have really come from the Sacred Lake with their children.

<sup>22</sup> Two informants confused the masked personation Nepayatamu with the unmasked personation of Bitsitsi.

"When they have finished dancing the men return the wands and each man gives one of the Ne'we'kwe men the yarn necklace that he wore in the dance. He gives it to him and says, 'I am taking off this necklace. This is all my bad luck and I am giving it to you to get rid of it.' They always use backward speech."

*Parallels.*—Cochiti: The Cochiti equivalent of the Ne'we'kwe, the quirana, also have a masked dance. "The function of the quirana is to procure rain. They have their secret dances of shiwanna. The chief has a green mask with large black hands. There is a beard. The costume is the same stuff as the malinche's, with a dance belt. The other koetsame has a mask like those of Zuñi, no beard but a duck bill. He has a white shirt, a bandoleer called pani or manta of cotton, boots of (?), the queue beribboned, skunk skin at ankles. The chief says there is a heavy penalty for those who fail the day they dance at the ceremonies. When they take in a novice the malinche comes out, but the masked dance is always hidden." (Dumarest, p. 190-191.)

The masks illustrated, however (Pl. VI, 4, and fig. 26), do not agree with the foregoing description, but show striking resemblance (except in color) to Zuñi Koyemci.

#### NENEKĀ

(Plate 55, c)

Helmet mask with high crest edged with goat's hair, downy feather on peak. Crest and face painted turquoise with black line over eyes. Back white with dragon flies, wide mouth and long black beard, bunch of eagle and owl feathers at back. Wildcat skin over shoulders.

Fully clothed in white skirt, white kilt with blue stripe, buckskin fastened on right shoulder, fringed buckskin leggings, blue moccasins, fox skins. Hands painted white, beads on right, bow bracelet on left. Necklaces hidden. Yucca in both hands. Comes with Huponeilowa.

Nenekā is mentioned in all accounts of Keresan katcinas (Dumarest, Goldfrank, White) and seems to be important in these villages. Neither mask nor character of the impersonation has been described.

His position in Zuñi is vague. Probably a recent importation there from the east.

#### PAKOKO AND YEBITCAI (NAVAHO KATCINA)

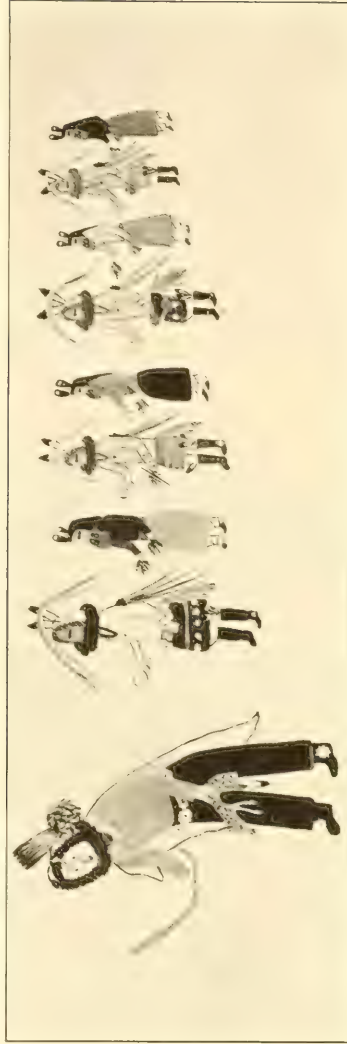
(Plates 56, 57)

Pakoko wears on his head eagle feathers tipped with yellow parrot feathers; ribbon streamers. Red hair around the face. Corn painted on the back of the mask, face painted blue with gum paint. Spruce collar. His body is painted white. He wears a great deal of silver, belt and bracelets, and wrist band with silver, and buttons like the Navaho wear. He wears a Navaho blanket instead of a kilt. Bright satin ribbons. Black knitted stockings, little red belts. Eagle feathers on the left leg. Fox skin behind.

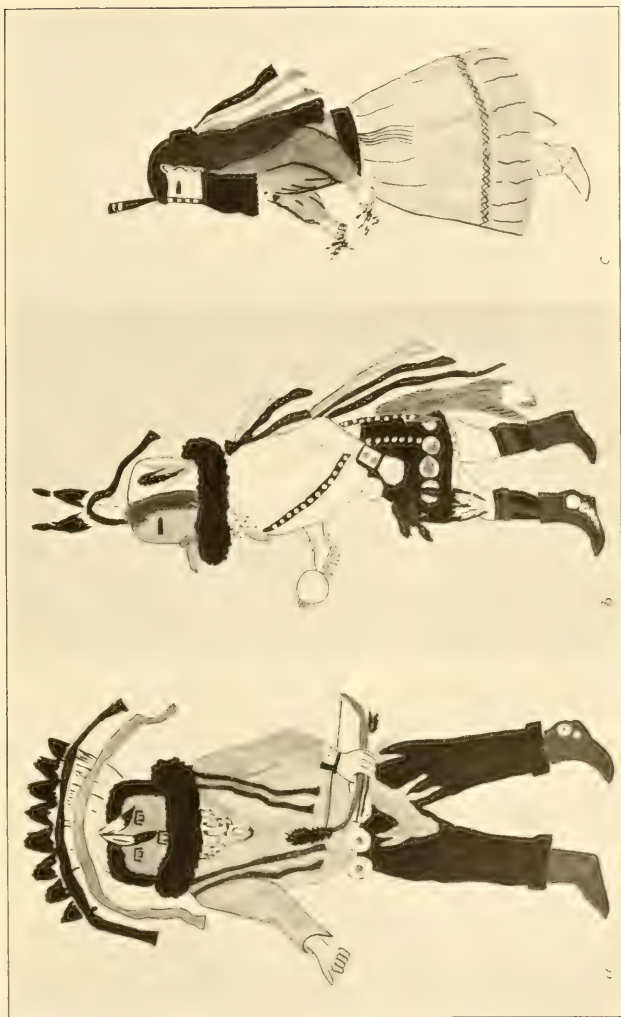


MISCELLANEOUS KATCINAS

a, Natcimomo; b, Nelyatamti; c, Neneqti.



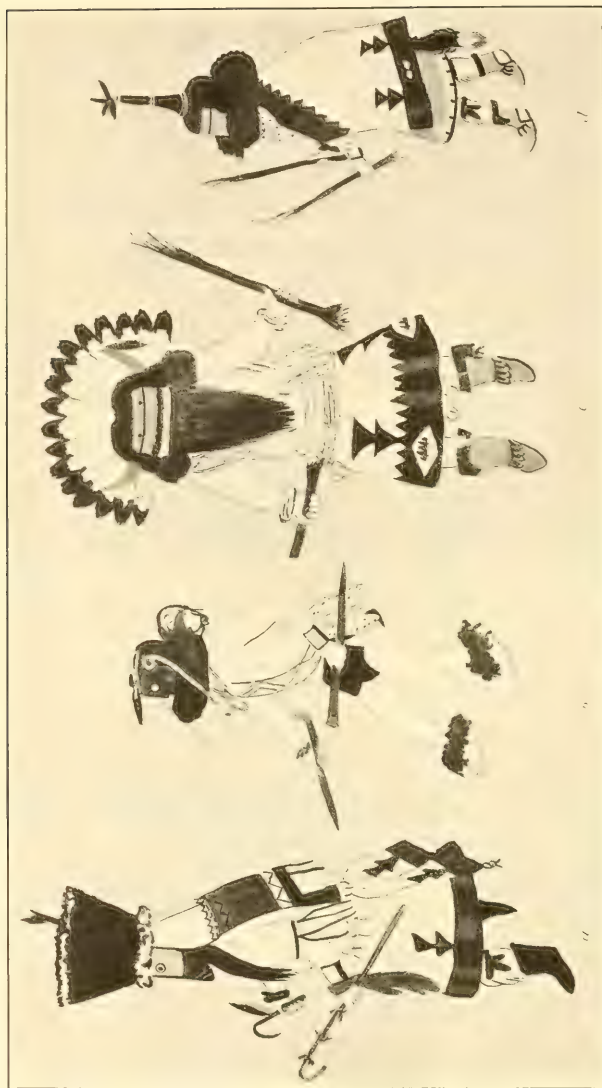
PAKOKO ("NAVAHO" DANCE)



"NAVAHO" DANCE

a, "Yehitani"; b, Pakoko; c, Pakok Ogi.





SOCIETY MASKS

a, Cumakoli (Cuma'kwo); b, Salyap (Cuma'kwo); c, Kokolana (Newe'kwo); d, Mitotaca (Newe'kwo); e, Newe'kwe.



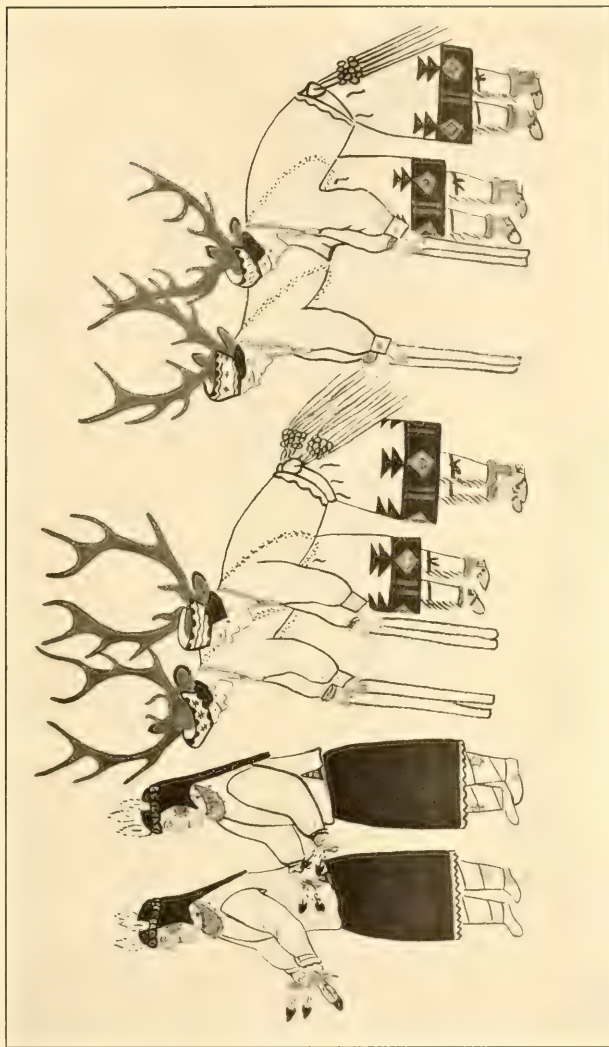
UNMASKED IMPERSONATIONS

a, Culawisi an tateu; b, Ca'lako an'ulona; c, Awek euwan'ona (Earth Purifier; Scalp dancer); d, Sa te'tei e'lactoki (Santu dance).



UNMASKED IMPERSONATIONS

a, Bitsai; b, Lowkwe; c, Lowkwe; d, Bitsai; e, Lowkwe.



DEER DANCE (OBSOLETE)



Yebitcai wears shirt and trousers, bright ribbons, silver belt, brown moccasins. He carries a young deer in his left hand, bow and arrow. Mask turquoise blue with border of black hair, eagle wing feathers standing up with ribbon streamers at their tips.

*Ceremonies.*—"They dance this in the fall before Ca'lako. This is not a kiva dance. The kiva chiefs have nothing to do with it. The young boys who want to dance get together and dance Pakoko without prayers. The song is very hard to sing, it is very high and only the young men with good voices can do it. They always have three groups and they take turns dancing, because the song is so hard to sing that they get tired quickly. Any young man who wants to and is a good singer will be the leader. Each group has its leader, and it is called by his ceremonial affiliation. The ne'we'kwe always come out for this dance. During the night the women bring food for the dancers and for the spectators. The Pakoko bring a whole sheep or a side of beef and give it to the ne'we'kwe to roast in the fire in the plaza. In the morning when the sun comes up they start their last song. They always go out to the north. Yebitcai leads and after him come the rest of the line, two by two, one man and one woman. Another dancer, dressed differently, comes at the end and waves his arms as if driving the others before him."

*Folklore.*—Long ago the people were suffering from a sickness of swellings.<sup>23</sup> At that time the Navaho had nothing to eat. They came here to buy corn and paper bread and other things to eat. The Navaho thought the Zuñi people were very kind because they gave them food in spite of the fact that they had just had a war and the Navaho had been cruel. While the Navaho were here the people were in great trouble on account of the sickness. There was one man who spoke Navaho very well and he told the Navaho what kind of sickness they were having. Then the Navaho said, "We have something to cure that kind of sickness. We have had trouble with that too, and we know all about it. We have a katcina who can cure swellings." So the Itiwana man and the Navaho decided that they should come and dance for the Itiwana people to cure the sickness of swellings.

Then the Itiwana man took the Navaho to the katcina chief. They came in and the man said, "My father, I have brought this man to you. We have had much sickness and all our people are unhappy because of it. This man says he feels sorry for us because we have been kind to his people. They have treated us badly and have made war on us, but now they have come here to buy paper bread and corn and we have been kind to them. So they want to help us to cure this sickness. That is why I have brought this man here to ask you if you want them to come and dance for us. They say their dance cures

<sup>23</sup> Probably mumps.



swellings. If this is true it will be a great help to us. So I have brought him here to see if you want his people to dance for us." Then the katcina chief said, "I am not the one to decide. I must see my bow priest. I do not want to decide this alone." So he sent for his bow priest and told him that the Navaho wanted to come and dance for the people to take the bad swelling away. He said, "Let us try it. The people are suffering terribly because of this sickness." So they decided and they told the Navaho, "Now you go and tell your people to get ready, and in four days you will come back with your people to dance, and all the people will wait for you and will give you paper bread and lots of good things to take back with you to pay for the dance."

So he went back and told his people that the Itiwana people wanted them to come and dance for them. He did not tell his people that they wanted them to cure the swelling. He just told the people, "The Zuñi people want us to come and visit and make up our quarrels and be good friends with them. And if we dance for them they will give us good things to eat when we come home." So he said, and all the people began to practice their songs and work on their masks and clothing.

At Itiwana the people were waiting for them. They came in in the night and they had a great fire in the plaza. They dressed out on the Gallup road and came in. The katcina chief had built a big fire in the plaza and they came and danced there all night and the Itiwana people took food to them in the night. The next day they went back. The Itiwana people thought they were taking away the sickness and they gave them lots of bread and good things to eat. They left in the morning and they went two by two around the village to cure the sickness of swellings. The man who had come before was the leader. He was Yebiteai and he led the dancers around the village. Then they went away to the north. As they left all the people spat and said, "Now you will take away with you this sickness," and they said to the sickness, "Now you will go with these people."

About five years after that the Itiwana people danced this dance themselves. A long time afterwards the Navaho wanted to come here and dance again, but the Itiwana people would not let them come. They had really taken away the sickness and the Itiwana people were afraid that they would bring it back with them if they came again. So now they just dance the Navaho dance with their own masks and it doesn't cost them anything.<sup>24</sup> (It was danced on the night of Ca'lako, 1929, just at sunrise. There were no Ne'we'kwe out.)

<sup>24</sup> The dance was introduced before the informant's father was born, probably about 75 years ago.

## PAKOK O'KA

(Plate 57, c)

Face mask painted red and blue, red beard. Hair flowing, turkey feather in forelock, ribbon streamers behind. Velveteen blouse, full calico skirt, red belt, white moccasins, carries spruce.

Comes with Pakoko.

## HEPPOKO MUSMO

Helmet mask black, round eyes of yellow, open mouth with teeth and small white beard, red feathers on head, red ears with turquoise earrings. Blue around neck is probably a blue woven breechcloth.

Body painted black. Probably belongs to Tcakwena set. (From drawing collected by Kroeber.)

## AHANA

Helmet mask painted white, triangular figure over nose, at side colored terraces, colored yarn ribbons about head with several upright downy feathers. Blue horns tipped with feathers of many colors. Behind two eagle tail feathers with bunch of owl and turkey feathers, spruce collar. Body painted red with shoulder and forearms yellow. Spruce around wrist. No information except "he comes in winter."

## T̄SIṬSIK̄Ä

Helmet mask, face blue, top of head red, upright ears gray. Macaw feathers in head, at back lapaboawe. Spruce collar.

In right hand (held up) a branch of spruce and what looks like a mouse, adorned with strings of turquoise and feathers.

Pink body paint, arm bands, etc. (only upper part shown). From a drawing collected by Kroeber. This is not to be confused with the unmasked impersonation of the same name who comes with Kolowisi.

## UNMASKED IMPERSONATIONS

## CA'LAKE AN'ULONA (CA'LAKE IMPERSONATOR)

*Costume.*—War chief's cap of buckskin with red ribbons and silver buttons, black or purple velveteen shirt with many colored ribbons on arms and shoulders, dark blue native woven breechcloth, fastened with embroidered belt. Bare legs painted yellow with red knees (drawing not accurate). Yarn around knees, with sleighbells, high red moccasins, many bracelets, long turquoise earrings, yarn, bow bracelet, basket of prayer sticks.

This is the costume before donning the mask with its body covering. There are two impersonators for each mask and they take turns in carrying it.

## CULA'WITSÍ ANTATCU

(Plate 59, a)

*Costume.*—Yucca band and red feathers in hair, white cotton shirt and trousers, brown moccasins, woolen hose and red garters, a blanket robe (optional) and buckskin over shoulders. Carries a basket of prayer sticks for Cula'witsi to plant and corn meal. Many necklaces and bracelets. He comes with Cu'la'witsi at Ca'lako. (See p. 959 for his part in Ca'lako dances.)

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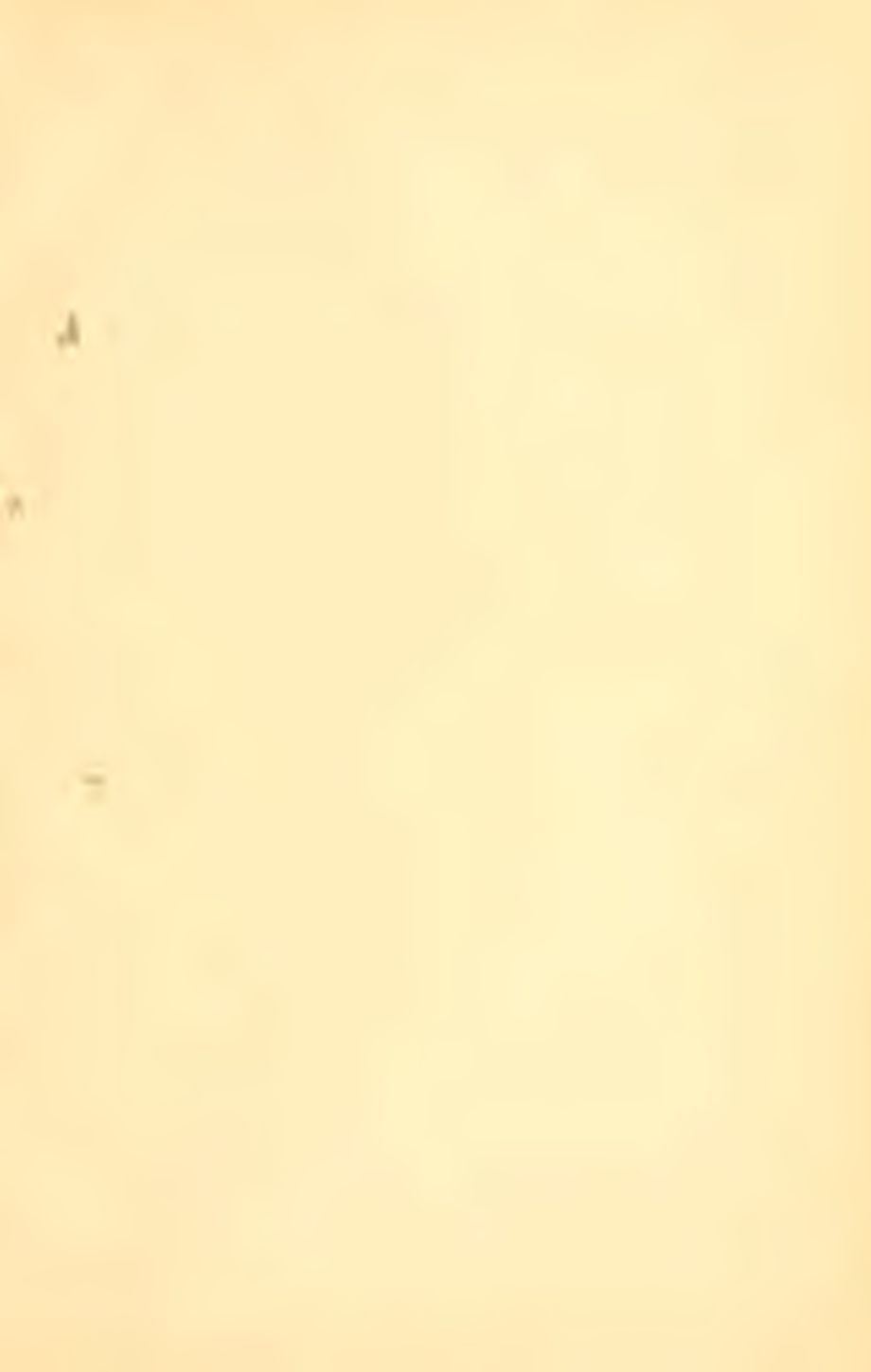






















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